

From the collection of the

j f d
y z n m k
x o Preinger Library a h
u v g e
b t s w p c

San Francisco, California
2007

REFERENCE USE ONLY

ADVOCATE OF
PEACE
THROUGH JUSTICE



Volume 87, No. 1

January, 1925

Can We Do It?

Japan

Facts About Britain and Egypt

A Persian Story

THE PURPOSE

THE purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

Bound
Periodical

487036

AP 17 '26

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

Edited by ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

1815-1828

Suite 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

(Cable address, "Ampax, Washington.")

PUBLISHED MONTHLY EXCEPT SEPTEMBER

Sent free to all members of the American Peace Society. Separate subscription price, \$2.00 a year. Single copies, 20 cents each.

Entered as second-class matter, June 1, 1911, at the Post-Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917; authorized August 10, 1918.

It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

CONTENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD..... 3

EDITORIALS

This Society—A Possible Forward Step for Our United States—Another Creative International Work—Japan—The Interparliamentary Union—Can We Control the Opium Evil?—Editorial Notes.. 5-16

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

The Egyptian Crisis—Franco-German Commercial Treaty Negotiations—New Governments in Poland and Austria—International Steel Combines in Europe—Conditions in Persia..... 17-24

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DATES (November 16-December 15)..... 25

GENERAL ARTICLES

Should There Be a Third Hague Peace Conference?..... 27
By James Brown Scott

Outlawry of War..... 38
By William E. Borah

Vienna Meeting of the Institute of International Law..... 40
By Hans Wehberg

The Sowers: A Story..... 43
By Wladislaw S. Reymont

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Great Britain and Egypt..... 48
Lord Allenby's First Letter; Second Letter; Egypt's Protest;
Britain's Note to the League of Nations.

Reorganization of Reparation Commission..... 50

Text: Anglo-German Treaty..... 51

NEWS IN BRIEF..... 60

BOOK REVIEWS..... 63

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.

Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.

It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.

Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.

It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.

FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is two dollars;

Sustaining Membership, five dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of ADVOCATE OF PEACE, Washington, D. C.

Hon. P. P. CLAXTON, Ex-United States Commissioner of Education, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Senator from Illinois, Washington, D. C.

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. PHILIP NORTH MOORE, St. Louis, Mo.

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN, 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, Esq., Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

HENRY C. MORRIS, Esq., 1155 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, California.

Prof. ARTHUR RAMSAY, Ex-President Fairmont Seminary, Southern Pines, North Carolina.

PAUL SLEMAN, Esq., Secretary American Colonization Society, Washington, D. C.

THEODORE STANFIELD, 126 W. 74th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Hon. HENRY TEMPLE, Representative from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON
ARTHUR DEERIN CALL
Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN
Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY
Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE
Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS
HENRY C. MORRIS
PAUL SLEMAN
THEODORE STANFIELD
JAY T. STOCKING, D. D.
Hon. HENRY W. TEMPLE

OFFICERS

President:

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

GEORGE W. WHITE, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.
Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Washington, D. C.
Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.
A. T. BELL, Esq., Chaifonte, Atlantic City, N. J.
GILBERT BOWLES, Esq., Richmond, Indiana.
Dean CHARLES R. BROWN, New Haven, Conn.
Pres. E. E. BROWN, New York University, New York.
GEORGE BURNHAM, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston, Mass.
Rt. Rev. Bishop J. DARLINGTON, Harrisburg, Pa.
Dr. W. H. P. FAUNCE, Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
GEORGE A. FINCH, Washington, D. C.
EVERETT O. FISK, Esq., Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM P. GEST, Philadelphia, Pa.
Hon. CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Washington, D. C.
CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D. D., New York, N. Y.
Dr. DAVID STARR JORDAN, Stanford University, Calif.
Geo. H. JUDD, Washington, D. C.

Bishop WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Mass.
JOSEPH LEE, Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM H. LUDEN, Reading, Pa.
L. H. PILLSBURY, Derry, N. H.
Judge HENRY WADE ROGERS, New York, N. Y.
Hon. ELIHU ROOT, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. FREDERIC SCHOFF, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. RUTH H. SPRAY, Salida, Colo.
Senator THOMAS STERLING, Washington, D. C.
EDWARD STEVENS, Columbia, Mo.
*Pres. M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
*Pres. C. F. THWING, Cleveland, Ohio.
Pres. MARY E. WOOLLEY, South Hadley, Mass.

*Emeritus.

Suggestions for a Governed World

(Adopted by the American Peace Society, May 27, 1921)

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference

for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council in the performance of their respective duties whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment whenever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council

of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that.

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for and, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instructions in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
87

JANUARY, 1925

NUMBER
1

EDITORIALS

THIS SOCIETY

THE index to volume 86 of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE, 1924, is now available and can be had by writing to the Editor.

Volume 87 of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE begins with this number. The appearance of the magazine is in no small measure due to the suggestions and criticisms of our readers.

A few days ago we wrote to a friend a letter in which we said: "To go after this business in the right way, we, of course, need more money. For example, we need very much the wherewithal to buy articles from the right persons relating to these matters. But all of this you are acquainted with as well as I. It is hard enough to do the work; but to be worried constantly because of limited finances is withering."

We say this man was a "friend." Here's the proof. He replied saying: "As a contribution toward a fund for the purchase of 'articles from the right persons relating to these matters,' a *publication fund*, to which I hope others will also contribute, I enclose check to the order of the American Peace Society for \$150.00."

The ADVOCATE OF PEACE should be able to command the best work of the best pens of the world. This work can be had—for a little money.

A POSSIBLE FORWARD STEP FOR OUR UNITED STATES

THE suggestion that the United States should favor the calling of a Third Hague Peace Conference brings a ray of hope—we dare to believe more than a ray of hope—for the men and women who have consistently supported American principles of foreign policy, principles pleaded for through the years by the American Peace Society.

In America there are many persons of many minds. This is particularly true of that portion of our public opinion interested in our foreign policies. There are men and women—good and true—who believe that our America should join the League of Nations. Others, equally praiseworthy, believe that we should not join, but that we should co-operate with it in every possible way consistent with our traditions and supreme law. Still others, likewise able and sincere, believe that we should ignore the League of Nations utterly. There are also a variety of views about our duty to join the Permanent Court of International Justice.

But among all classes there is a general insistence that our foreign policies should be conducted in a way consonant with our historical faiths, those basic principles upon which our American institutions have been built.

There is no reason for ignorance about these basic American things. Our achieve-

ments as a people have been possible because we have followed with no little consistency the lights set before us by men vitally concerned for the principles of liberty and justice. We have thus come to believe that successful government must lie midway between too much and too little control. We believe in the sacredness of contracts. We pay allegiance to laws rather than to men, to the principle that we shall of necessity obey no man except according to law. With us democracy means a maximum of ordered life with a minimum of coercion, which means a minimum of central government and a maximum of self-government. We look upon public office as a public trust, and upon government as deriving its powers from the consent of the people. We believe in the principle of the open door—in other words, of an equal opportunity for all. In the past we have followed the urge of expansion in North America, in the Pacific, and in the Caribbean; but we are now no longer concerned with extending our boundaries. We have permitted ourselves to protest, directly or indirectly, against what appeared to us to be gross inhumanity by other peoples. We have since 1823 held that foreign Powers shall not extend their colonies in the Western Hemisphere. We have cultivated co-operation with the other republics of our western world—developed, indeed, a doctrine of Pan Americanism. We have pleaded for the freedom of the seas. We have, from the beginning of our nation, stood firmly against any permanent alliance with a foreign Power, and done our best to avoid entangling ourselves unnecessarily in European politics. For this reason we have adopted the principle of non-intervention in foreign affairs except to protect American lives and property. We have extended recognition to revolutionary governments when such governments have met our views of

right behavior and democracy. And then, more important, we believe, than any of these, our people have always been willing to extend international co-operation for the promotion of justice under law without any sanction of force. Such may be said to be the outstanding political principles of our America. Of them all the last has been and is the most important foundation stone of our foreign policies.

It is out of such a background that President Coolidge in his message to Congress, December 3, reverted to the importance of international law. The President said:

"Our country should also support efforts which are being made toward the codification of international law. We can look more hopefully, in the first instance, for research and studies that are likely to be productive of results, to a co-operation among representatives of the bar and members of international law institutes and societies, than to a conference of those who are technically representative of their respective governments, although, when projects have been developed, they must go to the governments for their approval. These expert professional studies are going on in certain quarters, and should have our constant encouragement and approval."

What Senator William E. Borah has to say upon the foreign policies of our country is of peculiar interest to the world just now from the fact that, as successor to Henry Cabot Lodge, he is just entering upon what promises to be a long career as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate. Nearly two years ago Senator Borah introduced, in the fourth session of the Sixty-seventh Congress, a resolution in which he pointed out that civilization has been marked in its upward trend out of barbarism into its present condition by the development of law and courts to supplant methods of violence and force. In this resolution he went on to say that the genius of civiliza-

tion has discovered but two methods of compelling the settlement of human disputes, namely, law and war, and therefore, in any plan for the compulsory settlement of international controversies, we must chose between war on the one hand and the process of law on the other. In the light of this he proposed: "That a code of international law of peace, based upon equality and justice between nations, amplified and expanded and adapted and brought down to date, should be created and adopted."

In an address delivered in Philadelphia December 17, 1924, Mr. Borah, returning to this theme, said:

"The scheme to outlaw war involves three leading propositions: First, the creation of a body of international law—the amplification and codification of international law. It involves the going as far as it is humanly possible at this time in reducing international relations to established rules of conduct—to bring international affairs under the reign of law."

Mr. Borah's other propositions were the establishment of an independent judicial tribunal with jurisdiction and power to decide and determine all controversies involving a construction of international law or treaties, and the provision that such a body of international law shall not recognize war in any way as a legitimate institution for the settlement of international disputes.

Clearly, the President of the United States and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of our Senate look forward to an international conference, probably successive conferences, for the extension of the rule of international law. Such conferences, of course, would be in continuation of the first two conferences at The Hague.

Confirmation of the importance of this work comes to us just now from an interesting source. In a syndicated attack

upon certain aspects of British policy, Mr. George Bernard Shaw says:

"But in the long run, the powers, if they are not to face destruction, will be compelled to set up an international or more properly a supernational legislature and tribunal. And what is more, they must set it up in earnest, not merely make speeches about it and then take no notice of it, which is what has been done hitherto.

"But they must set up a legislature and tribunal, and they must set the example and convince the world, and create confidence throughout the world that the decisions of that tribunal will be accepted by the great powers and its laws will be obeyed by them."

Friends of the League of Nations could easily stand upon this ground. Indeed, the advisory committee of jurists who drafted the plan for a Permanent Court of International Justice—all friends of the League of Nations—adopted and recommended a resolution calling for a new conference of the nations in continuation of the first two conferences at The Hague. The distinguished jurists clearly saw the importance of restating the established rules of international law, of amending, of reconciling, of declaring and accepting rules of international law. They were "Convinced that the security of States and the well-being of peoples urgently require the extension of the empire of law and the development of all international agencies for the administration of justice."

Interesting fact, at this moment there is a committee, set up under a vote passed by the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, working upon this very problem of advancing international law; also, at this time the American Institute of International Law is meeting in Lima, Peru, for the purpose of agreeing upon draft conventions as a first step toward the codifi-

cation of international law for the Western Hemisphere.

Thus the suggestion by Dr. James Brown Scott seems pertinent and worthy of special consideration just now. Dr. Scott has been Solicitor of our Department of State. He was technical delegate to the Second Hague Peace Conference, and to the Paris Peace Conference of 1918-19. He is President of the American Institute of International Law. He has long served as Secretary of the American Society of International Law and as editor-in-chief of the *American Journal of International Law*. He is the author of a number of books on international law and the editor of many others. Experience, unusual intelligence and industry entitle this man's views to respect and consideration. Friends of peace everywhere will do well to read with no little care this authoritative résumé of The Hague conferences and of the relations between those conferences and the immediate challenge to take up once more the promotion of that international law without which there can be no peace of justice between nations.

ANOTHER CREATIVE INTERNATIONAL WORK

THE labor in behalf of the codification of international law in the Western Hemisphere is another hopeful fact. It is hopeful, in the first place, because it is making use of familiar machinery. The learned jurists meeting at The Hague in July, 1920, proposed successive conferences at stated intervals to carry on the work of the First and the Second Hague conferences. As a means of facilitating the work of these conferences, the jurists proposed that the Institute of International Law, the American Institute of International Law, the *Union Juridique Internationale*, the International Law

Association, and the Iberian Institute of Comparative Law be invited to prepare projects for the work of the conferences.

Here were men—Root, Phillimore, Loder, Descamps, and the rest—who dared to advise the use of existing machinery for the advancement of a great cause. Furthermore, they contented themselves by proposing the elaboration of familiar tradition. They favored, not dissociated schemes, with their conflicts, but rather the development of aims and means at hand. They were statesmen.

There were statesmen at the Fifth Pan American Congress in Santiago, Chile, in 1923; for there it was resolved to set up a congress of jurists with headquarters at Rio de Janeiro, this congress of jurists to consist of two delegates to be appointed by each government of the American republics. Recalling that the commission of jurists meeting at Rio de Janeiro had heretofore appointed subcommittees, the conference recommended that these subcommittees be re-established and put to work. Committees have been set up for the study of the comparative civil law in its relation to private international law, the codification of public international law, all to the end that the resolutions of the commission of jurists may be submitted to the sixth international conference of American States, in order that, if approved, they may be communicated to the respective governments for ratification and incorporated in conventions. The American Institute of International Law is at the time of this writing preparing an American code of international law as an aid to the work of the commission of jurists. The governing board of the Pan American Union, upon the initiative of Secretary Hughes, has invited the American Institute of International Law to do this work, upon which it is now

engaged in the city of Lima, Peru. The recommendations of the American Institute of International Law are to be submitted to the international committee of jurists at its meeting in Rio de Janeiro in 1925.

Thus there is every prospect that there is to be a codification of international law for the Pan American States. The hope here is that it represents an evolution of existing aims and means. Back in 1906 the republics of America, the United States included, set up a commission of jurists for the purpose of codifying international law. This commission held a preliminary meeting in Rio de Janeiro in 1912, where the methods to be employed were determined. The work of codifying both public and private international law was then divided among six committees, which, as we have said, are to be re-established. It was the war that interfered with the work of these committees. Thus, with the aid of the governing board of the Pan American Union, the American Institute of International Law, and the revived committees, the commission of jurists will be able to agree upon a number of conventions for the codifications of a large portion of public and private American international law. The commission will then be in position to make definite recommendations to the Sixth Conference of the American Nations in Havana, Cuba, 1926. There will remain then only the ratification by the various governments to put such a code into effect.

Here is an international work of a high order. The welfare of the two handmaidens of peace, law and justice, is being looked after with scientific care. The methods employed are consonant with the best traditions of American statesmanship. There is no evidence here of chicanery, of any attempt to shackle the independence or to impair the sovereignty of any nation. It is reasonable to expect,

within a comparatively short period of time, that we shall see on this hemisphere an agency abundantly qualified not only to codify existing international law of the Western Hemisphere, but to promote progressively rules governing the conduct of American States.

It is our opinion also that out of this work we shall have an independent international court of justice, qualified to apply international conventions, whether general or particular, the common law of this hemisphere, the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations, and the judicial decisions already rendered.

In other words, our American States are at this moment putting themselves in the way of restating the established rules of international law, of altering existing international law, and of developing new international law as exigencies may require. Furthermore, we may reasonably believe, they are laying the foundations of a Pan American court of international justice.

The hope that these things are to be lies in the fact that the work in their behalf is being done in a manner agreeable to all the nations concerned, by qualified persons, in a time of peace, and in response to a deeply felt need.

JAPAN

THE friendly relations between the United States and Japan will not be disturbed because a harebrained Japanese youth was found with a dagger near the former American embassy in Tokyo. We shall not allow ourselves to be seriously ruffled because the Japanese Government may decline our offer to send the American fleet to Yokohama after the proposed maneuvers in Hawaiian waters in 1925. If we have a modicum of sense left in this country, and we believe that we have an average amount of sense, we shall not talk,

much less act, with any excitement whatsoever. In our relations with Japan, there is only one thing needed just now, and that is friendship.

If we can carry on navy maneuvers in the Pacific without alienating the friendship of Japan, we see no objections to the maneuvers. Any one who believes that the United States should have a navy must in all honesty grant the navy the privilege of educating itself. If we are to have a navy, we must have a good navy. Any other kind of a navy would be a travesty. We understand that the American Government has explained to Japan the reasons for the proposed maneuver in the Pacific.

Our own feeling is that these maneuvers are ill-timed, whatever our motives. Japan is just recovering from the blow of our exclusion law. She has just passed through a most sorrowful earthquake. Her feelings are naturally sensitive. Without any technical knowledge of our navy, we are of the opinion that maneuvers, if maneuvers there must be, would be better conducted just now in the Atlantic, say, off the shores of New Jersey.

Common sense, business, our own interests, in every way demand the continuation and deepening of the spirit of friendship between this country and Japan. There is no reason for exaggerating in our minds the effect of our exclusion act upon the people of our neighbor. Giro Masuda, one of the leading business men of Japan, now visiting in America, is quoted as saying that our exclusion act has no effect upon Japan's economic condition. He adds that it is not considered very serious by the masses of his country. He says: "All it means is that 150 Japanese are barred from entering your country each year." The protests in Japan have come only from a few persons. He added that there is no concern in business circles of Japan over the coming Ameri-

can naval maneuvers in the Pacific. He pointed out that his company had just floated a \$15,000,000 bond issue, which was oversubscribed in this country. He expressed the opinion that the *yen*, which had been stabilized at 38 cents, probably will start on the road to parity at 50 cents in the late spring. Evidently, here is an intelligent gentleman.

These views from a distinguished visiting Japanese seem to be quite in accord with the views held by our own government. Our Administration has been careful to point out that there is no emergency existing between our two countries. Secretary Hughes has taken the pains to say that the appointment of Tsuneo Matsudaira as the next Japanese Ambassador to Washington is most acceptable to this government. Mr. Hughes said:

"Not only is Mr. Matsudaira a diplomat of most distinguished service, but Japan has paid us a signal honor in selecting as her ambassador to this post a man who through himself and his wife represents two of the most important and historically famous families of the empire.

"I am convinced that we can look forward now to the most cordial relations with Japan and that these relations will be greatly facilitated by the mission of Mr. Matsudaira."

In his message to Congress President Coolidge said: "At no period in the past twelve years have our foreign relations been in such a satisfactory condition as they are at the present time." Surely, Mr. Coolidge was not speaking exclusively of Europe.

There should be no ground for fear of any estrangement between the United States and Japan. One of our leading authorities in Washington assures us that there is nothing unusual going on in Japan indicative of aggressive military preparedness. The greatness that is America—and we do not refer to the military or economic greatness of our people—

will lead us to condemn belligerent or jingo arrogance anywhere in our midst. We have many thorny problems with a number of nations, problems that will require careful handling. There is no problem between this country and Japan. All that we of America have to do, particularly so far as Japan is concerned, is to mind our own business with a courteous dignity and self-respect.

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

OUR government's invitation to the Interparliamentary Union to hold its twenty-third conference in the city of Washington during 1925 has already aroused interest, not only in Europe, but in Canada, Pan America, and the Far East. The conference will be held in Washington, October 1-6.

The Interparliamentary Union has just completed its thirty-fifth year. Thus, for a generation it has stood for the principle of arbitration of disputes between nations; indeed, it began as "The Interparliamentary Union for International Arbitration." Not the least of its benefits, however, has been its advancement of acquaintance and understanding.

The history of the Interparliamentary Union is the history of practical men bent upon the pursuit of a practical ideal. It is in no sense a competitor of the League of Nations. The League of Nations is an organization of governments, interested primarily in the promotion of their national and particular interests. This is not a criticism of the League. The governments have a right to organize as they may see fit; but an association representing the governments may not fully represent the aspirations of peoples or of public opinion. As the Secretary General of the Interparliamentary Union has said: "Alongside of the governmental organiza-

tion there is room for a body in which the common interests of mankind may find full and unfettered expression. It is not indispensable that such a representative body should be official; at any rate, provisionally there may even be some advantage in its being of an unofficial and private nature. The Interparliamentary Union aims at filling that place."

The Russian Consul General at Budapest listened to the deliberations of the Interparliamentary Union meeting in that city in 1896, and reported his impressions to his government. Indeed, he prevailed upon Moravieff, the Russian Foreign Minister, to approach the Czar. This approach took the form of the Moravieff manifesto of August, 1898, out of which came the Czar's call for the First Hague Conference the following year. The Interparliamentary Union influenced the deliberations of the First Hague Conference.

It helped toward the calling of the Second Hague Conference. The draft treaty of arbitration drawn up by the Interparliamentary Union in London in 1906 became the basis of discussion at the Second Hague Conference in 1907.

Following the Second Hague Conference, the Union continued its labors in behalf of a Third Hague Conference and of a Permanent Court of International Justice.

The practical nature of the Interparliamentary Union is history. Following 1892, largely upon the initiative of Lord Weardale, it labored in behalf of a permanent arbitration tribunal.

Today there are thirty interparliamentary groups in good and regular standing as members of the Interparliamentary Union. This includes some 4,000 parliamentarians.

The purposes of the Interparliamentary Union are quite clear. The groups will carry on the work already begun and extend that service as time and opportunity

may require. The Union is now addressing itself to the parliamentary control of foreign policies, to colonial mandates, to the rights and duties of national minorities, to a variety of economic and financial questions, and to the possibilities of the League of Nations. The passport system, international railway traffic, the methods of diplomacy, social and colonial problems, the manufacture of arms and munitions, and the traffic in such merchandise, frontiers and demilitarized zones—these are some of the questions dealt with in recent conferences.

Through all these runs a golden thread, a thread of reason tempered by an abiding faith that out of honesty of discussion and growing understanding, common humanity may yet enjoy more of that peace which always reigns where justice prevails under law.

The future of the Interparliamentary Union is a challenge to every parliament of the world. Its work has just begun. It is a non-partisan body, concerned with the problems of today in the light of tomorrow. It is not unreasonable to expect that it may become more and more a quasi-parliament of parliaments.

With all the differences between us—differences in language, in religion, in political theory, in local conditions—every intelligent person knows that there are problems common to us all by virtue of the fact that we are upon the same earth, deriving our motives from the same great springs of action, sensing our goal with certain purposes and interests similar and enduring. The Interparliamentary Union is an expression of this simple fact.

Members of the Interparliamentary Union, especially those who have been with it through the many years, acknowledge that they owe to it a great debt of gratitude. Without it certain deeply cherished friendships would never have been possible. Because of it, its studies, its

discussions, its acquaintanceships, these men know that they have been able to do their own work with a richer intelligence.

The United States of America will welcome the coming conference of the Interparliamentary Union with the utmost cordiality.

CAN WE CONTROL THE OPIUM EVIL?

DELEGATES from thirty-six nations, including the United States, are in Geneva, Switzerland, struggling once again to set up an effective control of the world's opium evil. Will they succeed?

There seems to be no doubt about the seriousness of the evil. The abuse of opium and other habit-forming drugs is widespread. While the production of raw opium from the opium poppy is confined principally to India, China, Persia, Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, and of cocaine from the coca leaves to Java, Peru, and Bolivia, their destructive derivatives are manufactured and marketed in practically all parts of the world. We understand that ten times as much of these drugs is distributed as is required for medicinal or scientific purposes. It is officially estimated that the drug addicts in the United States exceed one million persons. The devastations following the use of opium, morphia, codeine, and heroin and of cocaine, in China, the Philippines, and elsewhere are well-nigh unbelievably serious.

For over a decade American leaders have striven to restrict this evil by getting the governments to agree to limit the production of raw opium and cocaine to the necessities of medicine and science. It has been held by these Americans that the evil will continue as long as there is no control of the source of supply. It has been proposed, therefore, that there should be a central board of control set up by

the nations to limit production, and that the production and distribution of smoking opium should be a government monopoly. It is clear that any such scheme, to be of use, must have at least the unanimous support of the governments.

Our own government, meanwhile, in 1909, denied the importation of these drugs into the United States for other than medicinal or scientific purposes. Early in that year we took a leading part in an international conference and helped in the formation of an international commission for the control of the evil. This international commission met at The Hague in 1911 and again in the fall of 1913, where a treaty covering the control of the traffic was agreed upon. Upon the acceptance of the Covenant of the League of Nations, article 23 of which entrusted the League of Nations with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, this treaty was passed over to the League. Forty-seven States are at this time bound by this opium convention.

And yet the evil is on the increase. If one seeks the reasons, one finds that drug bootlegging is subtle and widespread. One finds that inefficient government control has failed to combat the greed of the growers. The advisory commission of the League of Nations convened a meeting of delegates in 1923. These delegates agreed upon a treaty, limiting commerce in these drugs to "medicinal and scientific purposes." When this proposal, however, came before the Assembly of the League, these two words were changed to "legitimate." In this subtle way friends of the poppy growers had their way.

And so delegates from thirty-six nations are back in Geneva again, struggling with the whole question, confronted with the same difficulties and headed, we fear, for the same failure. The delegates of the

United States are standing again for the control of the evil at its source, namely, of production. They are insisting that the production should be reduced 10 per cent each year, until the bare necessities of medicine and science are reached. Arrayed against them are the growers, the manufacturers, the smugglers, the right-to-self-determinationists. Evidently these interests are very powerful.

Yet, as in the case of all successful reforms, the work has to be done. In the everlasting conflict of virtue with vice, enlightenment plays into the hands of virtue. Public opinion, as it becomes informed about this alarming condition, will see that the task is completed. Strength to the arms of the few who are working at the business.

THE Convention of St. Germain, formulated in 1919, aimed to set up the control of traffic in arms. Our government found it impossible to agree to the terms of the convention. The League of Nations then set up a temporary mixed commission to prepare a new treaty to replace that of St. Germain. Upon the motion of the Assembly of the League, the League's Council invited the American Government to appoint representatives to co-operate in the preparation of a new draft convention. On December 9, our reply to the League's invitation was made in the form of a note handed to the Secretary General of the League by Hugh Gibson, our American Minister to Switzerland. Our minister's note read as follows:

"I beg to inform you that I have been instructed by my government to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of October 7, 1924, transmitting the text of a resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations, with respect to the holding of an international conference of the States, members and non-members of the League of Nations, in April or May,

1925, for the purpose of considering the conclusion of a convention with respect to the international trade in arms, munitions, and implements of war. In this communication you inquire whether my government would be prepared to take part in such conference.

"In reply I take pleasure in referring to the communication addressed to you on August 29, in which it was stated that my government would be disposed to give favorable consideration to an invitation to participate in an appropriate international conference of the powers for the aforementioned purpose. My government still holds this attitude and is agreeable to the suggestion that the time of holding the conference should be in April or May, 1925."

IN the meantime the chances of another conference for the limitation of armaments are not as bright as they should be. As our Secretary of the Navy has recently pointed out, the Washington Conference has left the construction of light cruisers, submarines, destroyers, and destroyer leaders entirely unrestricted as to number, although light cruisers have been restricted as to tonnage and size of guns. We agree with the Secretary that it is obvious that an agreement limiting within reasonable bounds this type of fighting machines should be reached. This can only be done in another conference similar to the Washington Conference. The complication at this point lies in the fact that the League of Nations seems to have taken the initiative away from our government. The prospects of such a conference are all interwoven with the fate of the Geneva protocol. Since the protocol is having a hard time trying to survive in the house of its friends, the prospects of another conference for the limitation of armaments are not at the moment especially promising.

OUR utterances elsewhere relative to the desirability of a peace conference to carry on the work of The Hague Conferences, and to the labors toward the codification of international law for the Western Hemisphere, have just received support from the Council of the League of Nations, meeting in Rome. December 12, the Council adopted a resolution regarding the formation of a committee to begin the codification of international law. The resolution invited the following persons to form the committee:

"Dr. K. H. L. Hammarskjöld, former Swedish Premier and Governor of the Province of Upsala, to be chairman; Prof. Giulio Diena, of the University of Turin, vice-chairman; Prof. James Leslie Briery, of Oxford; Henri Fromagaeot, Counselor to the French Foreign Office; M. Matsuda, Japanese Charge d'Affaires at Paris; George W. Wickersham, former Attorney General of the United States; Dr. Barnard C. J. Loder, Holland, former President of the International Court of Justice; Prof. Charles de Visscher, of the law faculty of the University of Ghent; Dr. Chung Hui-wang, of China, Deputy Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice; Prof. Walker Schucking, professor of law at the University of Berlin; Dr. Vilhena Barboza de Magalboes, professor of law at the University of Lisbon; M. Simon Rundstean, founder of the Polish International Law Association; Dr. Jose Leon Suarez, dean of the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Buenos Aires; Dr. J. Gustavo Guerrero, Salvadorean Minister in Paris, and Dr. Adelbert Mastny, Czechoslovakian Minister in London."

CERTAIN officials of the League of Nations seem to be considerably removed from the United States. For example, when the Philippine Department of Labor and Communications addressed a letter to the International Labor Bureau asking what steps the Philippine Islands can take to join the International Bureau, the Labor Bureau officials simply sent full

information with regard to joining the International Bureau, but, we are told by the dispatches, "without comment." Now, the same dispatches tell us that officials of the Bureau pointed out that the United States, if it became a League member, "perhaps could solve the Philippine problem by applying for a League mandate for the Philippines, thereby making the League responsible for the future of the Philippines and saving the islands from the possibility of domination and utilization as a war base by another power and the side-tracking of the Filipinos who are agitating for independence." The dispatch went on to say:

"Some anxiety was expressed as to whether the Filipinos were not following the policies of Egypt and Ireland as regards appeals to the League, with the intention of taking future action under the article of the covenant by which the League Council would be justified in intervening."

There is something about all this that reminds us of the suggestion that we of the United States ought to trade the Philippines for Ireland and raise our own policemen.

THE Little Entente armies do not present the most encouraging of pictures. Czechoslovakia has a standing army of 150,000, with a fighting strength of 1,000,000; Jugoslavia a standing army of 135,000, with a fighting strength of 1,000,000; Rumania a standing army of 125,000, with a fighting strength of 2,500,000; while Poland has a standing army of 230,000, with a total fighting strength of 2,000,000. This all means that the Little Entente, including Poland, has a total standing army of 640,000, with a fighting strength of 6,500,000. We are told that France is the military power of Europe; but here is a military strength twice that of France.

THE man best informed of the military situation in France is, by common agreement, Marshal Foch. In a recent number of the *Revue Hebdomadaire*, the Marshal gave his views on French security. The statement took the form of answers to three questions:

"In reply to the question as to the conditions in which he considered France could put her trust in the League of Nations, Marshal Foch's view is stated to be that he had always thought that the League still required two things—(a) it was essential that in the Geneva councils the European nations most interested in the maintenance of peace and the affairs of Europe should have a preponderating voice; (b) the League of Nations should have at its disposal material means of insuring that its decisions should be respected, either by an international force or, preferably, by the national forces of one or of several countries being placed at the League's disposal, and put in operation by the League under conditions and by methods to be determined.

"On the question whether he thought that the League of Nations might some day lighten the burden of military expenditure of France through a system of international guarantees, Marshal Foch's opinion is given in the affirmative.

"It is added, however, that the conditions mentioned in answer to the previous question should be previously fulfilled. The reduction of armaments could only be a corollary of guarantees of security, and these guarantees would be vain so long as the powers most directly interested in the maintenance of peace had not predominance in the decisions of Geneva. The reduction of armaments was, moreover, conditioned for France by the disarmament of Germany. It was impossible, however, to think of intrusting the control of the disarmament of Germany to the League of Nations (1) until the inventory of German armaments and the total execution of the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles asked for by the Allies were concluded and had been verified; (2) until the methods by which the League of Nations would exercise its right of investigation had been fixed. This right was

prescribed in Article 213 of the Treaty of Versailles, but was not exactly defined. Its application presented problems whose solution was necessary unless international surveillance was to be illusory. So long as that solution was not arrived at, it would be vain to consider Article 213 as an effective guarantee of peace.

"The third question was, What does Marshal Foch think of the suggestion that the motto, 'Si vis pacem para bellum' should be replaced by the motto, 'Si vis pacem cole justiciam'? The answer was that, like all soldiers who had hearts, he thought that nothing was more desirable than to institute the reign of justice; that making war was an abominable profession; that it was a frightful thing to shed blood and destroy wealth, and that everything should be tried to prevent the return of such calamities; that the League of Nations was a generous, attractive idea, perhaps full of possibilities, but that it must be left to time and to humanity to consolidate it before it alone could be relied on to insure the maintenance of peace."

FRENCH trade during the first ten months of 1924 was surprisingly hopeful. Exports reached 34,000,000,000 francs during that period, exceeding the imports by 1,380,000,000 francs. The external trade of France for these first ten months shows that the imports increased over those of a similar period last year by 27 per cent, while the exports for the same period increased 40 per cent. The simple economic fact, of course, is that any nation whose exports exceed its imports is solvent. The ratio in this instance shows more; it shows that France is doing good business.

WE ARE saying nothing editorially of England's behavior toward Egypt for the simple reason that we are too uninformed to be sure of our views. We prefer to let Britain's Prime Minister speak. He says:

"In speaking of the Empire, it is impossible to avoid a brief reference to our position in Egypt, a country through which passes one of the main arteries of our very imperial existence. Our position in Egypt has assumed a tragic prominence in the last few weeks. My friend Mr. Austen Chamberlain spoke the other day at some length with his admirable lucidity on this subject, so that it needs very little from me, and I will content myself with a few brief observations. But it has been suggested in some quarters that the government have sought to take advantage of the circumstances in which Sir Lee Stack recently met his death in Cairo in order to restore the protectorate and undermine the rights of the Egyptian Government. Nothing could be further from the truth. In 1922 independence was granted to Egypt, subject to certain reservations which were to be left for subsequent negotiations. Hitherto negotiations have failed, and in the meantime we have had to face a campaign of subversive propaganda, encouraged by official persons in Egypt, of which the symbol and culmination was the foul assassination of the Sir-dar. The government would have failed in its duty if it had not taken prompt action to make it manifest to the Egyptian Government that this campaign of hatred and outrage must stop. At the same time the grant of independence remains unrevoked. The reservations remain open to negotiations, and the government, while abstaining as far as possible from interfering with Egyptian administration, will do everything in its power to promote a friendly settlement which will inure to the benefit of Egypt no less than to this country.

"There are, however, certain essential considerations which must be borne in mind. Foreign interests must be protected. The interests of the British Empire demand that the communications should be secure. Our obligations and pledges to the Sudan demand that we should respect the rights of the Sudanese no less than those of the Egyptians. None of these considerations are incompatible with a mutual settlement, which we hope and believe will be secured."

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

THE EGYPTIAN CRISIS

DURING the last ten days of November the world's attention was centered on Egypt, where a series of events threatened for a time to develop into a crisis of the first magnitude. The British Government moved swiftly and resolutely in this crisis, forcing complete acquiescence on the part of the Egyptian Government to the terms laid down in London.

Murder of the Sirdar

The crisis was precipitated by the assassination, on November 19, in the streets of Cairo, of General Sir Lee Stack, Governor General of the Sudan and Sirdar, or Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army. The Sirdar, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, was going in an automobile from the Egyptian War Office to his official residence.

The car had just passed the Ministry of Public Instruction and had reached the main street leading to the Kasr-el-Aini, and had drawn up to allow a tramcar to pass, when seven Egyptians of the student class, in *effendi* dress, who were standing in a line on the pavement, all simultaneously opened fire. Sir Lee Stack received three wounds, one through the abdomen, which glanced upwards—the doctors may have to operate later—one in the foot, and one in the hand. The aide-de-camp was wounded in the wall of the chest. The chauffeur (an Englishman), who was slightly wounded in the legs, did not lose his *sang froid*, but drove on immediately to the residency. Sir Lee Stack was transferred to the drawing room, where he was examined by the doctors. The Sirdar died the next day.

The British Moves

The British Cabinet moved swiftly in the matter. Under orders from London, on November 23, Lord Allenby, the British High Commissioner to Egypt and

the Sudan, presented a note to Zaghlul Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, containing the British demands. (The text of this note appears in the International Documents section of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.) The British demands were as follows:

- (1) An apology for the murder of the Sirdar;
- (2) a thorough inquiry into the crime;
- (3) prohibition of political demonstrations;
- (4) payment of £500,000 to the British Government;
- (5) withdrawal of Egyptian troops from the Sudan and of Egyptian officers in Sudanese battalions, which were to be formed into a separate Sudanese defense force owing allegiance to the Sudan Government;
- (6) the indefinite extension of the area to be irrigated in the Gezira district of the Sudan; and
- (7) the retention, pending the conclusion of a further agreement on the subject, of the protection of foreign interests in Egypt, of their position and powers by the foreign financial and judicial advisers and the officials of the European Department of the Ministry of the Interior.

Zaghlul Pasha, in reply, accepted the first four conditions, and the indemnity of 500,000 sterling was immediately paid. He refused, however, those relative to the Sudan and was evasive as to the seventh condition. The same night Lord Allenby informed Zaghlul Pasha that the Sudan Government had been ordered to enforce the two Sudanese conditions, and next morning, November 24, the custom house at Alexandria was occupied by royal marines from H. M. S. *Benbow*. Zaghlul Pasha thereupon resigned, and six hours later Ahmed Pasha Ziwar, the President of the Senate, took office as Prime Minister.

Appeal to the League

That same afternoon, at a sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, Zaghlul Pasha, who was received with loud applause, announced his resignation. He said that

from the day Sir Lee Stack was attacked the cabinet had contemplated resignation, and he had submitted the matter to the King, who did not wish to make a decision. They had entered upon their duties as ministers with pleasure and they quitted office for the good of the country. Their letter to Lord Allenby clearly showed the world that they had been attacked. They had accepted certain demands, including the demand in regard to demonstrations, although these demonstrations had not been contrary to public order. They were proud to quit office because they had been defending the fatherland as they should. Earlier in the day Zaghlul Pasha added that he had explained to the King the gravity of the situation. When they heard of the seizure of the customs at Alexandria they felt it impossible to remain in office. They had resigned in the nation's interests and were ready to support any cabinet serving the country.

Zaghlul Pasha's speech was followed by a somewhat stormy scene. One Opposition member supported by Zaghlul Pasha, but another inquired what services Zaghlul Pasha had rendered the country; whereupon both sides for some minutes indulged in personal recriminations.

Zaghlul Pasha, replying to one Opposition interruptor, said: "Be patient; we are now ordinary members and perhaps may join the Opposition."

Finally the chamber adjourned for half an hour, after appointing a committee to draw up a protest to be addressed to the League of Nations and to the parliaments of all the powers.

The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies late that night each approved the text of a protest to the parliaments of the world against "Great Britain's actions, which are unjust and severe, in spite of Egypt having done all that was possible to satisfy the British demands."

Parliament also decided to protest to the League of Nations and ask it to intervene to prevent injustice. (The text of the Egyptian Parliament's protest appears elsewhere in this issue.)

The League has taken no action on the Egyptian protest.

End of the Crisis

The crisis ended on November 30, when the Egyptian Government finally accepted in full all of the British demands. In virtue of the settlement arrived at through negotiations between the cabinet and the commissioner, the Egyptian Government agrees to preserve the powers and privileges of the financial and judicial advisers whose offices will be autonomous, and to respect the status and attributions of the European Section of the Department of Public Security, and to accept the recommendations of its Director General on matters affecting foreigners. The government also will provide a new option under which foreign officials may retire with full indemnities. The government also undertakes to use its influence with the municipality of Alexandria in order to bring the foreign officials in its service under the law regulating the conditions of service and retirement of foreign officials in the service of the government, and agrees to introduce various important routine measures affecting the service and pensions of foreign officials. A special committee is being set up under the financial adviser to deal with these matters.

FRANCO-GERMAN COMMERCIAL TREATY NEGOTIATIONS

THE Franco-German conference for the negotiation of a commercial treaty between the two countries opened at Quai d'Orsay on October 1. The first phase of the conference lasted until October 12, when a preliminary protocol was signed. The conference reconvened on November 5. The calling of the conference at this time was made necessary by the fact that a number of important economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles will expire on January 10, 1924. The purpose of the conference now in progress is to draw up a treaty to take the place of these expiring clauses.

Protocol of October 12, 1924

The first phase of the conference was devoted to the question of the general principles upon which future commercial treaty relations can be established. These principles are embodied in the preliminary protocol.

The question which dominated the negotiations was that of the most-favored-nation treatment. Germany expressed her willingness to continue according France such treatment, but on the basis of reciprocity. To this the French replied that the Act of July 29, 1919, makes it impossible for the French Government to grant any nation complete most-favored-nation treatment. The act merely authorizes the government "to negotiate with foreign governments for a fixed period the concession of reduced duties under the general tariff, reckoned in percentages of the actual difference between this tariff of common duties and the minimum tariff."

The protocol signed on October 12 represents an agreement, whereby Germany agrees to extend to France complete most-favored-nation treatment, while France undertakes to allow Germany reductions from the general tariff on certain articles of German export trade.

The interval between the adjournment of the conference, on October 12, and its reconvening, on November 5, was devoted to the drawing up of schedules of reductions in accordance with the protocol; but the conference also has to consider the question of the special status of Alsace-Lorraine, and that of the 26 per cent reparation tax recently imposed by France.

French Insistence on Free German Market

At the opening session of the conference, M. Raynaldy, the French Minister of Commerce, delivered a very significant speech on the aims pursued by France in negotiating a commercial treaty with Germany. The first part of M. Raynaldy's speech was devoted to the difficulties experienced by French exporters in dealing with Germany. He complained that Germany is putting obstacles in the way of trade by maintaining import restrictions, some of them introduced during the war.

In the second part of his speech, M. Raynaldy had a great deal to say about the special problem presented by Alsace and Lorraine. He stated that the manufacturers of these territories have never had a full benefit of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles giving their products free entry into Germany. He complained

that German merchants, influenced by the German Government, have been boycotting the textile and machine products of Alsatian mills. He pleaded that in the future no barrier be placed between these industries and their old market in Germany.

Thus the whole effort of France in conducting the present negotiations is directed toward securing the largest possible outlet for French products in Germany.

Reparation Tax Controversy

A complicating and irritating element in the negotiations is the question of the 26 per cent reparation tax imposed by France shortly before the conference. The 26 per cent reparation tax grew out of the London Schedule of Payments of 1921. Under that agreement a part of Germany's annuity on account of reparation payments was to consist of a 26 per cent levy on the proceeds of German exports. The British Government soon after that inaugurated a Reparation Recovery Act and began to impose the tax on the German exports into Great Britain. The French Government also placed a similar act on its statute books, but never applied it in practice. It was not until the end of September, 1924, that the French Government announced the application of the French Reparation Recovery Act, operative as of October 1, *i. e.*, coincidently with the opening of the Franco-German conference.

As applied by the British, the reparation tax means that the imposing government collects from the German exporters, for the benefit of its treasury, 26 per cent of their proceeds, they being in turn reimbursed by the German treasury. When the French imposed the tax, however, the German Government protested against it on the ground that it was not consonant with the spirit of the London agreement of August, 1924, whereby the Dawes plan was put into operation. It therefore refused to reimburse the German exporters, unless, as it stated in its protest, it would receive assurances from the Agent General for Reparation Payments that it would receive credit for these outlays out of the payments to be made to him under the Dawes Plan. In any event, it opposes the 26 per cent levy on the ground

that it takes out of the hands of the Transfer Committee set up under the Dawes Plan the complete control of the German currency situation assigned to it by the plan.

Agent General Gilbert's Ruling

The Agent General made his position clear in the following letter, addressed to the German Minister of Finance on November 14:

In conformity with the provisions of the Experts' Plan to the effect that the use and withdrawal of moneys to the credit of the annuity shall be controlled and regulated by the Agent General and the Transfer Committee, I have the honor to inform you that the Agent General for Reparation Payments will not credit the German Government on account of the annuity with any sums it may pay to exporters in reimbursement of deductions made from their invoices on and after December 1, 1924, because of any reparation recovery acts. Any sums that may be required for the foregoing purpose will be paid only by the Agent General for Reparation Payments if and to the extent authorized by the Transfer Committee. The Transfer Committee at its meeting on October 31, 1924, authorized the Agent General to make payments under the reparation recovery acts until further action by the committee.

This action of the Agent General for Reparation Payments has taken the whole question of the 26 per cent tax far beyond the confines of the Franco-German treaty negotiations. It is to be followed by a discussion of the problem at the next meeting of the Transfer Committee, and, what is more important, at the conference of the Allied Ministers of Finance, to be held in the first week in January, for the discussion of the question of the partitioning of the funds transferred by the committee as among the various claimants.

In the meantime the German Government has made it known that it has very little hope of obtaining a ratification of whatever treaties may be agreed to by the German Reichstag unless that tax question be settled satisfactorily.

NEW GOVERNMENTS IN POLAND AND AUSTRIA

DURING the month of November important changes of government took place in Poland and Austria. These changes had been expected for some time in both countries, as the governments that were holding office for some time prior to that were known to be in difficulties.

Cabinet Reconstruction in Poland

The long-anticipated reconstruction of the Polish Cabinet was finally carried out on November 17. The National Democrats had often expressed the fear that a reconstruction would mean a further move toward the Left, as all the previous changes which have taken place in the Grabski Cabinet since the end of last year may be said to have been more or less made under pressure from the parties of the Left. By the latest changes, however, the character of the cabinet, as a cabinet of officials and experts, has not been encroached upon.

The newly appointed Minister of the Interior, M. Cyril Ratajski, is not a member of any political party, and has gained a reputation as an administrative organizer. The new Minister of Justice likewise belongs to no political party, and is one of the leading jurists in Poland. The new Minister of Labor has the reputation of being the best authority on Polish social legislation, and for a number of years has represented the Polish Government in the international Labor Bureau of the League of Nations.

The only political appointment is that of the new deputy of the Prime Minister, M. Stanislaw Thugutt, who was formerly the head of the Wyzwolenie radical party. M. Thugutt, however, will occupy himself exclusively with frontier and minority questions. In this capacity he should have entered the cabinet at an earlier date, and at that time the National Democrats raised no objection to the intended step.

Program of the New Cabinet

It is expected that the present reconstruction will have met the desires of the various parties and will definitely close the lengthy period of political negotiation and uncertainty just past. The recon-

structed government will be able to devote itself with all the more energy to its tasks, especially the completion of the finance reforms and the overcoming of the economic crisis.

Speaking of his program, M. Grabski, the Premier, declares that he regards it as his first duty to protect the country's currency, to check the economic crisis, to pacify the population in the frontier regions, to draw them within the unity of the Republic, to carry out economies, and to improve the State administration. He will be grateful for any majority in Parliament, but will not create one, so as to be able to use it against this or that party. Finally, he appealed for the co-operation of all parties, and his speech met with the approval of all the Left parties. The Right and the representatives of the racial minorities received the speech coldly.

Closer Relations with Czechoslovakia

One of the tasks confronting the new Polish Government is the establishment of closer relations with Czechoslovakia. Negotiations regarding this will soon be begun and will be conducted partly at Prague and partly at Warsaw. Poland will be represented by Count Lasocki, who takes up his duties as Polish Minister at Prague on the 15th of next month. The Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs has expressed the opinion that the negotiations will lead to success, and promises that the Polish Government will do all in their power to arrive at a reasonable compromise. The Polish press has full appreciation for the efforts that are being made on both sides.

The *Kurjer Warszawski*, for example, expresses its satisfaction that finally, after an interval of six years, the ice has been broken between two kindred nations, united, moreover, as they are, by many interests of a political nature. The Czechoslovak press likewise welcomes the prospect of closer relations.

New Austrian Government

The resignation of Chancellor Seipel has been expected ever since the recent difficulties between the Austrian Government and the League of Nations over certain features of the reconstruction program. It came on November 18, when,

previous to a meeting of the National Council, Herr Miklas, the chairman of the main committee, read a report that Dr. Seipel, the chancellor, had sent in his resignation. On the proposal of Deputy Finke a majority composed of Christian Socialists and German Nationalists elected as chancellor Dr. Rudolf Ramek and entrusted him with the formation of the cabinet. Dr. Ramek declared that he accepted the position, but for the time being could not make any detailed proposals relating to the formation of the cabinet.

The new Austrian Cabinet is composed as follows:

Chancellor: Dr. Ramek (Christian Socialist).

Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Justice: Dr. Leopold Waber (Pan-German).

Foreign Minister: Dr. Heinrich Mataja (Christian Socialist).

Finance: Dr. Jacob Ahrer (Christian Socialist).

Education: Dr. Emil Schneider (Christian Socialist).

Commerce and Communications: Dr. Hans Schürff (Pan-German).

Social Welfare: Dr. Joseph Resch (Christian Socialist).

Agriculture: Rudolf Buchinger (Christian Socialist).

War: Karl Vaugoin (Christian Socialist).

The motion in the National Council to adopt this cabinet was carried by 91 votes (Christian Socialists and Pan-Germans) to 60 (Social Democrats). The Ministers of Education, Commerce, Agriculture, and War held these same offices in the Seipel Cabinet.

New Government's Program

In a speech expounding his program, Dr. Ramek, the new chancellor, stated that the basis of the policy of the new government was the Geneva protocols of October 4, 1922, the Reconstruction Act, and the agreements arrived at with the League of Nations by the Seipel Government, in whose spirit the present cabinet would continue to act. Such a policy had saved Austria from a complete depreciation of her currency and a destruction of her State economy.

The currency must be kept at its present hard-won state of stabilization, and to

this end a balanced budget was essential. The new government would continue along the difficult path of reform so successfully trod by Dr. Seipel. The revenue must be increased. Trade, industry, and commerce would receive special attention. Relations with foreign countries were satisfactory and would be maintained. The new government would adopt the budget for 1925 introduced by its predecessors.

New Tariff Treaty with Czechoslovakia

The negotiations which have been proceeding at the Austrian Foreign Office in Vienna for the conclusion of a new tariff treaty with Czechoslovakia ended on Tuesday last with the drafting of definitive terms, which will be signed next week.

The conclusion of this treaty marks an important new era in the economic relations between Austria and Czechoslovakia. The treaty is supplementary to the general Commercial Treaty concluded between the two countries on the 4th of May, 1921, on the basis of most-favored-nation treatment.

The present supplementary treaty fixes the customs tariffs for such merchandise as forms the bulk of the trade between the two States. Both parties reduce the general tariffs by about one-third, in the case of those items which are of outstanding importance in the mutual trade of the countries.

At the same time, Article 9 of the commercial treaty of 1921, referring to import licenses, has been amended so as to do away with the difficulties that had arisen in this matter, and every facility is thus given for the undisturbed development of the mutual trade between the two countries.

The agreement also provides numerous alleviations for the frontier population of the two States in their trade and relations one with the other. One or two navigation questions have also been settled.

The present supplementary treaty remains in force as long as the original treaty of 1921, and the terms of denunciation are identical for the two.

INTERNATIONAL STEEL COMBINES IN EUROPE

THE heavy industry in the Ruhr is urging upon the steel producers in other countries an international steel consortium, which should not be a trust to fix selling prices and to divide profits, but a body which would first allot and then regulate, in accordance with demand, the quota of steel which each country should be permitted to produce, exactly as the recently formed "Rohstahlverband" is regulating the production of German firms.

The tendency of the German steel industry is rather towards international co-operation than a narrow combine between two or three countries. At present the steel industry is not making money, owing to cut-throat competition, excessive production, and violent fluctuation of price. Heavy industry in America, with an excellent home market, is in the happy position of being able to meet the costs of its steel production and to make a good profit on its home sales, and have a considerable exportable surplus, which can be sold abroad at prices which defy competition. Neither Germany, which has a safe home market, nor Great Britain, which has not, can make money on export trade. France and Belgium, though their foreign trade may show a profit, are making that profit on a depreciated currency at the expense of their national wealth.

The Ruhr Proposal

The Ruhr steel owners believe that only by reducing supply to something approaching the demand can a remedy for existing conditions be found. This is the meaning of the raw steel consortium recently formed in Düsseldorf. Members of the consortium will be allotted a definite quota, beyond which they must not manufacture; individual liberty as to selling prices and markets will not be interfered with. The German idea is that if this experiment is successful it might be applied in other countries. Finally, it is thought the steel industries of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Germany, thus organized, could unite in applying a system to international steel production in which each country's production quota would be

fixed and stability thus restored to world steel prices.

The British steel industry is fully aware of the attitude of French, Belgian, and German industrialists, and there have already been informal interchanges of views. The German, French, and British steel manufacturers are agreed that if the "Rohstahlverband" is a failure it is little use to pursue the idea of international regulation of production, but the first reports of the activities of this association indicate that it is likely to achieve its object. It may be said that, despite the difficulty of combating international jealousy, the atmosphere at least is favorable for a gradual approach to international co-operation, in which Great Britain, France, and Germany have an equal interest.

It is reported in the Ruhr today that in Paris the German and French industrialists who are discussing the future economic relations of the two countries have officially exchanged views on the possibility of creating an international steel consortium to include France, Great Britain, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Germany. In any case, the question has been unofficially discussed for some time. In a long speech to the Association of German Smelters at Düsseldorf, Herr Vögler—probably the leading German industrialist since the death of Hugo Stinnes—has touched in general terms on the same idea and declared that "the German industrialists have no hesitation in speaking frankly on the subject of international arrangements for heavy industry, and that he believed that his speech had made it clear why the German heavy industry considered such an arrangement desirable."

Lorraine Ores

The German industrialists have agreed amongst themselves that there shall be no direct negotiation between individual French and German concerns. Suspicion has been revived in some quarters that such negotiations are taking place, owing to the frequent visits to Paris of leading German industrialists, but it is probable that these visits are connected with the project for the formation of a national steel consortium in each country as a prelude to international co-operation. The

possibility that some concerns have broken the German "united front" and are negotiating separately has to be borne in mind, but it is unlikely. The Germans profess to have less interest in seeing an arrangement arrived at than the French, saying that Lorraine has no market but the Ruhr for her ores. It is true that the Ruhr has Swedish ore contracts for many years to come and has under discussion ore contracts with Canada. When Lorraine formed part of Germany her ores were given a preferential tariff; if the German railways continue this, it will pay the Ruhr to take considerable quantities of ore from Lorraine as well as from Sweden, Spain, and Canada. Lorraine complains that it is bad economics to refuse to lower rates at least to a point where it will pay to load reparation coal trucks—which must, in any case, go to France—with Lorraine ores as return freight.

Consideration of the claims of Lorraine would form part of any international steel arrangement. The problem of her steel production is even more difficult; at a moment when the Ruhr is restricting its own output of raw steel in consequence of overproduction, it is unlikely to want to admit much Lorraine steel.

Idea Still in Infancy

The whole idea of international co-operation is in its infancy and the future is certainly difficult. Should the steel industry in each country be centralized, the great problem will be to get each national industry to agree to the limitations to be imposed on it. The Ruhr, for instance, having reconstructed in Germany some factories which France acquired with Alsace-Lorraine, has urged that the Lorraine factories are largely surplus to world requirements. Lorraine naturally replies that the surplus factories are those which have been erected in the Ruhr to replace those acquired by France in Lorraine.

The feeling that, despite international rivalries, some form of co-operation must be arrived at which is common to the heavy industry of most European steel-producing countries may succeed in overcoming the many difficulties in the way of its realization.

CONDITIONS IN PERSIA

THE recent murder of Major Robert Imbrie, the American consul in Teheran, and the prompt action of our Department of State in exacting adequate reparation for this outrage, have recently focused attention on conditions in Persia, of which little has been heard in the last few years. According to a bulletin recently issued by the Persia Society of New York, Major Imbrie's murder was due to political intrigue rather than to religious fanaticism proper. The society's correspondent in Persia considers that since Riza Khan has been virtually dictator of Persia and the Shah, to all intents and purposes, an exile in Europe, there has been much underground opposition to his administration, chiefly from the Mollahs, the Shia Mohammedan clergy, who lead the most conservative and the most corrupt elements in the country. Of late there is reason to believe that they have been encouraged by a foreign power, with vital commercial and economic interests in Persia, to agitate for the return of the Shah. They were largely responsible for the failure of Riza Khan to bring about the proclamation of a republic in Teheran last March, and since then they have been continually fomenting local disturbances in all the large cities. The same influences are at work among the nomad and migratory tribes, who compose half the population of Persia. Religious fanaticism was the apparent motive for the murder of Major Imbrie, but the underlying motive was the desire to discredit Riza Khan, who is doing everything possible to encourage American, French, and other foreign interests in Persia and to prevent a return to the old days, when Great Britain and Russia were engaged in a perpetual duel for concessions and spheres of influence.

It was with this end in view that Riza Khan appealed to Washington to furnish him with the American advisers to the Ministry of Finance, whose work has already resulted in a businesslike budget and a substantial reduction in the annual deficit. As a result of more stable economic conditions, several American firms are negotiating for important concessions, and it is highly probable if Riza Khan remains in power, as seems likely, that the

first railroads in Persia will be built by American engineers. At present the quickest available route for export and import is via Enzeli and the Caspian—a route that could easily be closed at any time by Russia. High road tolls, lack of motor trucks, and the difficulties of the road make transportation of freight in any considerable quantity impracticable by the motor roads to Mesopotamia and the Gulf. It is planned to shorten the distance to the Gulf by building a modern motor highway from Teheran to Mohammerah, later to be converted into a steam road, and to construct a railway from Teheran which will connect with Erzeroum and Trebizond, on the Black Sea.

At present the exports of Persia are not of much consequence; but, in addition to its vast undeveloped mineral wealth, Persia possesses other potential resources which may be developed in a short time with a relatively small amount of capital. Among the industries which immediately suggest themselves are the breeding of sheep for the production of Persian lamb, the supply of which has been tremendously reduced since a large part of Azerbadjian has come under Soviet rule; the raw-silk industry; the tobacco industry in Resht and Shiraz; the production of wool, hides, dried fruits, walnuts, and almonds. It is true that there is a scarcity of manual labor in Turkey, and the Persian is naturally rather lazy and improvident, but there is a new spirit and a new energy noticeable among the younger generation, and the gradual extension of the school system will bear fruit within the next ten years. The external debts of Persia are relatively small, and if the internal budget is once balanced the country will have a sound basis for future economic development.

One of the most vital problems of the administration at the present time is the question of the various tribes that surround the Persian plateau, who are virtually independent, though nominally under the control of the central government. For many years most of them have failed to pay their proportion of the taxes, which fact has been partly responsible for the impoverished state of the imperial exchequer. Government officials have been excluded from the tribal territories, and

as all the tribes people are armed, they have resisted, often by force, any attempt to disarm them or to collect back taxes.

Last year the government troops put down a rising of the Kurdish tribes in northwestern Persia; this year they have been fighting the Lurs with varying success, and the Lurs were not by any means subdued at the end of June. There was treachery and bad faith on both sides and the morale of the government troops was not all that could be desired.

Colonel MacCormack, one of the American advisers, had just returned from a

visit to several of the tribes, and he had secured by peaceful means promises of a full settlement and initial payments of back taxes due the government from the Sheikh of Mohammerah, the Kashgai, and the Bakhtiari. The Persian army of about 40,000 is now better organized and equipped than it has been for many years, the soldiers are regularly paid, and it is intensely loyal to the Sardah Sepah. Consequently, unless unforeseen developments take place, the subjection of the tribes and the abolishment of their independent feudal systems is only a question of time.

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DATES

(November 16 - December 15)

November 16—Saad Pasha Zaghlul, the Egyptian Prime Minister, withdraws the resignation of cabinet, after King Fuad had refused to accept it.

November 17—Feng Yu-hsiang and Chang Tso-lin, victors in Northern China, propose a program of reform involving an extensive revision of the Chinese Constitution.

The second international conference on the opium traffic, convened by the League of Nations, opens in Geneva.

Dr. Seipel, the Austrian Chancellor, resigns, recommending as his successor Dr. Ramek, a member of the Christian Socialist Party.

November 18—The Polish Cabinet is reconstructed, M. Grabski remaining Prime Minister and Mr. Thugutt becoming Deputy Prime Minister without portfolio.

November 19—Sir Lee Stack, commander-in-chief—in other words, Sirdar—is shot and dangerously wounded as he drives through the streets of Cairo.

November 20—Sir Lee Stack, the Sirdar, dies in Cairo of wounds received the day before.

November 21—King Fuad sends a message to Lord Allenby expressing his grief at the death of Sir Lee Stack. Indignation at the crime is universal in the Sudan.

Ismet Pasha, the Turkish Prime Minister, resigns and is succeeded by Fethi Bey.

Three letters are sent by Great Britain to Russia, announcing that the British Government would not recommend the Russian treaties to Parliament, declaring that it is the government's conviction that the Zinovieff letter was genuine, and repeating Mr. MacDonald's decision that the British Government could not consent to receive the Soviet note demanding an apology.

November 22—Lord Allenby presents to Zaghlul Pasha the British ultimatum, demanding the immediate withdrawal from the Sudan of all Egyptian officers and all units of the Egyptian army, an apology for the crime, and a payment of a fine of £500,000.

The Fascist Government obtains a vote of confidence in its domestic policy of 337 to 17.

Feng Yu-hsiang announces his intention to retire from the com-

mand of his army, transferring the control of his forces to the Ministry of War, and that he will forthwith visit the United States and Great Britain.

November 23—The Egyptian Government rejects the British demand for the withdrawal of the Egyptian units from the Sudan. Lord Allenby delivers a second note, declaring, in view of the Egyptian refusal, instructions have been sent to the Sudan to withdraw the Egyptian units.

November 24—The Alexandria customs are seized by the British Government. Zaghlul tenders his resignation to the King, and a new cabinet is formed by Ziwar Pasha. The fine of £500,000, imposed for the Sirdar crime, is paid by the Egyptian Government. The Egyptian Parliament draws up a protest against the British action and asks for the intervention of the League of Nations.

Tuan Chi-jui, the Anfu leader, is installed as provisional "chief executive" of the Republic of China.

November 25—The Egyptian Parliament is prorogued for a month.

November 26—Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, holds a durbar at Rajkot, marking the formal transfer of the control of the native States of Kathiawar, Cutch, and Palanpur to the Government of India.

November 27—Mahmud Effendi Nekkra-shi, late Under-Secretary of State for the Interior, and two other prominent members of Zaghlul Pasha's party are arrested in Cairo on a charge of conspiring against high British officials.

Two platoons of the 11th Sudanese run amuck at Khartum, shooting one British officer and two Syrian members of the hospital staff.

November 28—The Soviet Government replies to the British notes addressed to Russia on November 21.

Sun Yat-sen, it is reported, is sounding public opinion in Japan in an effort to abolish extraterritoriality of foreigners in China.

November 29—The Egyptian Government accepts the rest of the British conditions presented in the note of November 23.

December 1—Mussolini addresses a circular to all Fascist organizations urging them to purify the party from all elements tending to discredit Fascism.

December 2—Chang Tso-lin flees suddenly from Peking to Tientsin, followed by his troops, precipitating a new Chinese crisis.

The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and Germany is signed in London.

December 3—Mr. Austen Chamberlain declares that the Egyptian question does not come within those provisions of the covenant which invite or suggest the interference of the League of Nations.

President Coolidge's message to Congress is read to a combined session of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

December 4—Sir Geoffrey Archer, upon the recommendation of the British Government to the King of Egypt, is appointed Governor General of the Sudan.

Lord Cecil is given the first annual award of \$25,000 by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, "for meritorious service of a public character tending to the establishment of peace through justice."

December 5—Mr. Austen Chamberlain and M. Herriot have a long interview in Paris, after which Mr. Chamberlain leaves for Rome.

December 6—The Zaghulists present a petition to King Fuad attacking the cabinet for breach of constitutional practice in not asking for a vote of confidence on taking office.

December 7—Polling takes place throughout Germany for the election of the Reichstag and in Prussia for the Prussian Diet.

Dr. David Starr Jordan, Chancellor Emeritus of Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, is announced the winner of the prize of \$25,000, for the best educational plan for the promotion of world peace.

December 8—A meeting of the Council of the League of Nations opens in Rome.

December 9—The American Government announces its acceptance of the invitation from the League of Nations to participate in the proposed international arms traffic conference to be held at Geneva in 1925.

December 10—Chancellor of the Exchequer Churchill declares in the House of Commons that "any payment made by our debtors in Europe to their creditors in the United States should be accompanied *pari passu* by proportionate payment to Britain."

December 11—Chancellor Marx tells President Ebert of Germany that he and his cabinet have decided to resign.

December 12—The Council of the League of Nations adopts a resolution regarding the formation of a committee to undertake the codification of international law.

December 13—The Council of the League of Nations, meeting in Rome, adjourns.

December 15—Mr. Austen Chamberlain, just returned from a visit to Paris and to Rome, declares before the House of Commons that Great Britain "will regard as an unfriendly act any attempt at interference in the affairs of Egypt by another power."

SHOULD THERE BE A THIRD HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCE?*

By Mr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT

THE first Peace Conference of the nations was held in The Hague in 1899; the Second was held in the same city in 1907. The advisability of a Third Conference, in succession to the first two of the series, depends upon the value of the international conference as tested by the fruits of the first and second. The feasibility of such a conference at the present time must depend upon a fair estimate of the services which a Third Conference, meeting at The Hague or elsewhere, may reasonably be expected to render to the world at large, for all nations, without reference to the events of the past, should be represented, if the conference is to be international in the catholic sense of the word.

Aims and Purposes of The Hague Conference of 1899

There have indeed been many peace conferences, but they have usually been at the end of wars; there had been none properly so called in Europe until that of 1899, at The Hague. It was called in time of peace to keep the peace and without anticipation of any particular war. Its author was Nicholas II, then the Czar of all the Russias.

Into the reasons of the peace conferences, personal or otherwise, we may not enter. For our purpose they are stated

* Address delivered before the Annual Convocation of the University of the State of New York, at Albany, New York, October 16, 1924.

clearly and in detail in the circular note of August 12, 1895, which Count Mouravieff, then the Czar's Minister of Foreign Affairs, handed to the representatives of the Powers accredited to Russia, at the weekly diplomatic reception in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg, then the capital of that mighty empire. The recipients of the note consulted their governments, which agreed to meet in conference. A second note, of December 30, 1898, stated this agreement and outlined the topics, which, from an exchange of views, might form the program of the impending conference. In all, twenty-six countries were represented. Brazil had a minister at the Russian capital. It was invited, but did not attend. Mexico and the United States were the only other American republics with ministers at St. Petersburg. They were invited and attended. Thus it happened that only these two American republics took part in the conference, although all the European countries and Persia, Siam, China, and Japan of Asia were invited and were present.

The conference was an experiment, and its success or failure was to determine whether further and larger gatherings would be advisable and feasible.

The general purpose was the maintenance of peace; the special purpose was "a possible reduction of the excessive armaments," which then weighed heavily upon the world. It was the Czar's hope that armaments, land and naval, might be reduced, and that "the progressive development of existing armaments" would be checked. The arguments for the proposed reduction and progressive limitation were fully stated and in classic terms, and the first circular note of Count Mouravieff ends in language which will not lose its point until force is replaced by justice, as it must some day be, if the ultimate fruits of our civilization are to be garnered and civilization itself be saved from the iron hand which crushes everything which it grasps, without distinction, without pity, and without compensating results:

In checking these increasing armaments and in seeking the means of averting the calamities which threaten the entire world lies the supreme duty today resting upon all States.

Imbued with this idea, His Majesty has been pleased to command me to propose to all the governments which have accredited representatives at the imperial court the holding of a conference to consider this grave problem.

This conference would be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century about to open. It would converge into a single powerful force the efforts of all the States which sincerely wish the great conception of universal peace to triumph over the elements of disturbance and discord. It would at the same time cement their agreement by a solemn avowal of the principles of equity and law, upon which repose the security of States and the welfare of peoples.

The second circular kept to the fore the reduction of armament and its limitation in the future. It broadened the scope of the conference, as some of the larger Powers, while willing to discuss, were as unwilling to reduce at the time as to hold out hope of limitation in the future, by including a specific article on peaceable settlement of disputes to lessen the resort to arms, which could neither be renounced nor limited.

The final program consisted of eight articles, providing for:

1. An understanding stipulating the non-augmentation, for a term to be agreed upon, of the present effective armed land and sea forces, as well as the war budgets pertaining to them; . . .
2. Interdiction of the employment in armies and fleets of new firearms of every description and of new explosives; . . .
3. Limitation of the use in field fighting of explosives of a formidable power, . . . and prohibition of the discharge of any kind of projectile or explosive from balloons or by similar means.
4. Prohibition of the use in naval battles of submarine or diving torpedo boats, or of other engines of destruction of the same nature; . . .

These first four items, it will be observed, contemplate a limitation of increase for a given time, a restriction of the present instruments of destruction, and a prohibition of certain future agencies. Hopes of a reduction had fallen by the wayside because of the opposition of the greatest of military nations, but if

only agreement had then been possible upon the restricted proposal, how different might have been the history of the world!

5 and 6. Extension of the Red Cross Convention to naval warfare and the immunity of naval craft employed in saving the shipwrecked during and after battle.

These two items are of a humanitarian nature, mitigating the hardships of war, but not preventing it. Agreements to that effect were adopted.

The 7th article dealt with the conduct of armies in the field, proposing that the Declaration of Brussels on the laws and customs of war be revised. This declaration, being the one of 1874, was based upon the *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field*, drafted by Francis Lieber, the distinguished American publicist of German origin, and proclaimed by President Lincoln in 1863. It was such a complete code that only one case is said to have arisen in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 which was not foreseen and covered by its provisions. The Declaration of Brussels had not been ratified, but its provisions, enlarged by many others, were accepted by the First Conference and ratified by every one of the twenty-six nations taking part in its proceedings.

As the Red Cross Convention of 1864, concerning land warfare, and the supplementary convention of 1868, extending its principles to naval warfare, and the Declaration of Brussels justified three separate conferences, it is evident that the Conference of 1899 would have justified itself had it only succeeded in agreeing to conventions covering articles 5, 6, and 7 of the proposed program. It would not have been a peace conference; its labors would not have appealed to the imagination of the world, and it would not have marked a turning point in profane history. That it fully justified itself is due to its crowning and unexpected success in dealing with the matters contained in the eighth article, providing for "acceptance, in principle, of the use of good offices, mediation, and voluntary arbitration in cases where they are available, with the purpose of preventing armed conflicts between nations; understanding in relation

to their mode of application and establishment of a uniform practice in employing them."

The Greatest of International Treaties

So much for the program of the First Conference. The fruits of its peaceful labors are garnered in the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, which is, I do not hesitate to say, the greatest single treaty or convention in the history of international relations which the uninspired but effective good will of mankind had hitherto devised. In its preamble the conference recognized the civilized peoples as forming a society of nations; stated their desire of extending the empire of law and of strengthening the appreciation of international justice; commended a permanent court of arbitration "accessible to all, in the midst of independent Powers," and solemnly confessed their faith in "the principles of equity and right, on which are based the security of States and the welfare of peoples." In the convention itself good offices and mediation are recommended as methods of peaceable settlement; resort to them advocated and agreed to, with the understanding that either before or during war the resort is to be regarded as a friendly act; provision is made for the creation of commissions of inquiry to find the facts in dispute and report the facts as found, leaving the Powers in dispute free in the use which they might care to make of the report. Arbitration is defined as the settlement of disputes which diplomacy has failed to adjust, by judges of the parties' choice, upon the basis of respect of law; a method of creating a temporary tribunal was devised from a general panel of judges consisting of four appointed by each contracting Power, and provided both the tribunal, the parties in dispute, and the nations at large with a code of procedure to be used in the arbitration of their differences.

Since the conference each of the methods of peaceable settlement has been tried and all have been found to be successful. The will to peaceable settlement is the way to peaceful settlement; where the will is present the way is found; where the will is absent war presents itself.

The Hague Conference of 1907

It is clear, it would seem, without argument, that the First Peace Conference, meeting at The Hague in 1899, was a success; it deserved, and it had, a successor. The Second met in the summer of 1907, on June 15. It revised the three conventions of its predecessor in the light of experience, and it adjourned on October 18 of the same year with a series of conventions to its credit, dealing with the following subjects: the limitation of the employment of force for the recovery of contract debts; the necessity of a declaration of war on the opening of hostilities; the laws and customs of war on land; the rights and duties of neutral powers and persons in case of war on land; the status of enemy merchant ships at the outbreak of hostilities; the conversion of merchant ships into war ships; the laying of automatic submarine contact mines; the bombardment by naval forces in time of war; the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention; restrictions with regard to the exercise of the right of capture in naval war; the creation of an international prize court; the rights and duties of neutral Powers in naval war.

In addition to these formal agreements, there was an important draft convention for the creation of a Court of Arbitral Justice, which only lacked a method of appointing the judges to be a permanent court of international justice. By an agreement upon their appointment in 1920, the draft convention became, with sundry changes and additions, the present Permanent Court of International Justice of The Hague.

The codification of "the principles of equity and right, on which are based the security of States and the welfare of peoples," had made great progress in the fifty years following the first conscious attempt in the Declaration of Paris of 1856, consisting of but four articles; the trail was blazed by the two peace conferences and the future was full of promise to those who believed that progress is a series of infinite steps forward to an ever-retreating horizon, and that only through the acceptance of principles of justice expressed in rules of law peace between nations is possible and desirable.

The limitation of armament did not figure in the official program of the conference drawn up by Russia after advising with its great friends. The United States was not among those consulted. Germany was, and upon the refusal of that Power to attend the conference if the question of limitation were bruited or discussed, it was excluded. Great Britain, Italy, and the United States demurred, and Mr. Root, then Secretary of State, expressly reserved the right to bring up the subject. It was brought up by Great Britain at a plenary session, courteously but firmly supported by the United States and in a less degree by France. However, nothing further was done, as in those days the sword of the Hohenzollerns lay heavy athwart the scales of justice.

The General Desire for a Third Hague Conference

We do not need to speculate whether the success of the Second foreshadowed a further conference, as the forty-four nations present and signing the agreements of the Conference of 1907 provided in express terms for a Third Conference. The proposal was that of the delegation of the United States, and the text agreed to by Russia was laid before the conference by its president and unanimously adopted. It is so short and to the point that a summary could only blunt and mar it, and so material to the present purpose that it should in any event be quoted in its entirety:

Finally, the conference recommends to the Powers the assembly of a Third Peace Conference, which might be held within a period corresponding to that which has elapsed since the preceding conference, at a date to be fixed by common agreement between the Powers, and it calls their attention to the necessity of preparing the program of this Third Conference a sufficient time in advance to ensure its deliberations being conducted with the necessary authority and expedition.

In order to attain this object, the conference considers that it would be very desirable that, some two years before the probable date of the meeting, a preparatory committee should be charged by the governments with the task of collecting the various proposals to be submitted to the conference, of ascertaining what subjects are ripe for embodi-

ment in an international regulation, and of preparing a program which the governments should decide upon in sufficient time to enable it to be carefully examined by the countries interested. This committee should further be intrusted with the task of proposing a system of organization and procedure for the conference itself.

The meaning of this document is not open to doubt—a Third Conference was to meet in or about 1914; the governments were to take charge of the conference and its preparation, instead of Russia, in the future; a form of organization and procedure for the conference was to be devised as for a permanent institution, and a committee of the Powers, meeting some two years in advance of the conference, was to determine its program.

As the expiration of the interval of seven years approached, nation after nation appointed its national committee to draft its program and to prepare instructions to its delegates. A Third Conference was to be held and preparations were in an advanced stage when the war came in 1914 and with it the end of the conference.

From this rapid summary of the origin, the aims, and the achievements of the two conferences, it is evident that a third would have been called, and that the system of conferences would have become an international institution, freed from the domination of any one Power, with an organization and procedure of its own, with individual conferences meeting at regular intervals, with programs prepared in advance by an international body appointed by and having the confidence of the nations and communicated in ample time for them to prepare the various projects which they might care to lay before the conference on any or all of the items included in its official program.

The War

The war came. After it the nations were organized into a league, with its seat at Geneva. The Council of this body met for the first time at Paris, January 16, 1920; the Assembly in Geneva, on November 15 of that year. The Government of the United States is not a party to the League.

Advisory Committee of Jurists Recommends Calling a Third Conference

Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations directed the Council to prepare and submit to the League a plan for a Permanent Court of International Justice. It decided not to undertake the task itself, but to invite a number of representative jurists to devise the plan, and eventually one distinguished jurist was chosen from each of the five "big" and from five of the "little" Powers. Mr. Elihu Root was selected from the United States. The jurists met at the Peace Palace of The Hague on June 16, 1920, and adjourned on July 24. The plan of the court which they drafted was, with some omissions, some additions, and some modifications, adopted by the Council and the League in December of that year, and the protocol establishing the court has been signed and ratified by some thirty-six members of the League. The method of selecting the judges by the separate and concurrent vote of the Council and Assembly was proposed by Mr. Root to the Advisory Committee of Jurists of The Hague, as that body was called, and approved without modification by the Council, the Assembly, and the members of the League.

Mr. Root had always been, and still is, an ardent advocate of the peace conferences of The Hague, and he took advantage of the meeting of the Advisory Committee to suggest the successive meeting of a conference and a succession of conferences in continuation of those at The Hague, in order that the nations in conference should agree upon the law to be interpreted and applied by the Permanent Court, to the disputes between and among the nations which should come before it by general agreement of the nations, or by special agreement of the parties in conflict. Mr. Root thought that the conferences, meeting at regular periods, would put into the form of treaties and conventions, which by ratification of the nations would become international as well as national statutes, the new rules of law, based upon the old and universally recognized principle of justice, for the decision of disputes hitherto lying beyond the domain of law. The conferences were to be for the advancement of international law, and

they were to be so called. Mr. Root's resolution was adopted without a dissenting voice, and as adopted read:

The Advisory Committee of Jurists, assembled at The Hague to draft a plan for a Permanent Court of International Justice, convinced that the security of States and the well-being of peoples urgently require the extension of the empire of law and the development of all international agencies for the administration of justice, recommends:

I. That a new conference of the nations, in continuation of the first two conferences at The Hague, be held as soon as practicable for the following purposes:

1. To restate the established rules of international law, especially, and, in the first instance, in the fields affected by the events of the recent war.

2. To formulate and agree upon the amendments and additions, if any, to the rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful by the events of the war and the changes in the conditions of international life and intercourse which have followed the war.

3. To endeavor to reconcile divergent views and secure general agreement upon the rules which have been in dispute heretofore.

4. To consider the subjects not now adequately regulated by international law, but as to which the interests of international justice require that rules of law shall be declared and accepted.

II. That the Institute of International Law, the American Institute of International Law, the *Union Juridique Internationale*, the International Law Association, and the Iberian Institute of Comparative Law be invited to prepare, with such conference or collaboration *inter esse* as they may deem useful, projects for the work of the conference, to be submitted beforehand to the several governments and laid before the conference for its consideration and such action as it may find suitable.

III. That the conference be named Conference for the Advancement of International Law.

IV. That this conference be followed by further successive conferences at stated intervals to continue the work left unfinished.

Upon the text of the resolution certain observations are apposite. The first is that this representative body of jurists,

drawn from, if not representing, ten different countries, declared itself unanimously in favor of periodic conferences in succession to those of The Hague, eight years after the outbreak of the World War and after the creation of the League of Nations; and that all of the ten jurists were in favor of the League, although Mr. Root believed that his country should not enter it without certain reservations. The proposal of the conferences was, therefore, made by friends, not opponents of the League, and in behalf of the Permanent Court of International Justice, then and now its agent. Mr. Root's resolution was therefore laid before the Council, which adopted it in part. It was thereafter laid before the Assembly, which rejected it *in toto*, substituting for it, on December 18, 1920, the following recommendation:

The Assembly of the League of Nations invites the Council to address to the most authoritative of the institutions which are devoted to the study of international law a request to consider what would be the best methods of co-operative work to adopt for a more definite and more complete definition of the rules of international law which are to be applied to the mutual relations between States.

Upon that recommendation the following colloquy took place:

Lord Robert Cecil (South Africa) said he hoped that the resolution would not be adopted. He did not think that a stage had yet been reached in international relations at which it was desirable to attempt the codification of international law.

The President said that it was not proposed to codify international law under this recommendation, but only to discover the best means of doing so.

Lord Robert Cecil said that either the recommendation was submitted with serious intention of proceeding to the codification of international law or it was a pious hope of no real value or importance. He was opposed to the recommendation because if it meant something it was bad and if it meant nothing it was worse.

Here the matter rests, and the Third Conference is the child of any country which may wish to claim it.

The Plan to Enlist Expert Aid for Codification

It is to be further observed that certain learned societies mentioned in the text of Mr. Root's resolution were to be asked to submit their suggestions and, indeed, drafts of projects and conventions. Mr. Root's view was that a conference should not meet without concrete projects before it and ready for consideration; that drafts of projects could best be prepared by scientific bodies; that commissions of the Powers are political bodies, acting under instructions; that their projects are therefore political and represent the views of their members, and that the projects are, therefore, political and, in addition, reflect the views of the nations appointing the members. Mr. Root's idea was to have drafts of a non-political and scientific nature, such as the resolutions of the Institute of International Law, without whose labors, extending over some thirty years, the achievements of the peace conferences would have been impossible. The advantage of scientific preparation seems also to be the view of the present enlightened Secretary of State, the Honorable Charles Evans Hughes, whose illuminating address we await with an equal degree of pride and pleasure.*

Codification of International Law for the Western Hemisphere

The Fifth Pan American Conference, in its session at Santiago, the capital of Chile, adopted a resolution on April 26, 1923, proposing the codification of international law for the twenty-one American republics by a commission of two jurists from each of them, to meet in 1925, at Rio de Janeiro. Upon the motion of Secretary Hughes, as chairman of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, adopted January 2, 1924, the American Institute of International Law was requested to meet during the course of the present year to consider the question of codification, and the results of its labors on that question are to be submitted to the Commission of Jurists for the consideration of its members. The American Institute accepted the invitation, as honorable as it is onerous, and it is to meet in

special session on the 20th day of December of the present year, at Lima, in connection with and under the auspices of the Third Scientific Congress of the American Republics, to be held at the same time in the capital of Peru.

The Hague and Geneva

It is finally to be observed that in the text of Mr. Root's resolution the city is not named in which the conference is to be held. This was purposely omitted by Mr. Root, presumably because he did not wish to make the conference depend on what, after all, is an incident, for the delegates can assemble in any city which the nations may care to choose. Sufficient in itself, there is, however, a better reason for the omission. There is a persistent feeling in many quarters that the agencies of the nations should not be concentrated in any one country, and that, indeed, care should be taken to separate them. There is a homely adage against trusting all your eggs to one basket, and although Andrew Carnegie advocated Mark Twain's advice to put your eggs in a basket and then to watch it, the old adage holds its own against its would-be supplanter.

The Hague has become and is likely to remain the judicial center of the nations, and there is apparently a disposition against having political bodies meet in that city, as they were accustomed to do before the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice. This would seem to exclude The Hague. There is also a feeling that Geneva, with its international unions, has become an administrative center of the nations, and that bodies of an exclusively political nature, such as international conferences, acting without the restrictions of a constitution, covenant, or other written charter, should meet elsewhere. But the matter is more than one of mere feeling or of local preference. The judicial, executive, and legislative branches of every modern nation are separate and distinct. If the principle of separation appeals to the community of nations as it does to each of its members, the judiciary of the nations would be located in The Hague; the administrative bodies of the nations—there is no executive branch of the nations as yet—brought or kept together at Geneva, and the legis-

* Secretary Hughes addressed the university the next day.

lative branch, highly political in origin and nature, would meet elsewhere.

The international conference is a legislature *ad referendum*. It does not enact statutes; it adopts recommendations, which become national laws for the nations ratifying them, and international statutes between and among the ratifying Powers.

Desirability of Brussels as a Meeting Place for Such a Conference

Where should the conference meet? If not at The Hague or at Geneva, why not at Brussels, between the two? Belgium has titles which cannot be gainsaid or overlooked. For many years past it has been a center, if not sole center, of the development of international law. It staked its existence as an independent nation on the fatal third day of August, 1914, when it refused, as contrary to neutrality, the demand of the most powerful nation of our day—perhaps of all time—to rush its troops across Belgian territory in order to strike at the heart of France and crush that devoted country before it could concentrate its widely separated armies and repel the blow. This magnificent refusal, followed by armed resistance on its part, is unique in the annals of history. It entailed a war of more than four years, an occupation by an arrogant and brutal enemy of all but a strip of Belgium's territory; the transfer of its capital to a foreign country, and justifies the confidence of the nations that an international conference in Brussels would in very truth be held on neutral soil.

There are, however, other reasons which suggest the choice of Brussels. The drawing apart of Great Britain and France, which I regard as the greatest calamity in these post-bellum days, makes it reasonably safe to predict that Great Britain would not care to meet in Paris or in any country supposed to be subject to French influence; and by the same token it cannot be supposed that France would be willing to meet in London or in territory thought to be subject to British influence. Belgium defied the might of Imperial Germany in 1914; it would resist France, it would resist Great Britain, if its independence were threatened by either or both. For the sacred cause of western liberty and of

western civilization, hundreds and thousands of their sons fell upon the plains of Belgium, fit resting place for freemen, and there is every reason to believe that France and Great Britain, therefore, would meet and confer in that consecrated country. Is it too much to hope, in the presence of such a great and overpowering sorrow, that both France and Great Britain would forget the petty differences of the day, which divide them, and think rather of the things which they have in common; of the duty which great nations have to live greatly and to sacrifice themselves in peace as well as in war for that justice which, we are assured, "exalteth a nation."

A Precedent for the President of the United States

Who should call the conference? Perhaps it would be better to divide the question and ask who should suggest the conference and who should issue the invitations. There is such a thing as international etiquette and good form. There are also precedents in point. When the Czar Nicholas proposed the First Peace Conference, he did not indicate the city in which it should hold its sessions; that was determined later; and when The Hague was suggested by Russia, Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands promptly offered the hospitality of The Hague and invited the governments to send their delegates to that historic city. The process is stated in the opening lines of the final act of the conference itself:

The International Peace Conference, convoked in the best interests of humanity by His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, assembled, on the invitation of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands, in the Royal House in the Wood, at The Hague, on the 18th May, 1899.

The Second Conference met under circumstances not unlike those of the present. Five years had passed without steps toward the convocation of a new conference, although it was understood that the first would be followed by a second in rapid succession. The century opened with nothing done; year followed year with nothing done. Owing to its concern in the Far East and the impending conflict with Japan, Russia seemed to be in-

different to the conference and to the victories of peace. The Interparliamentary Union, meeting at the World Fair in St. Louis to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the peaceful acquisition of Louisiana, resolved to ask President Roosevelt to take the initiative. No sooner said than done. Within the course of the year the Powers were sounded by that advocate of the strenuous life, and before the end of the year they agreed to meet a second time in conference at The Hague, with its "undying memories" as the "cradle of the beneficent work which had its beginning in 1899."

Through President Roosevelt's good offices, the war in the East was brought to an end; peace between the belligerents was signed at Portsmouth in 1905. In the spring of the following year Baron Rosen, then the Russian Ambassador, called upon the President to inform him that Russia was desirous of calling a second conference, and expressed the hope that the United States would be represented in that assembly. The President renounced the initiative as cheerfully as he had taken it, and the conference met at The Hague in 1907. The Queen of the Netherlands offered again the hospitality of the Royal City, with its "undying memories," and invitations went out to the nations. Again the opening lines of the final act of the conference state the process in a single sentence:

The Second International Peace Conference, proposed in the first instance by the President of the United States of America, having been convoked, on the invitation of His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, by Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands, assembled on the 15th June, 1907, at The Hague, in the Hall of the Knights, for the purpose of giving a fresh development to the humanitarian principles which served as a basis for the work of the First Conference of 1899.

What one President of the United States has done, another may do, and it may be said that the mention of President Roosevelt's invitation was for the express purpose of enabling a future President to take the initiative whenever it should seem appropriate and advisable that he should do so.

The Drafting Committee of the Conference, in which I had the honor to represent the United States, had taken up the final act and it was proposed to adopt the language of the preamble of 1899. I objected to this on the ground that the Second Conference was due to the American President and not to the Czar of the Russias. The guardians of the old order of things resented the image-breaking of the New World. But the name of President Roosevelt had been pronounced, and it was he, as the members of the committee knew, who had suggested the conference. The motion was therefore made that the opening lines should either state the facts as they were, or that all reference to the Czar of Russia and the Queen of the Netherlands should be omitted. The old hands were unwilling, without further ado, to have the final act begin with the bald statement that the conference opened on the 15th of June. They insisted on the time-honored phrases of diplomacy, with the result that historical accuracy and diplomatic courtesy were happily wedded. The Russians were especially "put out" at this turn of affairs, and the president of the conference, M. de Nelidow, Ambassador of Russia to Paris, meeting me at a reception, after the day's work, proposed by way of a compromise that a telegram of appreciation and congratulation be sent to President Roosevelt for his services in bringing about the conference. I replied that this would indeed be a very gracious act on the part of the conference, and that such action would admirably supplement the suggestion which I had already made in the Drafting Committee. Therefore it happened that the final act stated in its opening lines the initiative of the President of the United States, and that in its closing session the conference voiced its appreciation of his initiative in the following telegram:

Having completed their labors, the delegates of the Second Peace Conference gratefully remember the initial proposal for its call, which was made by the President of the United States, and present to him their respectful compliments.

The present President of the United States or his successor has thus the claim that comes from precedent to propose the

Third International Peace Conference. Should he avail himself of the privilege, he could not, in my opinion, do better than to suggest to the King of the Belgians, who appeals as no other living man or sovereign to the imagination of the world, to call the nations in conference at Brussels, the capital of that country which only a decade ago offered up its young life that international law should not perish and that faith between nations should not be absent, though the heavens fall.

Availability of Existing Machinery

Here I might stop, but I would like to make a further observation which is, I am sure, not wholly irrelevant to the present occasion. We know that everybody's business is nobody's concern, to use a phrase which I have ventured to apply more than once to international conferences and their labors. If the Second Peace Conference had fixed a date—the proposal of the American delegation was to that effect—and requested Russia to take the initiative two years before its meeting, the Second Conference would not have had to wait so long for a successor. When an international conference of this kind adjourns, there is, apparently, no power or committee of powers charged with the definite duty of urging the ratification of its agreements and of looking after the interests of the conference and its treaties and conventions during the interval between the adjournment of the old and the meeting of the new assembly. I ventured to propose, some years ago,

The appointment of a committee, to meet at regular intervals between the conferences, charged with the duty of procuring the ratification of the conventions and declarations and of calling attention to the conventions and declarations in order to insure their observance.

It is difficult to select a committee from the Powers; the big ones must be on and the little ones should not be left off. I thought in 1917, and I still think in 1924, that the committee should be the diplomatic corps of the city in which the conference meets. I have often wondered how it is that we apparently prefer to create new machinery instead of using existing agencies. If all the nations parties

to the Pacific Settlement Convention of the First Conference of 1899, as revised at the second, and the new States born of the war, would accredit diplomatic agents to Brussels, or, when they are not so represented, would direct their ministers at Paris or London to spend a few days—perhaps the last week of the month—at Brussels, the world would, almost without knowing it, find itself in conference.

If, in addition, the diplomatic corps of Brussels should choose ten or eleven of its members as a standing committee, this body could meet every week to consider informally all questions of a general international interest which might arise, or formally any question or difference which a government might wish to have discussed, and the nations would thus, through the committee, be in conference every week or every day of the week if it seemed desirable. In the standing committee the big Powers could be represented, and doubtless they would be permanently represented, if, in the first place, the committee were only authorized to make recommendations to the members of the diplomatic corps, either at regular or special sessions; if, in the second place, these recommendations were thereupon transmitted by the members of the corps to their respective governments, in original or amended form, with such comments as they cared to make, and if, in the third place, further action by the corps or committee should depend solely thereafter upon instructions from their various governments. In this simple way the nations would or could be in continuous conference without the creation of new machinery and without the expenditure of a pound, a shilling or a penny, to use the language of our industrial and utilitarian civilization.

It will not escape notice that the judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice could be elected by the concurrent and separate action of this diplomatic corps and standing committee, and that the two bodies could perform any and every service demanded of them which diplomacy may perform; that our country could co-operate (I say it with diffidence and subject to correction) without the formal advice and consent of the Senate, to the extent to which the present diplo-

matic officers of the United States should be instructed to do so by the Secretary of State.

I wonder what would happen if Secretary Hughes should instruct the American Ambassador to wait upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Brussels and request him to invite the members of the diplomatic corps to meet in the Foreign Office on such and such a date, in order that the American Ambassador might make some such suggestions or series of suggestions to the diplomatic corps assembled under the presidency of the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

A Precedent

For this way of doing things I invoke the authority of George Bancroft, historian and man of affairs. As Secretary of the Navy in President Polk's administration, he was urged by his advisers in the Department to ask Congress for an appropriation to establish an academy for the navy, as West Point had been established for the army. Congress had persistently refused the recommendations of his predecessors to this effect, and he hesitated to pursue a course marked with failure. He thought it over and rejected the proposal of his professional advisers. Instead, he asked his friend, the Secretary of War, then William L. Marcy, of New York, to let him have a fort and army post on the Atlantic seaboard. Fort Severn, at Annapolis, was suggested, and by executive order it was turned over to the navy. Secretary Bancroft then directed the midshipmen and their instructors aboard American frigates to repair on a certain day to Fort Severn, in Annapolis, on the Chesapeake Bay, and the Naval Academy was founded. It is still in existence, and existing machinery was found to be sufficient. Intelligence had taken the helm.

The Proposal

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, for the reasons which I have laid before you this

evening, at perhaps too great a length, I propose the use of tried agencies and of existing institutions, in order to advance the cause of international law and to make its rules meet the world's needs when and as they arise. I advocate the proposal of a Third Peace Conference by the President of the United States, to meet in Brussels, in which all nations, including, of course, Germany and ultimately Russia, shall participate, upon the invitation of His Majesty the King of the Belgians, in the hope that its labors will extend the domain of law and its application to nations, the peace of the world depending, as I veritably believe, upon the substitution of a fixed rule of law for the uncertain makeshifts of political expediency.

I foresee in the meeting of such a conference incidental and unsuspected benefits which would of themselves justify the call. But these are not things of a day. "We must wait," as the Czar said of his conference, and the remark is true of all permanent progress, "longer when planting an oak than when planting a flower."

In the sixteenth century little Holland challenged the well-nigh irresistible power of Philip II, King of Spain, for its right to think as its conscience dictated, and its victory gave to the world its freedom of thought.

Some three centuries earlier a few bold men of Switzerland challenged the Holy Roman Empire for their right to govern themselves as they thought fit, and their victory gave to the world democracy.

In our own day and under our very eyes, little Belgium challenged the greatest military power of the ages, and its victory preserved to the world international law and a faith in the given word.

The world will be safe with its judicial institutions in The Hague, its administrative agencies in Geneva, and its political conferences in Brussels.



OUTLAWRY OF WAR*

By SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH

Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate

I HAVE been asked to discuss before you this evening the "Outlawry of War." If instead of using the term "Outlawry of War," I should say "The substitution of law and judicial tribunals for politics and force in international affairs," it would mean the same thing and perhaps appeal to you as more practical and less ideal.

The scheme to outlaw war involves three leading propositions: First, the creation of a body of international law—the amplification and codification of international law. It involves the going as far as it is humanly possible at this time in reducing international relations to established rules of conduct—to bring international affairs under the reign of law. Secondly, the establishment of an independent judicial tribunal, with jurisdiction and power to decide and determine all controversies involving a construction of international law or treaties. The advocates of the plan do not insist upon the rejection of the present tribunal; they do urge, however, that it be divorced from all connection with international political institutions; that it shall function under a body of laws and be governed in its power and jurisdiction by law; that its jurisdiction shall attach by reason of the nature of the controversy and by authority of law and not by reason of the consent of the foreign offices of the different governments. Thirdly, the said body of international law shall declare war a crime and no longer recognize, in any way or at any time, war as a legitimate institution for the settlement of international disputes. In other words, if war comes, it must be without the shield or sanction of law, but in violation of it, as piracy, or slavery, or peonage, or murder. These are the general principles, the details and the feasibility of which I shall discuss in a few moments.

Lord Cecil, lately honored for his services in the cause of peace, has been quoted as saying: "We have not reached the state in international relations at which it

is desirable to attempt the codification of international law," which is in effect to say we cannot now consent to be governed by international law. Why it is not desirable we are not informed. Not desirable to be governed by law and the courts rather than secret diplomacy, intrigue, overreaching, imperialism, politics, and force? It would seem at least to be desirable. We have waited three thousand years. If the time has not come for Europe to acknowledge the reign of law and to be governed by it in international affairs, then it is positively certain that the time has not come for the people of this country to be governed by European politics.

We will hesitate to enter a game the rules of which are not known, but exist, if they exist at all, in the caprice and the ambitions of a few men. Americans believe in a government of law and not of men, and that is infinitely more important in international affairs, where peace and war are involved, than in domestic affairs. We believe that in international affairs, as in domestic affairs, order and peace can exist only and alone under law, construed and applied through an independent and impartial judicial tribunal. It may be that political bodies, responsible in no sense to and uncontrolled by the people, with jurisdiction as broad as human discretion and as irresponsible as human intrigue, may be safe for other people, but not for those who have built their institutions and founded their civilization upon a government of law.

This does not mean that we are not deeply interested in Europe, both from a humanitarian and material standpoint. It does not mean we shall not co-operate when co-operation is possible. But many of us believe that co-operation in the cause of peace and the coming together between Europe and the Western Continent in their respective efforts to work out plans of peace must be through a body of

* An address delivered in Philadelphia December 17, 1924.

international law construed by an uncontrolled judicial body—a judicial body free alike from American and European politics.

It does not seem possible to me to conform the politics of these different continents to a common political scheme for peace; but it would seem that there are certain fundamental principles of right and justice and peace which could be embodied in international law supported by the public opinion of the world, and this body of international law would gather up and avail itself of the respective efforts for peace. There is only one possible connection which can be established, and that connection is law. I venture to believe that the American people will never consent to become a part of any scheme or plan for peace which, at any time or under any circumstances, recognizes war as a legitimate and rightful method of settling disputes or which plan or scheme is controlled through or by international politics. If war is ever to be resorted to, the American people will reserve the absolute freedom, unhampered and uncontracted, to determine when and where and under what circumstances such action shall be taken.

In discussing peace plans, I do not wish to be understood as necessarily criticizing or condemning plans which deal with European conditions alone. If the League of Nations, or the protocol, or any other plan, considered as European enterprises, can be made to serve the cause of justice and peace in Europe, in common with all lovers of peace, I would rejoice. If the League fits her conditions and helps in the solution of her awful problems, no one could be other than profoundly pleased.

It was said long ago, "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation." I have no doubt that that is still true, even more emphatically true than at the time it was uttered. We can have no more justification, therefore, for denouncing European peace institutions or seeking to embarrass their development than we could have in denouncing the forms of government of her respective countries. We have been too often disposed of late to set ourselves up as a judge of other people's institutions. To speak plainly, it is not only presumptuous, but it is always fruitful of unhappy

results. It is not for us to say what form of government other people shall have, nor what plans and schemes for peace Europe may have. It is only when we are asked to join or become a part of them that we are not only justified, but commanded by every sense of patriotic duty to examine with candor and courage these proposals.

The protocol put forth at Geneva indicates unmistakably that Europe now proposes to adjust her affairs and to pursue her peace plans according to European conditions and in harmony with European standards—a conclusion which may be in the interest of good understanding and peace. An attempt to have Europe conform to our standards, based upon our conditions, or to have America accept European standards, based upon European conditions, can only result in disappointment and failure.

Professor Murray, the distinguished English advocate of the League and the protocol, speaking of the protocol, candidly and wisely declared: "No one asks, or expects, America to sign the protocol. . . . If she will keep the peace in her own regions of the globe and not prevent the European nations from keeping the peace in theirs, she will be doing a great deal."

Professor Shotwell, a most able advocate of peace and also a supporter of the League, has declared that he has not the slightest intention of advocating the adoption of the protocol by America. Undoubtedly, not only these statements but the protocol itself disclose that Europe now recognizes that the peace plans which may serve her cause would be inadmissible in America.

Tradition, customs, institutions, habits, race, and all the countless kindred things which that word instantly conjures up cannot be dispelled overnight through the necromancy of words. They have to be reckoned with. You cannot get rid of the Atlantic Ocean by covenants and you cannot standardize life in Bulgaria and Pennsylvania by protocols. There is nothing so fatal to the success of any cause or any effort as to refuse to recognize facts as facts and shape your course accordingly. Professor Shotwell, Professor Murray, and eminent statesmen like Benes, who framed the protocol, recognize facts, and the pro-

toocol is the announcement, therefore, of a new policy. Europe proposes to work out the problem of peace under the unbending facts which distinguish the Eastern from the Western Continent. We shall certainly not denounce their plans because they are not fitted to American conditions or American principles.

Let us digress a little farther before going into the discussion of the details. There is no hope for peace so long as the great and powerful nations will that there shall be no peace. If every time an incident, great or small, arises, the powerful nations resort to violence and force, there can be no peace. Nicaragua, Vera Cruz, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Amritsar, the Ruhr, Corfu, Egypt—all save two of the incidents occurring since the fearful lesson of the World War and all a resort to violence and force upon the part of the great and powerful nations against the unarmed and helpless. In all of these instances the aggressor nation was strong enough and powerful enough to have invoked conciliation, adjustment, and arbitration, and thus have set examples and established precedents of more value to

the cause of peace than any peace plan. We confine our love of peace to paper; our war spirit finds its expression in deeds. We profess tolerance and practice intolerance. We profess friendship and practice vengeance. Under such policies and practices, leagues and courts not only prove ineffective, but hope sickens and the morale of the whole human family is broken and demoralized.

I would rather have just now one ounce of practice than tons of profession in this cause of peace. Why talk of peace when there is excluded from all plans and all courts two hundred million white people and two of the most potentially powerful people of Europe. Let us establish the natural and orderly relationship which should obtain among a family of nations, restore trade relations, recognize existing governments, practice the tolerance we preach and use the friendship we profess, and this will constitute the first great movement for peace. To talk of leagues and courts while pursuing a deliberate policy of violence, of exclusion, of banishment, of vengeance, is to trifle with the greatest problem now before us for consideration.

THE VIENNA SESSION OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

By Dr. HANS WEHBERG, Berlin

ALREADY, in the first session which the Institute held after the World War, in Rome (1921), opposing views on the question of the League of Nations became evident. In agreement with De Lapradelle, the French scholar, Walther Schücking emphasized at that session the great importance of the League of Nations and regretted that the United States of America kept aloof. However, on the other hand, the League of Nations was attacked most severely by Professor De Louter, of Holland, and characterized as merely an alliance of victors. But even De Louter did not oppose the adoption of a resolution by which the creation of the League of Nations was hailed as a great progress from the political and legal point of view and by which the scholars Alvarez (Chile) and Gidel (France) were charged to prepare a report for the following session.

While the American opposition in Rome had just become evident, James Brown Scott, at the Grenoble session (1922), contented himself with proposing the entrance of America into the organization of the Permanent Court of Justice; also, the report of Alvarez and Gidel, submitted at that time, was not favorable toward the Geneva League of Nations; for the fundamental idea of this report was to limit, in the main, the present League of Nations to the non-American States; to consider the Pan-American Union as the correlate of this League of Nations, and to establish a connection between these two organizations by creating a new society of States, with periodical conferences, a permanent commission, and an executive council. Since the majority of the members of the Institute saw in this project a detriment to the Geneva League, the discussions on this project were post-

poned and the Committee on the League of Nations was commissioned to submit, at the next session, a report on the different articles of the statutes and to propose the necessary amendments, "especially with respect to the mission of the League of Nations in relation to its universality."

At the anniversary session at Brussels (1923) the newly appointed reporters, Adach (Japan) and de Visscher (Belgium), submitted a report on articles 10 and 18 of the statutes of the League of Nations. They declared that before working on a development of the League of Nations it was necessary first to know what was in the statutes and therefore to explain the most important articles. So article 10 was discussed in detail at the session at Brussels and a resolution was formed which was of great value to the Fourth Assembly of the League in the discussions of the same article. But already, at that time, doubts were expressed, especially on the American and British side, on the commentary treatment of the statutes of the League of Nations, and it was demanded that, first of all, the question of the advancement of the League of Nations should be discussed. It was only after long difficulties that an agreement was reached to begin the discussion of article 10, after the Commission having been told, on proposal of De la Barras (Mexico), to prepare for future work the reform program, especially desired by TITTONI (Italy) and LYON-CAEN (France).

However, such a reform program was not submitted at the Institute's most recent session at Vienna, at the end of August, 1924, when Professor STRISOWER (Austria) was president. But the reporters had decided, complying with a proposal from the British crown jurist, Sir Cecil Hurst, to submit a report regarding the question of diplomatic privileges of agents of the League of Nations, which subject was then discussed in detail at Vienna. The other reports submitted by the reporters regarding articles 12 and 18 of the statutes of the League of Nations did not get to be discussed. The project on article 7, paragraph 4, of the statutes, prepared by a small committee (Adach, de Visscher, Sir Cecil Hurst, de Lapradelle, and Diena), contained a number of pertinent ideas. In the foreground

was the opinion that the agents of the League of Nations are representatives of the Society of States and accordingly can claim for themselves an essentially different—indeed, even a higher—position than the diplomatic agents of the States, who only represented the egoistic interests of their governments.

However, differences of opinions on this fundamental problem had already prevailed in the Commission and, unfortunately, the members of the plenary session of the Institute at Vienna had not taken any position on this question either. In the provisional regulations, agreed upon by the Swiss Federal Council and the Secretariat General of the League of Nations in July, 1921, concerning the legal status of the members of the Secretariat of the League of Nations in relation to Switzerland, the participants started with the fundamental principle to grant to the officials of the Secretariat only the same privileges as to the accredited agents of the individual States of the Swiss Confederacy. If thereupon one proceeds to a general treatment of the question, which would have to include not only the members of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, but also the agents of the League of Nations active within Switzerland (members of the Government Commission of the Saar Territory, High Commissary of Dantzig, etc.), one would have to start with the fundamental idea of the Adach de Visscher report, that it is something essentially higher to be an agent of the League of Nations than to be agent of an individual State.

In the plenary sessions at Vienna I tried to explain the opposite position in a practical way by the following example: If the League of Nations were to become so organized as to have permanent ministers in the capitals of its member States, and should send an ambassador to Paris or London, this ambassador would have to have precedence over all ambassadors of the individual members of the League. Although the majority of the members of the Institute seemed to lean toward this view, the equal position of agents of the League of Nations with those of the individual States was advocated by as prominent a scholar as de Lapradelle. As said before, no formal conclusion was reached on this question in Vienna.

On the other hand, voting by roll-call decided a second disputed question, namely, Are the members of the League of Nations permitted to make a difference in the treatment of the agents who are their own subjects and those belonging to another State? This question was answered in the negative by an overwhelming majority. At the same time, however, it was conceded to the opponents of this view that, generally, persons should be sent by the League of Nations to their native country only in case of urgent necessity and with the consent of the respective government. Fundamentally, then, the State whose subjects they are ought not to refuse diplomatic privileges to the agents of the League. In that way the accepted principle of the provisional regulation between the Confederacy and the Secretariat General of the League of Nations, by which, on principle, the members of the Secretariat of the League of Nations are granted diplomatic privileges only within their native State, was denied.

The diplomatic privileges can be waived under certain circumstances. Indeed, this relinquishment is supposed to be obligatory under certain circumstances—a fact which, in view of the absence of a definite subjection to a court (*Gerichtsstand*), is of special significance to the agents of the League of Nations. The privileges are also to belong to the agents of the International Labor Bureau.

The report of the League of Nations Commission of the Institute showed, however, as I stated in the beginning of the plenary meetings, a serious omission, because a definition of the "agent" was lacking. Are the members of the Commission for Intellectual Co-operation, for instance, to be regarded as agents of the League of Nations? Or are the high functionaries of the Saar Territory agents of the League of Nations? The first question must be emphatically answered in the negative; the second in the affirmative.

According to the view of the Institute, agents of the League of Nations are considered to be persons appointed by the Assembly of the League (*Bundesversammlung*), the Council, the Secretary General, the International Labor Bureau, or by the authorities of these organs—persons who in the service of and under the control of

the League of Nations have to fulfill official, political, and administrative duties. It was exceedingly difficult to establish this definition, and almost two sessions were required for it, with a special commission devoting its time to this question during these discussions.

Although the question of the agents of the League of Nations is certainly in the main non-political, the American members, Professors James Brown Scott and Philip Marshall Brown, as well as the Jurist Coudert, in accord with Alvarez (Chile), expressed on this occasion their views that the Institute should not in the main devote its time to questions of the League of Nations, but should rather turn again to the more general problems. And because the Italians, as already in Brussels, also opposed the interpretation of the different articles of the statutes, the discussion of other problems of the League of Nations was omitted. A special Commission was appointed to determine which questions were to head the agenda for the discussions of the Institute in the nearest future. It was especially desired that the project of de Lapradelle concerning the rights and duties of nations should at last be discussed. Then questions regarding the execution of foreign decisions and prescription of international private law were taken up in Vienna.

It must further be mentioned that there were present, among others, at the sessions, besides the Americans already mentioned, Anderson (Costa Rica), Sir Thomas Barclay (Great Britain), Tittoni, Diena, Fedozzi (Italy), Adachi (Japan), de Lapradelle, Basdevant, Le Fur (France), Baron Nolde, Baron Taube, Mandelstam (Russia), de Visscher, Baron Rolin, Henri Rolin, Bourquin (Belgium), Wilhelm Kaufman, Niemeyer (Germany), Count Rostworowski (Poland), Marquis Olivart (Spain), and Politis (Greece). Belgium and Germany were strongly represented. On the other hand, all of the members from Holland were absent and all the Scandinavian States were represented by the Norwegian Minister, Wallebaek, of Stockholm. Under the direction of Professor Strisower, the meetings went exceedingly well, as far as personal relations were concerned. The protocol of London relating to the problems of reparation added

to the general good feeling. Regular members were elected as follows: Adachi (Japan), Poulet (Belgium), and Max Huber (Switzerland); as associate members, Professor Nippold (Switzerland), W. Simon, President of the Supreme Court of Justice (Germany); Erich, former President of the Ministry (Finland),

Cavaglieri (Italy), and the young, highly gifted Belgian jurist, Henri Rolin.

The next Congress is to meet in 1925, at The Hague, in connection with the anniversary of Hugo Grotius, under the direction of Loder, retiring president of the Permanent International Court of Justice.

THE SOWERS: A Story

By WLADISLAW S. REYMONT

(NOTE.—The author of this story is a well-known Polish writer, who has just been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. The translation is by S. Zoltowska, made originally for the London *Slavonic Review*.)

MICHAEL KOZIOL sprang hurriedly from his bed of rags, as if some loud voice had shouted into his ear, ordering him to get up quickly. But he saw no one, and only the snoring of the other sleepers echoed in the darkness.

Presently, however, he heard distinctly a footfall above his head of some one evidently prowling among the ruins of the cottage. He clambered hurriedly out of the deep cellar into the open, and, holding his breath, he peered into the darkness and listened intently, but in vain.

The first cocks crowed in the village, a soft breeze blew from the invisible fields, while the acrid smell of smoking ruins stung his nostrils. Clouds, gray and heavy, like masses of melting snow, rolled across the sky, and not a star could be seen twinkling between. But above the dim outline of the forests streaks of bright greenish light shot up silently and without interruption; they rose high, remained suspended a long while in the gray sky, and then fell to cloudlets of glittering dust. Michael was too well acquainted with these tricks to be surprised at the sight; only the unaccustomed stillness of the night seemed extraordinary. No booming of guns, no rattling of rifle shots—how could that be?

"There's something brewing," he reflected, as he returned to the cellar. "They are preparing a trick, the carrion!"

He lay down again on his bed of rags and rolled himself up in his sheepskin coat. But sleep had fled and something,

as it seemed to him, kept on whispering into his very ear.

"What can it be?" he thought, endeavoring to catch a distinct sound. But the sounds were undiscernible and seemed to echo out of the very entrails of the earth, like heavy groans or tearful, distant appeals. Sudden fear seized and pierced him.

"It must be the souls of the dead calling for help! Damned Lutherans and Germans they were—yet all the same." . . .

He shuddered, said a prayer, and woke his wife.

"Mother," he said, "shouldn't we have a mass said for the dead that are buried in our garden?"

"Are you crazy?" the woman retorted indignantly. "Shall I have masses said for these dogs? And who but they have brought us to such a state of misery that nothing is left for us to do but take sticks and bags and go off to beg for our bread!"

"My God! that's true!" he sighed, as the remembrance of the losses they had suffered crushed and suffocated him with an unbearable weight that nearly made him cry out aloud in agony.

"What can a man do against evil fate? What, indeed!" he sighed plaintively. "Innumerable thousands of these thieves have passed through the country, each one of them greedy for plunder, each one seizing whatever he wanted and fattening on the peasants' sweat. The bare earth, the smoking ruins, and our wrongs are all that they have left behind them. Do you hear me, mother?"

But, receiving only a snore for an answer, he slipped away softly and went out once more.

The April day was just breaking, the darkness dispersed gradually, and the spring waters glowed in the ruddy light of dawn. The day now promised to be fine. Michael crouched down amidst the ruins of his cottage and gazed sadly at his fields, which emerged slowly into light. They lay before him, torn and ripped up by great holes and ditches, trampled to bare clay to such an extent that only here and there a patch of green winter barley remained.

"How can I help you, poor orphans?" he groaned in helpless despair, and then turned back hurriedly to the little farm. The sight of it was sad indeed. Of what had been a barn only the brick pillars remained; heaps of broken brick and mortar lay where the stables once stood; the cottage was a wreck of brick and half-burnt timber, out of which protruded the shattered skeleton of a chimney. The orchard, with trees torn to shreds, completed the picture of destruction. Only the cellar, built of masonry and covered with earth, had outlasted the catastrophe, and it was there that the remaining beasts were stowed away—a lean horse, one poor cow, and a sow with her litter.

Michael's youngest boy, Jack, snored in a corner, stretched on a bundle of straw. Michael did not wake him; what indeed would have been the use of it? There was no work to do, for as soon as any one appeared in the fields he was fired at. Dear Lord! with the high tide of spring setting in, the earth warm and pulsing with energy of growth, nothing can be done but patiently to look on, awaiting God's mercy.

A sudden wave of anger shook his soul. But just as he flung a bunch of hay to the lean horse, the earth seemed all at once to tremble and a tremendous explosion rent the air.

"The German larks!" he muttered angrily, as he ran out to see where the missile had struck. A column-shaped cloud of dust could be seen rising high near the forest.

"Just on my wheat! May they be maimed!" he swore in rage.

Meanwhile the dawn was broadening to daylight, and, as is usual, just before sunrise the merry song of larks rang in the sky. It was, however, soon silenced, for the guns began to say their morning

prayers; the forest answered them garrulously, and the clatter of musketry made up an accompaniment.

Michael shrugged his shoulders impatiently and went into the village, which also lay in ruins, burnt down and bombarded to pieces almost to the foundations, giving the impression of a melancholy cemetery. The tall poplars that bordered the road lifted the mangled remains of their trunks up toward heaven, as though in tragic protest. The church, standing on a mound in the middle of the village, was but a heap of rubbish and of battered walls. Holy mass was said in the underground vaults, and the priest lived in the cellar of his former house. The greater part of the population was scattered to the four corners of the earth, while the remaining women, old men, and children found shelter underground, suffering starvation and yearning for the day of miraculous deliverance. They clung so fast to this parental soil, to the familiar spots, to the ruins and graves, that neither the lawless abuses of the soldiers, nor even the German bombshells, the omnipresent danger of death, the conflagrations, the carnage of battle, the incessant thunder of guns, had contrived to drive them away.

"Our Lord has doomed us to perish," thought Michael, as he stood on the hill beside the church, letting his eyes wander over the village that lay before him as in the hollow of his hand. He stared at a pair of storks that alighted on a half-ruined church wall and then floated away to the village, seeking in vain for their old nest. They circled lower and lower and their cry became ever sadder and more mournful.

"They've wronged even the birds; they show no mercy to any one."

"I have had a harrow put up to the top of the lime tree," the parish priest said, as he came up and stood beside Michael. "Perhaps they'll nest there. They have been circling like this ever since yesterday, and crying so plaintively that it wrings the heart to hear them. Their nest is shot down, the poor things," he murmured.

He was old, thin, and bowed and his clothes were nearly in rags; but his face expressed unlimited kindness and his blue eyes had a look of childlike confidence.

"How are you getting on?" he continued. "Are your people well?"

"God repay you," Michael answered, as he bent to kiss the priest's hand. "We make the time pass as best we can; it's always the same thing."

"Frank has returned in the night with Koziara. Have you heard of it? God grant the others may come back also!"

"And what's the use of coming back to this misery?"

"Why haven't you run away instead of sticking here like a stone?"

"I! And where should I go to? And what for? Haven't I sent quite enough of my people to the war? Perhaps they are eating earth already. This is my land, from father and grandfather; how could I leave it to go out into the strange world?"

"The spring is urging them to hurry, and Mother Earth is calling them to work. We'll soon see them trooping home, never you doubt! The hour of retribution will strike for our enemies, and I tell you, man, God has more treasures than He has disposed of yet, and will not allow the just to be wronged," the priest said solemnly, and he started to walk to the village. He hurried to visit the hovels and the dens, which exhaled damp, illness, and misfortune. Though himself often starving, he had become the general Providence.

Meanwhile Michael stood, revolving the priest's words and weighing them in his mind.

"The earth is calling us'; that's true."

He looked about him, as if awakening from a dream. The sun was by now sailing across the heavens above the forest line, like a golden monstrance lifted over the world. In the morning light the black trampled fields seemed to regain life. Spring was on her way across the wide earth, and with queenly hand sowed life—new, glorious, and joyous—as though in defiance of Death's supremacy, of the fresh graves and the booming guns. Still they continued to roar in gloomy bass; columns of fire, of smoke and dust, sprang up in the fields; gray chains of attacking régiments appeared on the horizon, with bayonets glittering angrily. Endless processions of camp carts crossed the fields; at times cavalry galloped over the green wheat, and the blood-curdling cry of thou-

sands engaged in mutual murder would break suddenly on the air. Pale-faced terror hung over the earth.

And, amid this hurricane of human fury, the spring days grew sweet and warm under the kisses of the sun. The earth seemed to shudder and to stretch with the glow of new and vital energy. The buds burst open on the mutilated trees, the fields became green, the meadows began to flower. Here and there wild cherry trees put on their whitest robes; the ranunculi wove golden carpets, and the immortal hymn of life floated through the world.

Human beings crept out of cellars and from among the ruins, and their frightened eyes blinked in astonishment at the spring sunshine; the pale lips smiled and hope entered the tortured hearts.

The orchards became populous, as the women brought out bedclothes to be aired; the babble of children's voices rang here and there. No one could bear to remain underground any longer, and some mustered courage enough to creep out and inspect their fields. In the gardens, under cover of the ruined walls, people began digging and sowing vegetables; and when at last one of the women brought out a few geese into her orchard, half the population assembled to see and to rejoice their ears with the ganders' cackling.

In the meantime Michael idled about, feeling strangely dazed, as if by strong drink. Many times during the day and in the night he went into the fields to reconnoiter, and spent long hours in meditation. Something unutterable was passing within him. He could neither eat nor sleep, and grew so weak and thin that he could barely drag his feet; yet he could not keep still, such unquenchable fire consumed his soul. And no wonder! Thirty acres of his land were waiting for him, calling him with a sweet, yet commanding, voice. He heard, he felt and understood it, and his soul was rent by helpless despair. For day after day he awaited the moment when the accursed bombshell birds should cease to visit his fields, and every day he heard their fiendish shrieks, while their iron claws tore up his land. Certain death lay in wait for any one foolhardy enough to appear there. He knew full well how many wounded were carried

back daily, how all along the border of the forest the graves, with their crosses, multiplied day by day. Yet in the end he could hold out no longer. One morning at dawn he told his son Jack to put the horse to the plow. His wife tried to dissuade him with many lamentations.

"Oh, you crazy fool!" she exclaimed, "where are you going? To certain destruction!"

"Mind your business," he retorted. "Bring the barley out to dry in the sun."

"Do as you please," she said; "but I won't let Jack go. He's the only one that's left to me, and you would drag him into danger like this. Help me, O God!" she whispered piteously.

But he stuck to his plan without minding her, and away they went across the fields, man and boy.

Michael's field, from which the potato crop had been gathered in the autumn and which he now resolved to plow in preparation for sowing barley, lay next to the forest. It was the place most frequently visited by shells; yet he stood there fearlessly, made the sign of the cross, and, passing the reins around his neck, he ordered the boy to lead the horse by the bridle, so as to prevent it from shying at the shots. He gripped the handles of the plow firmly and began to work. On reaching the end of the field, he turned the plow and advanced again, cutting the earth furrow after furrow calmly, evenly, heedless of shots and of explosions hard by. He worked on doggedly and delighted in feeling the damp, cool earth, as he sank his bare feet into it. His eyes watched gladly the long, even waves of fat and shining soil, as the plow had carved them and laid them aside. The strong, fresh smell of it intoxicated him like incense. What did he care about war and shots! There he was, plowing his own land, cultivating it to give bread, as his fathers had done before him, as after him his grandchildren would do. Radiant peace enveloped his soul. A lord of lords was he, a rightful possessor, a faithful servant of this holy earth. His soul was at peace, and yet full of mysterious dreams and of stirring life, as is the bosom of the earth in springtime.

"Dad, they are shooting!" Jack would exclaim from time to time, looking about him furtively.

"Surprising news, indeed! Let them shoot! What does it concern us? Hold the nag closer; she's shying still. Go on, little one, go on. If only we had our black horses, we'd finish the field by evening. My God, what has happened to them, I wonder!"

They were coming to the end of the field when an officer galloped up to them, shouting:

"Are you mad, man? Be off with you or you'll be shot."

"Oh, well, they aren't shooting at me. I'm in a hurry with my plowing. Whoever is frightened, let him run. I am here on my own land," he added with emphasis. So he worked on without heeding the thickening shots and the yells of battle echoing beyond the woods. He only left work at the usual hour.

Next day several plows appeared in the fields, and Mother Josepha, whose husband had been enrolled, brought manure into her field in a cart drawn by a cow.

"She's a good housewife," Michael remarked approvingly; "and see how evenly she plants the dung heaps. The others do nothing but complain and lament."

He was just finishing his plowing when Teresa rushed up and screamed:

"Master, Sikora has been blown to bits—horse, plow, and all!"

"God grant him peace eternal," he murmured, mopping his heated brow. "To whatever fate our Lord destines a man, he is sure to meet it. Urge on the mare, Jack; we must finish this plowing."

On the following day, at dawn, he was at work again; and many others came out, too, encouraged by his example; so that the fields were alive with workers, who moved in the clouds of dust raised by explosions and under the swarm of bullets whizzing in the air. Many of them doubled up and made the sign of the cross, saying their prayers and ducking their heads in fear when a missile whirred nearer the ground; but no one fled.

It made no difference that next day old Mother Martinova was carried home with severe wounds, that a man lost his leg, and a boy was killed by an explosion. These accidents did not keep the survivors from their task. Only in the silence of night the sounds of weeping became more frequent and the mournful laments of sorrowing families echoed round the

church. Whoever fell was prayed for, while the others kept their ranks like faithful soldiers of a holy cause, obeying the commanding voice of Mother Earth. They did what they felt was duty. It so happened that they were called to give her their life's blood and their last breath, and they gave it in calm resignation.

The priest tried vainly to hold them back, and warned them that not only would they get shot, but all their work was sure to get destroyed.

"Death does her work; and you, man, do yours," Michael answered obstinately, and he went out again with his plow. The others paid as little attention to the old priest's warning.

The battle, however, grew fiercer every day, and such hurricanes of shells swept the fields that it became impossible to work there in the daytime.

The inhabitants of the unfortunate village hid underground once again and listened gloomily to the fiendish roar of the guns; but scarcely had dusk set in when every one returned to his interrupted labor. Every human creature in the village marched out into the fields. Work continued, feverish and intense, from dusk till early dawn. The distant conflagrations, the explosions, and the pale stars gave the workers light. . . .

At early nightfall Michael Koziol brought his sacks of barley to the field and prepared to sow. With a flap of coarse white linen fastened round his girdle, he advanced with leisurely, swinging gait and sowed the grain with a wide, circular movement of his arm and hand that resembled a blessing given.

Jack, meanwhile, was harrowing.

The night was gray, misty, and the glare of exploding shells frequently rent the darkness.

At times rifle bullets buzzed by, or a sudden terrific thundering of cannon

shook the air, while fiery columns spouted up toward the sky. At times, again, the pale, horrible eyes of reflectors would fall across the fields and flash over them, silently scanning them obstinately and long. Their spectral light showed up the stooping outlines of human forms, the gleam of waters, and every groove and furrow of the soil. Each spot touched by this fiendish gaze was then shelled furiously, as if with malignant hatred. Michael Koziol took no heed of what was happening around him. He hurried with his task, and was near the end of the field when he suddenly spun round and sat down in a furrow. A terrible pain pierced his breast and he could hardly draw breath; it seemed to tear his ribs asunder. Yet he did not give way to the pain, and, calling Jack, he gave him the linen containing the grain and murmured softly:

"Finish the sowing, my son; I'm feeling dizzy. . . . I'll just rest a bit." . . .

Obediently, the boy took his father's place; he moved away slowly, swaying himself tightly, as he threw the grain with the ever-same gesture of the sower.

Calmly he sowed, evenly, patiently. . . .

Michael followed him with his gaze attentively and long; but all at once heavy sleepiness overpowered him; he wanted to call out; . . . he strained his eyes, . . . but profound darkness obscured them.

The boy was far away now, a faint distant shadow; and every roar of the guns seemed to him to strike his very heart, to kill him, to rend him to pieces. . . .

All at once Michael straightened himself, opened his arms wide, and, stammering something incoherently, collapsed with his face to the soft black earth, as though sinking into the arms of a loving mother.

But Jack sowed on untiringly. . . .



INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

GREAT BRITAIN AND EGYPT

(Following is the text of the two communications made by Lord Allenby to Zaghlul Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister.)

First British Communication

On behalf of His Britannic Majesty's Government I make the following communication to Your Excellency:

The Governor General of the Sudan and Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, who was also a distinguished officer of the British Army, has been brutally murdered in Cairo.

His Majesty's Government consider that this murder, which holds up Egypt as at present governed to the contempt of civilized peoples, is the natural outcome of a campaign of hostility to British rights and British subjects in Egypt and Sudan, founded upon a heedless ingratitude for benefits conferred by Great Britain, not discouraged by Your Excellency's Government, and fomented by organizations in close contact with that Government.

Your Excellency was warned by His Majesty's Government little more than a month ago of the consequences of failing to stop this campaign, more particularly as concerned the Sudan. It has not been stopped. The Egyptian Government have now allowed the Governor General of Sudan to be murdered and have proved that they are incapable or unwilling to protect foreign lives.

His Majesty's Government therefore require that the Egyptian Government shall—

- (1) Present ample apology for the crime.
- (2) Prosecute an inquiry into the authorship of the crime with the utmost energy and without respect of persons and bring the criminals, whoever they are and whatever their age, to condign punishment.
- (3) Henceforth forbid and vigorously suppress all popular political demonstrations.
- (4) Pay forthwith to His Majesty's Government a fine of £500,000.
- (5) Order within twenty-four hours the withdrawal from the Sudan of all Egyptian

officers and the purely Egyptian units of Egyptian army with such resulting changes as shall be hereafter specified.

(6) Notify the competent department that the Sudan Government will increase the area to be irrigated at Gezira from 300,000 feddans to an unlimited figure as need may arise.

(7) Withdraw all opposition in the respects hereafter specified to the wishes of His Majesty's Government concerning the protection of foreign interests in Egypt.

Failing immediate compliance with these demands, His Majesty's Government will at once take appropriate action to safeguard their interests in Egypt and the Sudan.

I take this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my high consideration.

Second British Communication

Sir—With reference to my preceding communication, I have the honor to inform Your Excellency, on behalf of His Britannic Majesty's Government, that their specific requirements respecting the Army in the Sudan and the protection of foreign interests in Egypt are as follows:

(1) The Egyptian officers and purely Egyptian units of the Egyptian Army having been withdrawn, Sudanese units of the Egyptian Army shall be converted into a Sudan defense force, owing allegiance to the Sudan Government alone and under the supreme command of the Governor-General, in whose name all commissions will be given.

(2) Rules and conditions governing the service, discipline, and retirement of foreign officials still employed by the Egyptian Government, and financial conditions governing pensions of foreign officials who have left service, shall be revised in accordance with the wishes of His Majesty's Government.

(3) Pending the conclusion of an agreement between the two Governments regarding the protection of foreign interests in Egypt, the Egyptian Government shall maintain the posts of financial and judicial ad-

visers and preserve their powers and privileges as contemplated on the abolition of the Protectorate and shall respect the status and present attributions of the European Department of the Ministry of Interior as already laid down by Ministerial Order, and give due weight to such recommendations as the Director General may make upon matters falling within his sphere.

I take this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my high consideration.

Egyptian Parliament's Protest

(The following is the text of the protest drawn up November 24, after Zaghlul Pasha's resignation, and addressed by the Egyptian Parliament to the League of Nations and to all the Parliaments of the world:)

In view of the recent acts of aggression committed by the British Government against the rights, the sovereignty, and the constitution of the Egyptian nation, the Egyptian Chamber of Deputies proclaims—

(1) Its attachment to the complete independence of Egypt and the Sudan, which constitute one indivisible Fatherland.

(2) That, in spite of the formal disavowal expressed by the nation, its Sovereign, its Government, and its Parliament of the odious crime committed against the regretted Sir Lee Stack, Sirdar of the Egyptian Army and Governor General of the Sudan, and notwithstanding the satisfaction given by the Government and the effective measures which it has taken to discover the criminals and to deliver them over to justice, the Chamber deeply regrets that the British Government believes it to be its duty to take advantage of this sad incident to promote its Imperialist ideas and to take vengeance on an innocent nation, which relies only upon the strength of its rights and the justice of its cause.

The British Government has not only put forward excessive demands out of all proportion to the crime, but, passing beyond all limits, it has gone so far as to require the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops from the Sudan, to compel the Sudanese units of the Egyptian Army to take the oath of allegiance to the Governor of the Sudan, to authorize the extension of the area of land cultivated by the British colonial companies in the Sudan from 300,000 feddans to an unlimited amount, to demand that the Egyptian Government should abandon all opposition to the desires of the British Government relative

to the protection of foreign interests in Egypt, and to formulate also other demands contained in the British notes.

Passing from words to acts, the British Government has put its threats into execution, and has, besides, occupied the Customs House at Alexandria, declaring that that act is only the first of the measures which it intends to take. These aggressions, which are an absolute negation of the rights of Egypt and affect her independence, constitute an intrusion in her affairs, a violation of her Constitution, and a menace to her agricultural and economic life. They have no relation to the crime and no precedent in history.

For these reasons the Egyptian Chamber of Deputies proclaims before the whole universe its most energetic protest against such actions, which are iniquitous in fact and void in law, and takes all the civilized world as witness of the enormity of such Imperialist covetousness, irreconcilable with the spirit of the century and with the sacred rights of nations.

It addresses its protest to all the Parliaments of the world and appeals to the League of Nations to intervene to protect from arbitrary action an innocent nation which, profoundly attached to its sacred and inprescriptible rights to life and liberty, asks for nothing more than its independence.

(Signed) AHMED MAZLUM, *President*.

Britain's Note to League

(The British Government, under date of November 19, addressed to the League of Nations the following note, made public December 4:)

(1) The attention of his Britannic Majesty's Government has been called to the resolution adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations on October 2, 1924, for opening the protocol on the pacific settlement of international disputes for signature by those representatives of members of the League who were already in a position to sign it, and to hold it open for signature by all other States.

(2) As the terms of this resolution might suggest the communication of the protocol to the Government of Egypt, I am directed by his Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to remind you that the British protectorate over Egypt came to an end in virtue of the declaration made by the Government of his Britannic

Majesty on February 28, 1922, and approved by Parliament on March 13 of that year. Under the terms of that instrument certain questions were absolutely reserved to the discretion of his Britannic Majesty's Government until such time as an agreement might be come to regarding them with the Egyptian Government.

(3) The governments of other countries were informed by his Britannic Majesty's Government of the termination of the British protectorate over Egypt in a notification which contained the following passage: "The welfare and integrity of Egypt are necessary to the peace and safety of the British Empire, which will therefore always maintain as an essential British interest the special relations between itself and Egypt long recognized by other countries. These special relations are defined in the declaration recognizing Egypt as an independent sovereign State. His Majesty's Government have laid them down as matters in which the rights and interests of the British Empire are vitally involved, and will not admit them to be questioned or discussed by any other power. In pursuance of this principle they will regard as an unfriendly act any attempt at interference in the affairs of Egypt by another power, and they will consider any aggression against the territory of Egypt as an act to be repelled with all the means at their command."

(4) In these circumstances his Britannic Majesty's government are unable to admit that the protocol, if signed by Egypt, will enable the Egyptian Government to invoke the intervention of the League of Nations in the settlement of matters absolutely reserved by the declaration to the discretion of his Britannic Majesty's Government.

REORGANIZATION OF REPARATION COMMISSION

Official Communiqué of the Commission

In consequence of the creation in Germany of the organizations provided for in the experts' plan, the functioning of which must entail a considerable reduction in the work to be carried out by the other organizations of the Reparation Commission, the latter decides to take the following measures of reorganization, which will be carried out progressively in the course of October-December

quarter, and shall be terminated by January 31, 1925:

(1) The Commission, properly so called, will continue to be constituted as specified in Paragraph 2 of Annex II to Part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles and of the other treaties of peace. The principal delegates, however, will no longer be obliged to reside in Paris. In order to facilitate their presence at the meetings of the Commission, these meetings will, in principle, be grouped in sessions, probably of short duration, distributed throughout the course of the year. Their present salaries will be abolished. Beyond the repayment of their traveling expenses, they will be entitled to a fixed monthly indemnity and to a variable allowance calculated according to their days of presence.

(2) The office of private secretary to the delegates and assistant delegates will be abolished.

(3) The finance service and the service for restitution and reparation in kind will be abolished.

(4) The two posts of assistant general secretary of the Commission and the posts of assistant national general secretaries will be abolished.

(5) The exterior services not attached to organizations created by the experts' plan will be abolished.

(6) With the exception of the library, the intelligence service will be abolished as a service of the Commission in Paris.

(7) The legal service will be reduced to four members (an English, French, Italian, and Belgian member). Its secretariat will be abolished. The secondary staff necessary for the work of the service will be supplied by the general secretariat. On May 1, 1925, the Committee of Assistant Delegates will furnish a report to the Commission containing such proposals as experience may suggest.

(8) The accountancy service will be very considerably reduced, with due account for the simplification in the central accountancy entailed by the application of the experts' plan.

(9) The staff of the general secretariat will be reduced to an extent fully corresponding with the general reduction in the services.

(10) The staff of the delegations will be reduced under the conditions set forth below.

The assistant delegates maintain their present functions. They will, moreover, form a permanent managing committee, which will direct the work of the Inter-Allied General

Secretariat, will take in the name of the Commission all decisions necessary for the conduct of current business, and will report to the Commission, sitting in plenary session—i.e., constituted as provided for in Paragraph 2 of Annex II to Part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles—all matters falling within the categories reserved for discussion under these conditions, as set forth in the following paragraph.

For this purpose the Commission, in application of the provisions of Paragraph 7 of Annex II to Part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles and the corresponding provisions in the Treaties of St. Germain and Trianon, will delegate to the assistant delegates sitting in committee the powers necessary to invest them with full and exclusive competence within the limits of these new functions, in relation not only to the governments represented on the Commission, but to any other person or government interested. The decisions to this effect will be taken separately, on the one hand in virtue of the Treaty of Versailles, and on the other in virtue of the other treaties, and the Commission will meet to take these decisions in accordance with the respective provisions of these treaties. Finally, in these same decisions, the Commission will indicate the categories of questions which shall of necessity be considered at the meetings in which the principal delegates will take part.

The Committee of Assistant Delegates will exercise these functions in conformity with the rules at present in force for the Commission or the rules which it may subsequently issue specially for the working of the Committee.

The national general secretaries will be present at the meetings of the managing committee and will respectively replace the assistant delegates in case of their absence. The citizen of the United States of America referred to in Paragraph 2 (2) of Annex II to Part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles will be added to the members of this committee when it has to take a decision on a question regarding the report by the First Committee of Experts. The four principal national delegations will each be granted an annual lump sum credit of 200,000 salary francs, which shall cover all expenses of whatever nature at present entered on their respective budgets.

They will be free to utilize the credits thus fixed in the manner which best suits their internal requirements.

The Commission will proceed immediately to the consideration of the occupation of less considerable offices; the premises abandoned shall be vacated with the least possible delay after January 31, 1925.

Material expenses shall be reduced in proportion to the general reduction of the service.

The Committee of Assistant Delegates will conduct an inquiry in regard to the reorganization on the basis of the above general program and will make to the Commission any proposals which will assist in its progressive realization. It shall, in particular, with as little delay as possible, submit to the Commission a scheme of reorganization of the technical services and of the general secretariat, of which the specialist officers who will replace the abolished technical services will, among others, form part. These officials will be responsible to the general secretariat in regard to administration and to the Committee of Assistant Delegates in regard to technical matters.

ANGLO-GERMAN TREATY

(NOTE.—The following is the text of the Anglo-German Treaty signed in London on December 2.)

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India, and the President of the German Reich, being desirous of further facilitating and extending the commercial relations already existing between their respective countries, have determined to conclude a treaty of commerce and navigation with this object, and have appointed their plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Britannic Majesty: the Right Honorable Joseph Austen Chamberlain, M. P., His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and His Excellency the Right Honorable Lord D'Abernon, G. C. M. G., His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Berlin; The President of the German Reich: His Excellency Dr. Friedrich Sthamer, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the German Reich in London; and Dr. Carl von Schubert, Director in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article 1

There shall be between the territories of the two contracting parties reciprocal freedom of commerce and navigation.

The subjects of citizens of each of the two contracting parties shall have liberty freely to come, with their ships and cargoes, to all places and ports in the territories of the other to which subjects or citizens of that contracting party are or may be permitted to come, and shall enjoy the same rights, privileges, liberties, favors, immunities, and exemptions in matters of commerce and navigation as are or may be enjoyed by subjects or citizens of that contracting party.

Article 2

The subjects or citizens of each of the two contracting parties in the territories of the other shall enjoy, in respect of their persons, their property, rights and interests, and in respect of their commerce, industry, business, profession, occupation, or any other matter, in every way the same treatment and legal protection as the subjects or citizens of that party or of the most favored foreign country, in as far as taxes, rates, customs, imposts, fees which are substantially taxes, and other similar charges are concerned.

Article 3

The two contracting parties agree that in all matters relating to commerce, navigation, and industry, any privilege, favor, or immunity which either of the two contracting parties has actually granted or may hereafter grant to the ships and subjects or citizens of any other foreign country shall be extended, simultaneously and unconditionally, without request and without compensation, to the ships and subjects or citizens of the other, it being their intention that the commerce, navigation, and industry of each of the two contracting parties shall be placed in all respects on the footing of the most favored nation.

Article 4

The provisions of the present treaty with regard to the grant of the treatment of the most favored nation do not extend to—

1. Favors granted by one of the two contracting parties to an adjoining State to facilitate traffic for certain frontier districts, as a rule not extending beyond 15 kilometers

on each side of the frontier, and for residents in such districts.

2. Favors granted by one of the two contracting parties to a third State in virtue of a customs union which has already been or may hereafter be concluded.

3. Favors which one of the two contracting parties has granted or may hereafter grant to a third State in agreement for the avoidance of double taxation and the mutual protection of the revenue.

4. Favors which Germany has granted or may hereafter grant, directly or indirectly, by virtue of treaties to which His Britannic Majesty is a party, concluding the World War, unless those favors have been extended to a State which has no right to claim them, directly or indirectly, by reason of such treaties.

Article 5

The subjects or citizens of each of the two contracting parties in the territories of the other shall be at full liberty to acquire and possess every description of property, movable and immovable, which the laws of the other contracting party permit, or shall permit, the subjects or citizens of any other foreign country to acquire and possess. They may dispose of the same by sale, exchange, gift, marriage, testament, or in any other manner, or acquire the same by inheritance, under the same conditions as are or shall be established with regard to subjects or citizens of the other contracting party.

The subjects or citizens of each of the two contracting parties shall also be permitted, on compliance with the laws of the other contracting party, freely to export the proceeds of the sale of their property and their goods in general without being subjected, as foreigners, to other or higher duties than those to which subjects or citizens of such party would be liable in similar circumstances.

Article 6

The subjects or citizens of either of the two contracting parties shall be entitled to enter and reside in the territories of the other so long as they satisfy and observe the conditions and regulations applicable to the entry and residence of all foreigners, and they shall enjoy in respect of the exercise of their trades, professions, or industries the same rights as the subjects or citizens of the most favored foreign country.

Article 7

The subjects or citizens of each of the two contracting parties in the territories of the other shall be exempted from all compulsory military service whatsoever, whether in the army, navy, air force, national guard, or militia. They shall similarly be exempted from all judicial, administrative, and municipal functions whatever, other than those imposed by the laws relating to juries, as well as from all contributions, whether pecuniary or in kind, imposed as an equivalent for personal service, and finally from any military exaction or requisition. The charges connected with the possession by any title of landed property are, however, excepted, as well as compulsory billeting and other special military exactions or requisitions to which all subjects or citizens of the other contracting party may be liable as owners or occupiers of buildings or land.

In so far as either of the two contracting parties may levy any military exactions or requisitions on the subjects or citizens of the other, it shall accord the same compensation in respect thereof as is accorded to its own subjects or citizens.

In the above respects the subjects or citizens of one of the two contracting parties shall not be accorded in the territories of the other less favorable treatment than that which is or may be accorded to subjects or citizens of the most favored foreign country.

Article 8

Articles produced or manufactured in the territories of one of the two contracting parties, imported into the territories of the other, from whatever place arriving, shall not be subjected to other or higher duties or charges than those paid on the like articles produced or manufactured in any other foreign country.

Subject to the provisions of Article 10, no prohibition or restriction shall be maintained or imposed on the importation of any article, produced or manufactured in the territories of either of the two contracting parties, into the territories of the other, from whatever place arriving, which shall not equally extend to the importation of the like articles produced or manufactured in any other foreign country.

Article 9

Articles produced or manufactured in the territories of either of the two contracting

parties exported to the territories of the other shall not be subjected to other or higher duties or charges than those paid on the like articles exported to any other foreign country. Subject to the provisions of Article 10, no prohibition or restriction shall be imposed on the exportation of any article from the territories of either of the two contracting parties to the territories of the other which shall not equally extend to the exportation of the like articles to any other foreign country.

Article 10

Trade and traffic between the territories of the two contracting parties shall, as far as possible, not be impeded by any kind of import or export prohibitions or restrictions.

The two contracting parties agree to limit their right to impose prohibitions or restrictions upon import or export as far as possible to the following cases, it being understood that such prohibitions or restrictions are extended at the same time and in the same way to other foreign countries in which similar conditions prevail:

(a) Public safety;

(b) Sanitary grounds or for protection of animals and plants against diseases and pests;

(c) In respect of weapons, ammunition, and war material, and, under exceptional circumstances, also in respect of other materials needed in war;

(d) For the purpose of prohibiting the importation of articles where such prohibition is imposed under the patent laws of the respective parties;

(e) For the purpose of extending to foreign goods prohibitions and restrictions which are or may hereafter be imposed by internal legislation upon the production, sale, consumption, or forwarding within the territories of the party concerned of goods of the same kind produced within those territories, including, in particular, goods which are the subject of a State monopoly or similar arrangement.

Nothing in this article shall preclude either of the two contracting parties from prescribing, in pursuance of general legislation, reasonable regulations as to the manner, form, or place of importation, or the marking of imported goods, or of enforcing such regulations by prohibiting the importation of goods which do not comply with them.

Article 11

The two contracting parties agree that no prohibitions or restrictions on traffic in transit through the territories of either of the two contracting parties from or to the territories of the other shall be imposed under the provisions of Article 17 of this treaty which are not extended at the same time and in the same way to other countries in which similar conditions prevail.

Article 12

In so far as, having regard to the provisions of the two preceding articles, prohibitions and restrictions may be enforced, the two contracting parties undertake as regards import and export licenses to do everything in their power to insure:

(a) That the conditions to be fulfilled and the formalities to be observed in order to obtain such licenses should be brought immediately in the clearest and most definite form to the notice of the public;

(b) That the method of issue of the certificates of licenses should be as simple and stable as possible;

(c) That the examination of applications and the issue of licenses to the applicants should be carried out with the least possible delay;

(d) That the system of issuing licenses should be such as to prevent the traffic in licenses. With this object, licenses, when issued to individuals, should state the name of the holder and should not be capable of being used by any other person;

(e) That, in the event of the fixing of rations, the formalities required by the importing country should not be such as to prevent an equitable allocation of the quantities of goods of which the importation is authorized.

Article 13

The two contracting parties agree to take the most appropriate measures by their national legislation and administration both to prevent the arbitrary or unjust application of their laws and regulations with regard to customs and other similar matters, and to insure redress by administrative, judicial, or arbitral procedure for those who have been prejudiced by such abuses.

Article 14

No internal duties shall be levied within the territories of either of the two contract-

ing parties for the benefit of the State or local authorities or corporations on goods the produce or manufacture of the territories of the other party which are other or greater than the duties levied in similar circumstances on the like goods of national origin or of any other foreign origin.

Article 15

The stipulations of the present treaty with regard to the mutual grant of the treatment of the most favored nation apply unconditionally to the treatment of commercial travelers and their samples. In this matter the two contracting parties agree to carry out the provisions of the international convention relating to the simplification of customs formalities signed at Geneva on the 3rd November, 1923.

Article 16

Limited liability and other companies, partnerships, and associations formed for the purpose of commerce, insurance, finance, industry, transport, or any other business and established in the territories of either party shall, provided that they have been duly constituted in accordance with the laws in force in such territories, be entitled, in the territories of the other, to exercise their rights and appear in the courts either as plaintiffs or defendants, subject to the laws of such other party.

Limited liability and other companies, partnerships, and associations of either party which shall have been admitted in accordance with the laws and regulations in force in the territories of the other party shall enjoy in those territories the same treatment in regard to taxation as is accorded to the limited liability and other companies, partnerships, and associations of that party.

Furthermore, each of the two contracting parties undertakes to place no obstacle in the way of such companies, partnerships, and associations which may desire to carry on in its territories, whether through the establishment of branches or otherwise, any description of business which the companies, partnerships, and associations or subjects or citizens of any other foreign country are or may be permitted to carry on.

In no case shall the treatment accorded by either of the two contracting parties to companies, partnerships, and associations of the other be less favorable in respect of any matter whatever than that accorded to com-

panies, partnerships, and associations of the most favored foreign country.

It is understood that the foregoing provisions are applicable to companies, partnerships, and associations constituted before the signature of the present treaty as well as to those which may be constituted subsequently.

Nothing in this article shall prejudice the right of either party to impose or maintain laws and regulations governing the disposal of immovable property, provided that in regard to this matter the treatment of the most favored nation is applied.

Article 17

The measures taken by the two contracting parties for regulating and forwarding traffic across their territories shall facilitate free transit by rail or waterway on routes in use convenient for international transit. No distinction shall be made which is based on the nationality of persons, the flag of vessels, the place of origin, departure, entry, exit, or destination, or on any circumstances relating to the ownership of goods or of vessels, coaching or goods stock, or other means of transport.

In order to insure the application of the foregoing provisions, the two contracting parties will allow transit across their territorial waters in accordance with the customary conditions and reserves.

Traffic in transit shall not be subject to any special dues in respect of transit (including entry and exit). Nevertheless, on such traffic in transit there may be levied dues intended solely to defray expenses of supervision and administration entailed by such transit. The rate of any such dues must correspond as nearly as possible with the expenses which they are intended to cover, and the dues must be imposed under the conditions of equality laid down in the first paragraph of this article, except that on certain routes such dues may be reduced or even abolished on account of differences in the cost of supervision.

Neither of the two contracting parties shall be bound by this article to afford transit for passengers whose admission into its territories is forbidden, or for goods of a kind of which the importation is prohibited either on grounds of public health or security or as a precaution against diseases of animals or plants.

Each of the two contracting parties shall be entitled to take reasonable precautions to

insure that persons, baggage, and goods, particularly goods which are the subject of monopoly, and also vessels, coaching, and goods stock and other means of transport are really in transit, as well as to insure that passengers in transit are in a position to complete their journey, and to prevent the safety of the routes and means of communication being in danger.

Nothing in this article shall affect the measures which either of the two contracting parties may feel called upon to take in pursuance of general international conventions to which it is a party or which may be concluded hereafter, particularly conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations relating to the transit, export, or import of particular kinds of articles, such as opium or other dangerous drugs, or the produce of fisheries, or in pursuance of general conventions intended to prevent any infringement of industrial, literary, or artistic property, or relating to false marks, false indications of origin, or other methods of unfair competition.

Any haulage service established as a monopoly on waterways used for transit must be so organized as not to hinder the transit of vessels.

For the purposes of this treaty, persons, baggage, and goods, and also vessels, coaching and goods stock, and other means of transport, shall be deemed to be in transit across the territories of one of the two contracting parties when the passage across such territories, with or without transshipment, warehousing, breaking bulk, or change in the mode of transport, is only a portion of a complete journey, beginning and terminating beyond the frontier of the party across whose territory the transit takes place. Traffic of this nature is termed in this article "traffic in transit."

Article 18

Each of the two contracting parties shall permit the importation or exportation of all merchandise which may be legally imported or exported, and also the carriage of passengers from or to their respective territories, upon the vessels of the other; and such vessels, their cargoes and passengers, shall enjoy the same privileges as and shall not be subjected to any other or higher duties or charges than national vessels and their cargoes and passengers, or the vessels of any

other foreign country and their cargoes and passengers.

It is agreed that the foregoing provisions preclude either of the two contracting parties from imposing differential flag duties or charges on goods or passengers carried in vessels of the other.

The two contracting parties further agree, in regard to facilities for international railway traffic and to the rates and conditions of their application, to refrain from all discrimination of an unfair nature directed against the goods, nationals, or vessels of the other.

Tariffs, reductions in rates or other railway facilities, the application of which is dependent upon previous or subsequent carriage of the goods upon vessels of a certain State-owned or private shipping undertaking, or which are made conditional upon a given sea or river connection, shall unconditionally apply in the same direction and on the same routes to the goods carried in the vessels of one of the two contracting parties and arriving at or departing from a harbor of the other contracting party.

Article 19

In all that regards the stationing, loading, and unloading of vessels in the ports, docks, roadsteads, and harbors of the territories of the two contracting parties, no privilege or facility shall be granted by either party to vessels of any other foreign country or to national vessels which is not equally granted to vessels of the other party, from whatever place they may arrive and whatever may be their place of destination.

Article 20

In regard to duties of tonnage, harbor, pilotage, lighthouse, quarantine, or other analogous duties or charges of whatever denomination levied in the name or for the profit of the government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations, or establishments of any kind, the vessels of each of the two contracting parties shall enjoy in the ports of the territories of the other treatment at least as favorable as that accorded to national vessels or the vessels of any other foreign country.

All dues and charges levied for the use of maritime ports shall be duly published before coming into force. The same shall apply to the by-laws and regulations of the ports. In each maritime port the port authority shall

keep open, for inspection by all persons concerned, a table of the dues and charges in force, as well as a copy of the by-laws and regulations.

Article 21

The provisions of this treaty relating to the mutual concession of national treatment in matters of navigation do not apply to the coasting trade, in respect of which the subjects or citizens and vessels of each of the contracting parties shall enjoy most-favored-nation treatment in the territories of the other, provided that reciprocity be assured.

The vessels of either contracting party may, nevertheless, proceed from one port to another, either for the purpose of landing the whole or part of their cargoes or passengers brought from abroad, or of taking on board the whole or part of their cargoes or passengers for a foreign destination.

It is also understood that, in the event of the coasting trade of either party being exclusively reserved to national vessels, the vessels of the other party, if engaged in trade to or from places not within the limits of the coasting trade so reserved, shall not be prohibited from the carriage between two ports of the territories of the former party of passengers holding through tickets or merchandise consigned on through bills of lading to or from places not within the above-mentioned limits, and while engaged in such carriage these vessels and their passengers and cargoes shall enjoy the full privileges of this treaty.

Article 22

The provisions of this treaty shall not be applicable to the special treatment which is, or may hereafter be, accorded by either party to fish caught by vessels of that party. Fish caught by vessels of either party shall not be treated less favorable in any respect on importation into the territories of the other than fish caught by the vessels of any other foreign country.

Article 23

Any vessels of either of the two contracting parties which may be compelled, by stress of weather or by accident, to take shelter in a port of the territories of the other shall be at liberty to refit therein, to procure all necessary stores, and to put to sea again without paying any dues other than such as would be payable in a similar case by a national vessel. In case, however, the master

of a merchant vessel should be under the necessity of disposing of a part of his merchandise in order to defray his expenses, he shall be bound to conform to the regulations and tariffs of the place to which he may have come.

If any vessel of one of the two contracting parties shall run aground or be wrecked upon the coasts of the territories of the other, such vessel and all parts thereof and all furniture and appurtenances belonging thereto, and all goods and merchandise saved therefrom, including any which may have been cast into the sea, or the proceeds thereof, if sold, as well as all papers found on board such stranded or wrecked vessel, shall be given up to the owners of such vessel, goods, merchandise, &c., or to their agents when claimed by them. If there are no such owners or agents on the spot, then the vessel, goods, merchandise, &c., referred to shall, in so far as they are the property of a subject or citizen of the second contracting party, be delivered to the consular officer of that contracting party in whose district the wreck or stranding may have taken place upon being claimed by him within the period fixed by the laws of the contracting party, and such consular officer, owners, or agents shall pay only the expenses incurred in the preservation of the property, together with the salvage or other expenses which would have been payable in the like case of a wreck or stranding of a national vessel.

The two contracting parties agree, however, that merchandise saved shall not be subjected to the payment of any customs duty unless cleared for internal consumption.

In the case of a vessel being driven in by stress of weather, run aground, or wrecked, the respective consular officer shall, if the owner or master or other agent of the owner is not present, or is present and requires it, be authorized to interpose, in order to afford the necessary assistance to his fellow-countrymen.

Article 24

The vessels of each of the two contracting parties, together with their cargoes and passengers, shall receive on the natural and artificial inland waterways and in the public inland harbors of the other treatment in respect of navigation, particularly as regards dues and other charges, not less favorable than that accorded to national vessels and

their cargoes and passengers or the vessels of the most favored foreign country and their cargoes and passengers.

Article 25

Each of the two contracting parties will, within the limits permitted by its laws and subject to the conditions of equivalence and reciprocity, accept the regulations prescribed by the other relating to the measurements, fittings, equipment, or safety of ships.

Article 26

The provisions of this treaty with regard to the vessels of the two contracting parties shall not extend to vessels registered in any part of their territories to which the treaty is not, or is not made, applicable.

Article 27

It shall be free to each of the two contracting parties to appoint consuls general, consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents to reside in the towns and ports of the territories of the other to which such representatives of any other nation may be admitted by the respective governments. Such consuls general, consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents, however, shall not enter upon their functions until after they shall have been approved and admitted in the usual form by the government to which they are sent.

The consular officials of one of the two contracting parties shall enjoy in the territories of the other the same official rights, privileges, and exemptions, provided reciprocity be granted, as are or may be accorded to similar officials of any other foreign country.

Article 28

When a subject or citizen of one of the two contracting parties dies within the territories of the other, leaving non-resident heirs, the consular representative of the other party is entitled, without express authorization from such non-resident heirs, to represent them, so far as the laws of the country do not expressly prohibit such representation, in all matters pertaining to administration of the property and settlement of the estate, with the right to collect the distributive shares of such heirs, provided that the general laws of the country do not expressly demand the personal presence of the heirs or provided that an executor has not been appointed.

The consular officers of one of the two contracting parties residing in the territories of the other shall receive from the local authorities such assistance as can by law be given to them for the recovery of deserters from the vessels of the former party: *provided*, that this stipulation shall not apply to subjects or citizens of the contracting party in whose territories the desertion takes place.

Article 29

The subjects or citizens of each of the two contracting parties shall have in the territories of the other the same rights as subjects or citizens of that contracting party in regard to patents for inventions, trade-marks, and designs, upon fulfilment of the formalities prescribed by law.

Article 30

The two contracting parties agree in principle that any dispute that may arise between them as to the proper interpretation or application of any of the provisions of the present treaty shall, at the request of either party, be referred to arbitration.

The court of arbitration to which disputes shall be referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, unless in any particular case the two contracting parties agree otherwise.

Article 31

The stipulations of the present treaty shall not be applicable to India or to any of His Britannic Majesty's self-governing dominions, colonies, possessions, or protectorates unless notice is given by His Britannic Majesty's representative at Berlin of the desire of His Britannic Majesty that the said stipulations shall apply to any such territory.

Nevertheless, goods produced or manufactured in India or in any of His Britannic Majesty's self-governing dominions, colonies, possessions, or protectorates shall enjoy in Germany complete and unconditional most-favored-nation treatment so long as goods produced or manufactured in Germany are accorded in India or such self-governing dominion, colony, possession, or protectorate treatment as favorable as that accorded to goods produced or manufactured in any other foreign country.

As regards India, or any of His Britannic Majesty's self-governing dominions, colonies, possessions, or protectorates to which the pro-

visions of the present treaty shall not have been applied by the 1st September, 1926, the provisions of the second paragraph of this article shall cease to operate three months after notice has been given, at any time after that date, to His Britannic Majesty's representative at Berlin on behalf of the President of the German Reich.

Article 32

The terms of the preceding article relating to India and to His Britannic Majesty's self-governing dominions, colonies, possessions, and protectorates shall apply also to any territory in respect of which a mandate on behalf of the League of Nations has been accepted by His Britannic Majesty.

Article 33

The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London as soon as possible. It shall come into force immediately upon ratification and shall be binding during five years from the date of its coming into force. In case neither of the two contracting parties shall have given notice to the other twelve months before the expiration of the said period of five years of its intention to terminate the present treaty, it shall remain in force until the expiration of one year from the date on which either of the two contracting parties shall have denounced it.

As regards, however, India or any of His Britannic Majesty's self-governing dominions, colonies, possessions, or protectorates, or any territory in respect of which a mandate on behalf of the League of Nations has been accepted by His Britannic Majesty, to which the stipulations of the present treaty shall have been made applicable under Articles 31 and 32, either of the two contracting parties shall have the right to terminate it separately at any time on giving twelve months' notice to that effect.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at London, in duplicate, in English and German texts, the 2nd December, 1924.

[L. S.]	AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.
[L. S.]	D'ABERNON.
[L. S.]	STHAMER.
[L. S.]	C. v. SCHUBERT.

The Protocol

(1)

The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation signed this day, being based on the principle of the most favored nation, both parties to the treaty undertake to give the widest possible interpretation to that principle. In particular, while retaining their right to take appropriate measures to preserve their own industries, they undertake to abstain from using their respective customs tariffs or any other charges as a means of discrimination against the trade of the other, and to give sympathetic consideration to any cases that may be brought to their notice in which, whether as a result of the rates of customs duties or charges themselves or of arbitrary or unreasonable customs classification, any such discrimination can be shown to have arisen.

(2)

Within the limits of this undertaking, each party agrees not to impose, reimpose, or prolong any duties or charges which are specially injurious to the other party. Each party further agrees, when modifying its existing customs tariff and fixing future rates of customs duty, as far as they specially affect the interests of the other party, to take due regard to reciprocity and to the development on fair and equitable terms of the commerce of the two countries, the German Government taking into full account the favorable treatment at present accorded to goods the produce or manufacture of Germany on importation into the United Kingdom. The parties will also have regard to the same considerations in applying any special prohibitions or restrictions which may be notified under Article 3 of this protocol.

Should either of the two contracting parties be of the opinion that particular rates of customs duty fixed by the other party are not in accordance with the above undertaking both parties agree to enter immediately into verbal negotiations.

(3)

Both contracting parties agree to remove at the earliest possible opportunity, but not later than six months from the coming into force of the treaty signed this day, all forms of prohibition or restriction of importation

or exportation, except in those special cases mentioned in Article 10 of the treaty, or in such other special cases as may be notified by either party to the other party before the ratification of the treaty.

(4)

His Britannic Majesty's Government undertake—

(a) To recommend to Parliament the necessary legislation for the removal of the disabilities imposed by the legislation specified below affecting German citizens and German companies in the United Kingdom which do not extend to the subjects or citizens or companies of the most favored foreign country, viz:

Non-Ferrous Metal Industries Act, 1918.

Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act, 1919 (section 12).

Trading with the Enemy (Amendment) Act, 1918 (section 2).

(b) In the administration of the Overseas Trade Acts, 1920 to 1924, and the Trade Facilities Acts, 1921 to 1924, not to exclude trade between the United Kingdom and Germany from any benefits to which trade between the United Kingdom and any other foreign country is admitted.

(5)

The German Government undertake—

(a) That insurance companies constituted in accordance with the laws in force in the United Kingdom shall be admitted to carry on business in all parts of Germany, subject to the provisions of the German insurance law, and that the section regulating the admittance of foreign insurance companies will be interpreted in the most liberal way, as far as insurance companies of the United Kingdom are concerned. The German Government will also give all necessary facilities compatible with German law for the work carried on by the agents in Germany on behalf of the underwriters of the United Kingdom.

(b) That banking companies constituted in accordance with the laws in force in the United Kingdom shall in the pursuance of their business be subjected only to the general German law; that new regulations against the flight of capital shall be so

framed that the right to open accounts and to receive deposits may be conferred upon foreign banks; and that they will use their influence with the State governments to secure that United Kingdom banks shall be treated in a liberal way with regard to the permission to open branch offices and the right to deal in exchange, without prejudice to the right of making the grant of such privileges to foreign banks subject to general reservations.

(6)

In pursuance of the general principle of the mutual accord of national treatment in matters of navigation which is embodied in the treaty signed this day, both parties agree that in regard to the carriage from their respective territories of emigrants (including transmigrants) and to the establishment of agencies by companies engaged in the business of emigration the vessels and shipping companies of either party shall be placed, in the territories of the other, on exactly the same footing in every respect as national vessels and national shipping companies.

(7)

Both parties hereby place on record their intention to adopt (in so far as they have not already done so) the provisions of—

(1) The conventions and statutes concluded at Barcelona in 1921 respecting freedom of transit and navigable waterways of international commerce;

(2) The conventions and statutes concluded at Geneva in 1923 respecting customs formalities, maritime ports, and railways;

(3) The protocol on arbitration clauses drawn up at Geneva in 1923.

(8)

It is agreed that the treaty signed this day shall come into force only after the necessary legislative or administrative measures have been passed by the appropriate authorities in the respective countries.

Done at London, in duplicate, in English and German texts, the 2nd December, 1924.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

D'ABERNON.

STHAMER.

C. V. SCHUBERT.

News in Brief

THE WINNER OF THE FIRST PRIZE (£1,000) in the Filene British Peace Award competition is Mr. Bolton C. Waller, of Ireland. His plan has as its central idea a stronger, more elastic, and more efficient League of Nations. Mr. Waller was formerly Irish Secretary; he is a member of the Student Christian Movement and the author of "Toward the Brotherhood of Nations." The winner of the second prize (£250) is Miss Freda White, of the Intelligence Section, League of Nations Union, London. The third prize (£100) goes to Mr. Normal Angell, the well-known author of "The Great Illusion" and many other pacifist books. Nearly 4,700 British citizens submitted plans. The first place goes to Ireland, 26 to England, two each to Scotland, Canada and New Zealand, one each to South Africa and Tasmania. Mr. Edward Filene offered £2,000 in all for prizes to citizens of the British Empire who should submit the best essays on "How can peace and prosperity be restored in Great Britain and in Europe through international co-operation?"

THE NUMBER OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES who have left Turkey and are at present in Europe and the Near East is estimated at 321,000, according to a report appearing in *Industrial and Labor Information*, the weekly periodical of the International Labor Office. Of this number, 150,000 are in Syria, 120,000 in Greece, 20,000 in Bulgaria, 2,000 in Cyprus, 8,000 in Mesopotamia, 1,000 in Palestine, and 20,000 in various European countries.

These refugees have no identification papers and are, therefore, in a difficult situation, as every nation in Europe now has legislation in effect for the supervision of foreigners and requires some certificate of identification.

POLISH ECONOMIC CIRCLES are attentively following the negotiations which are taking place behind the scenes in regard to a scheme for trans-European water transport, whereby the North Sea would be linked up with the Black Sea. France, England, Germany, and America are interested in these plans. Polish experts are urging the Warsaw Government

not to neglect the Polish waterways, in view of the future water transport between western Europe and Russia. It is recommended that foreign capital be utilized, so that the Polish river system may be improved as soon as possible.

RICHARD SAVAGE IS DEAD, and the announcement has recalled to hundreds of Americans who have visited Shakespeare's birthplace at Stratford-on-Avon the genial secretary and librarian of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust. This scholar had devoted his life to "rescuing the memory of past days of the poet from the dust scattered over it by time." His Shakespearean research and his long residence at the birthplace of the Bard of Avon had brought him into contact with a wide circle of Shakespeare lovers, authors, actors, and others of note from all parts of the world.

PRODUCTION OF OPIUM IN CHINA is not yet materially checked. That country, in 1922, agreed to conduct certain investigations looking toward a reduction and control of opium output. According to the recent report of the League of Nations committee on dangerous drugs, Chinese public opinion is not awake to the situation and Chinese officials have not satisfactorily carried out the agreement. All this materially hampers the control of the opium traffic in the Far East.

THE CHINA INTERNATIONAL FAMINE RELIEF COMMISSION, founded in 1921, is now working, through eight special committees, in the following provinces: Chihli, Shantung, Shansi, Hunan, Kiangsu, Honan, Hupeh, and Shensi. The provinces in which these committees have been organized are naturally those which are the greatest sufferers from disaster. It is also in these provinces that the public works and famine prevention schemes, such as irrigation projects, conservancy undertakings, road building, etc., which are the principal object of the Commission, have been most fully developed. Subcommittees deal with each class of these works, which also include the sinking of wells, afforestation along the river banks, and so on. The most important of these schemes are the Hwai River scheme, the maintenance of the Yellow River dikes, irrigation in the province of Shensi and the Yung-Ting scheme in the Chihli Province. These works are directed by a technical board, which includes nine Chinese and foreign engineers.

Another important method of preventing famines is through the increase of the margin of livelihood of the Chinese rural population, and to study this question a committee of credit and economic improvement has been organized. It is of extreme interest, for instance, to note that foreign-grown farm products can frequently be purchased in China more cheaply than native-grown articles of the same quality. The committee on credit has undertaken to promote co-operative societies in China in order to assure the profits to the producer and to increase the economic reserve which will make famines less serious in their consequences.

ATTEMPTS ARE BEING MADE by the Labor press of Australia to rouse the organized workers of the Australian Labor Party to realize the necessity of peace propaganda, in view of the fact that it is believed by many that the next war will arise out of the Pacific Problem. A labor ex-member of the Australian Parliament has recently toured the United States, and he now states that labor in the United States desires to get into closer touch with labor in Australia. In view of this, it is hoped that at the next federal conference of the Australian Labor Party opinions may be expressed as to the advisability of a Pan-Pacific Labor Congress.

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY of trade unionism in Japan a private concern has consented to apply the principle of collective bargaining, a question which has long been the subject of controversy among Japanese manufacturers. This concern, the Kawakita Electrical Works, has also promised that in important decisions affecting the workers joint committees of the management and the workers shall be formed to discuss the points at issue. The leaders of the Union are also given permission to visit workshops with a view to a better understanding between management and workers.

A PLAN OF UNITED ACTION by which national organizations of women will oppose war is to be framed at a conference on the "cause and cure of war," which will be held in Washington from Jan. 18 to 24. The organizations co-operating in the call to the conference are: The American Association of University Women, the National League of Women

Voters, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, the Council of Women for Home Missions, the Federation of Woman's Board of Foreign Missions in North America, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

THE MEXICO-JAPANESE AMITY, COMMERCE, AND NAVIGATION TREATY has been unanimously ratified by the Mexican Senate. The most important point in the agreement is connected with the damages citizens of either country may suffer owing to revolutions, each government agreeing not to hold the other responsible on that score. Japan also withdraws all claims for revolutionary damages suffered previous to the signature of the treaty.

Regarding immigration, the pact specifies that this may be limited according to the laws and interests of the respective countries, Mexico being at liberty to study and decide to what extent Japanese immigration is desirable. The treaty becomes effective a fortnight after the exchange of ratifications.

THE SYMPATHY AND GENEROSITY OF AMERICA TO JAPAN in her hour of darkest trial is to be commemorated by the Japanese nation in the erection of two memorial hospitals.

The original plan formulated by the Japanese Government contemplated the erection of a single hospital in Tokyo and this will be done. A second hospital, to be erected in Yokohama, is now made possible by the recent transference of the unexpended balance of the American Red Cross Japanese Relief Fund, amounting to about \$500,000.

A CHILDREN'S CHARTER, drawn up jointly by representatives of the Save the Children Fund and of the National Council of Women of Great Britain, is commended to its supporters, "not as a final and complete expression of opinion, but as a basis for study and practical work." The Children's Charter is based on the principle that every child is born with the inalienable right to have the opportunity of full physical, mental, and spiritual development. It is the privilege no less than the duty of parents to provide such opportunities for their children, but in the event of parents not being able, for whatsoever reason, to discharge this duty, the community is bound to secure fulfillment thereof.

"The declaration of Geneva" recognizes this principle. It is, however, couched in such broad and general terms that greater detail is required by those who desire to investigate and promote its application in any particular area.

INCREASES IN PASSENGER RATES for transatlantic travel, to go into effect January 1, were agreed upon at the transatlantic passenger conference held recently in Paris, according to cable advices to steamship companies in this country. Higher cost of oil fuel and general raising of operating costs have forced the increases, steamship officials assert.

THE COMMERCIAL TREATY BETWEEN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND AUSTRIA, based on the Austrian tariff recently passed by the National Assembly, has been signed. Czechoslovakia concedes duty reductions on one-third of the principal articles imported by Austria. Twenty-five per cent of Czechoslovakia's exports came to Austria in 1923, while 20 per cent of Austria's exports went to Czechoslovakia. The finance minister, Dr. Ahrer, is quoted by the press as declaring his intention of relieving Austrian industry, now burdened by 30 per cent taxes, in every way possible.

THE NOBEL PRIZE COMMITTEE OF THE STORTHING has decided that the Nobel peace prize shall not be awarded for 1924.

SUICIDE WAS THE LEADING SINGLE CAUSE OF DEATHS for the total U. S. army personnel for the year ending June 24, 1924, according to the annual report of the Secretary of War. Tuberculosis ranked second as a cause of death. The whole mortality rate was however, lower than ever before, setting the record of 3.91 per 1,000.

WORLD PEACE WAS ONE OF THE SUBJECTS DISCUSSED at the First International Thrift Congress, held in Milan, Italy, in October, 1924. Robert J. Thompson, of Chicago, who was for years American consul in Great Britain and Germany, presented a plan for an international peace organization of the savings institutions of the world. "The chief learners of the lesson of loss through war are always the savers," he said, "those who have practiced thrift, industry and personal abnegation in the accumulation of capital. They are the first to suffer in this respect from war, and therefore, upon the basis of the pre-

vention of war, the savers of the world can meet upon a very common ground, not only respecting themselves, but their dependents, their country, and all that civilization means to them."

BOOK REVIEWS

SOCIAL WORK IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY. By *Stuart Alfred Queen*. 322 pages and index. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

This book, written by S. A. Queen, professor of sociology in the University of Kansas, covers a field not before treated in English—that is, the historical development of social service and the practical lessons to be derived from the experience of the past. A helpful and interesting feature is that the author has worked back from the present instead of employing the usual chronological order. The book is divided into five parts, as follows: present tendencies in social work; nineteenth century humanitarianism; the English poor law; the medieval church and philanthropy; mutual aid in medieval communities. A list of suggested readings appears at the close of each chapter.

The book, designed especially for college students and for citizens interested in this field, should prove helpful in answering many of the pertinent questions of today, such as: "Just what is meant by the current phrase 'social work'?" "Why do we have so many social agencies, with their numerous employees and their constant appeals for funds? Are they really needed? What do they accomplish? Whither is all this stir about social service leading us?"

THE MAN LENIN. By *Isaac Don Levine*. Thos. Seltzer, New York, 1924. Pp. 207. Price, \$2.50.

RUSSIA AND PEACE. By *Dr. Fridtjof Nansen*. Macmillan Co., New York, 1924. Pp. 162. Price, \$2.00.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA. By *Elsie Terry Blanc*. Macmillan Co., 1924. Pp. 324. Price, \$2.50.

The three books on Russia, given above, are all more interesting when read in conjunction than any one would be if read alone. They cover different phases of the Russian problem.

In Mr. Levine's story of Lenin we have the political narrative since 1887. In Dr. Nansen's book we have an economic and social study of present-day Russia. In Mrs. Blanc's "Co-operative Movement" we follow what seems to be the core of Russian development as it arose in Russian need, as it was hampered by Lenin's first political theories, then freed to some extent; especially as it became the agency connecting Soviet Russia with the world and the future.

The significant portion of Lenin's life began in 1887, when his elder brother was executed for an attempt to assassinate the Tsar. That event stirred the young man to his depths and marked the beginning of his revolutionary career.

To follow the life of Lenin from that point is to follow the life of Bolshevik Russia. If, at times, the biography becomes lost in the swirl of conflict, it is because the man was so peculiarly himself the Revolution, that to read of one is to read of the other.

Levine quotes Abramovitch as saying that though Lenin had worked for a dictatorship for twenty years, it was not because of ambition. It was because he thought that he alone among the Socialists correctly understood Marx, therefore he alone was fitted to head the Revolution. This was his deep and ineradicable conviction, as "strong as that of a maniac."

His private life was kindly and self-denying; but in his political acts he sacrificed every other moral and ethical motive in his pursuit of the ideal State. This State, however, was strictly of the intellect. He failed at first to understand the forces of human nature. A retreat became necessary; hence the New Economic Policy of 1921, which at last enabled Russia to begin her reconstruction.

"His spiritual weapons," says Levine, in conclusion, "were not new, they were as ancient as human society, namely violence, benevolent despotism. * * * Lenin made use of the decayed material of the old civil-

ization. How can one build a new edifice with rotten and valueless material?"

As a biography this book falls short because in spite of characterization and incident the man Lenin never becomes quite alive. As a narrative of the storm and stress of the political currents of which he was the center, it is more successful.

The second book of the group is written in the hope of enlisting foreign understanding of Russia.

As Commissioner of Repatriation of War Prisoners, and later as Director of European Famine relief, Dr. Nansen has had unusual opportunities to know conditions in Russia.

He is, no more than Levine, in sympathy with the Bolshevik régime, which has been called "Tsardom upside down." "Yet," he says, "one cannot be brought into close touch with this great people, in prosperity or adversity, without feeling an affection for it, and acquiring faith in its possibilities."

The book is of uneven merit. In spite of the space devoted to economic questions, it is most informing in its résumé of social conditions. Perhaps this is inevitable from Dr. Nansen's special work in Russia.

The third book of the group is by far the most valuable of the three. Mrs. Blanc has written a very thorough, critical and, apparently, unbiased study of her subject. The Co-operatives of Russia are traced through fifty-seven years, from their beginnings, when they were devised for the exploitation of the working man, through many vicissitudes till they became truly co-operative. The story is buttressed with many statistics and told in relation to other relevant matters. With painstaking care the remarkable movement is followed through the World War, the Revolution, through its practical disappearance in Communism, and its rebirth as a movement which now tends to become an economic factor of great importance.

The book is thorough in method, and clear in arrangement. Because, in Russia, the co-operative movement springs from fibers deep down in the life of the people, because it reaches both producers and consumers and touches both finance and foreign relations, it becomes, one may safely say, one of the most significant single facts in Russia today.

This portion of Russian history is too little known to the western peoples. The book is a distinguished contribution to our knowledge of Russia's real place in the world.

WHEN ISRAEL IS KING. By Jerome and Jean Tharaud. Translated from the 64th French edition by *Hon. Lady Whitehead*. 248 pages. Robert M. McBride & Co., New York. Price, \$2.00.

The Tharaud brothers in their book, *When Israel Is King*, have portrayed the development of the Jewish problem in Hungary, certainly one of the most acute and dramatic situations on the continent of Europe. The influx of the Jews and their adoption of Hungary as their own country; the murder of Count Tisza, one of the five ministers who had taken part in the Imperial Council on July 7, 1914; the abdication of King Charles, followed by the triumph of Count Karolyi in being made President of the Provisional Republic; the Bolshevik régime led by Bela Kun and the reign of terror carried out by the "Lenin's boys"; the overthrow of the Soviets, accompanied by violent demonstrations of anti-Semitic feeling—these are the high points of the tragic story. The book, being mainly historical, is a valuable contribution to the "dialogue without end" between Jew and Gentile.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE TREATIES OF PEACE, 1919-1923. Two volumes. Maps by Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence Martin. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

GERMAN WHITE BOOK. Carnegie Endowment, Division International Law, 1924.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL QUESTIONS BETWEEN NATIONS. *Thomas Willing Balch*. Allen, Lane & Scott, 1924.

POLAND AND PEACE. *By Count Alexander Skrzynski*. George, Allen & Unwin, 1923.

PRISONERS OF WAR. *By Herbert C. Fooks*. J. W. Stowell Printing Co., Federalburg, Md., 1924.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE. *By Alejandro Alvarez*. Oxford University Press, N. Y., 1924.

THE TRAGEDY OF HUNGARY, AN APPEAL FOR WORLD PEACE. *By Louis K. Birinyi*. Published by the Author, Cleveland, Ohio, 1924. Price, \$3.00.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

Edited by ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

1815-1828

Suite 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

(Cable address, "Ampax, Washington.")

PUBLISHED MONTHLY EXCEPT SEPTEMBER

Sent free to all members of the American Peace Society. Separate subscription price, \$2.00 a year. Single copies, 20 cents each.

Entered as second-class matter, June 1, 1911, at the Post-Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917; authorized August 10, 1918.

It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

CONTENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD..... 67

EDITORIALS

Charles Evans Hughes—Unraveling Our Financial Troubles—Our United States in Paris—Ups and Downs in the Peace Business—Churches Headed Right—Editorial Notes..... 69-75

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

The Interallied Financial Conference—New Cabinet in Germany—As to the Cologne Evacuation—The Crisis in Italy—Economic Situation in Russia—Important International Dates (December 16, 1924—January 15, 1925)..... 76-87

GENERAL ARTICLES

Our Foreign Policy..... 88
By Hon. Richard Washburn Child

Builders of the State (a poem)..... 96
By Richard Watson

Economic Prospects of 1925..... 97
By Hon. Herbert Hoover

Albania 100
By Gordon Gordon-Smith

One Silent Power for Peace..... 102
By Arthur Deerin Call

Rights and Duties of States..... 106
By the Rt. Hon. Lord Phillimore

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Foreign Policy of the British Empire..... 112

BOOK REVIEWS..... 118

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.

Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.

It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.

Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.

It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.

FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is two dollars;

Sustaining Membership, five dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of ADVOCATE OF PEACE, Washington, D. C.

Hon. F. P. CLAXTON, Ex-United States Commissioner of Education, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Senator from Illinois, Washington, D. C.

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. PHILIP NORTH MOORE, St. Louis, Mo.

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN, 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, Esq., Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

HENRY C. MORRIS, Esq., 1155 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, California.

Prof. ARTHUR RAMSAY, Ex-President Fairmont Seminary, Southern Pines, North Carolina.

PAUL SLEMAN, Esq., Secretary American Colonization Society, Washington, D. C.

THEODORE STANFIELD, 126 W. 74th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Hon. HENRY TEMPLE, Representative from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS

HENRY C. MORRIS

PAUL SLEMAN

THEODORE STANFIELD

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D.

Hon. HENRY W. TEMPLE

OFFICERS

President:

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

GEORGE W. WHITE, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Washington, D. C.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

A. T. BELL, Esq., Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.

GILBERT BOWLES, Esq., Richmond, Indiana.

Dean CHARLES R. BROWN, New Haven, Conn.

Pres. E. E. BROWN, New York University, New York.

GEORGE BURNHAM, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston, Mass.

Rt. Rev. Bishop J. DARLINGTON, Harrisburg, Pa.

Dr. W. H. P. FAUNCE, Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.

GEORGE A. FINCH, Washington, D. C.

EVERETT O. FISE, Esq., Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM F. GEST, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hon. CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Washington, D. C.

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D. D., New York, N. Y.

Dr. DAVID STARR JORDAN, Stanford University, Calif.

GEO. H. JUDD, Washington, D. C.

Bishop WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Mass.

JOSEPH LEE, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM H. LUDEN, Reading, Pa.

L. H. PILLSBURY, Derry, N. H.

Judge HENRY WADE ROGERS, New York, N. Y.

Hon. ELIHU ROOT, New York, N. Y.

Mrs. FREDERIC SCHOFF, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. RUTH H. SPRAY, Salida, Colo.

Senator THOMAS STERLING, Washington, D. C.

EDWARD STEVENS, Columbia, Mo.

*Pres. M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

*Pres. C. F. THWING, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pres. MARY E. WOOLLEY, South Hadley, Mass.

*Emeritus.

Suggestions for a Governed World

(Adopted by the American Peace Society, May 27, 1921)

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference

for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council in the performance of their respective duties whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment whenever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council

of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that.

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for and, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instructions in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
87

FEBRUARY, 1925

NUMBER
2

EDITORIALS

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES RESIGNS

THE most serious fact facing the Coolidge administration is that Charles Evans Hughes will cease to be Secretary of State on the 4th day of March. Mr. Hughes came to his office four years ago without any training in international affairs. He had practiced law with distinction in the city of New York, been a professor of law in Cornell University, served as Governor of New York for two terms, and become Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1910. Upon assuming office as Secretary of State, it soon developed that he was applying to his tasks all of his marvelous energy and very great ability. He has not only held his own with the best minds of other nations; he has become the recognized leader among the foreign ministers of the world.

He has consistently and fearlessly opposed the theory that peace can be secured and maintained by military force and economic pressure. He has pointed out on more than one occasion that all contrivances of that kind depend upon the sentiment which will apply the pressure and direct the force when the test comes, and that because of the diversity of national interests and the inevitable conflicts of opinion, "such arrangements are likely to fail when they are most needed." He has said: "There is no path to peace except as the will of peoples may open it. The way to peace is through agreement, not through force. The question, then, is not

of any ambitious general scheme to prevent war, but simply of the constant effort, which is the highest task of statesmanship in relation to every cause of strife, to diminish among peoples the disposition to resort to force and to find a just and reasonable basis for accord." This has been the principle upon which Mr. Hughes has based his behavior as Secretary of State.

We do not here review the achievements of Mr. Hughes: his ending of the disastrous naval race between the chief naval powers of the world, his contribution to the settlement of the reparations problem abroad, his amelioration of the ill will between this country and Japan, his achievements day by day in the less-known but equally important routine of his office; we simply express our regret that our government at this time is to lose the guiding hand of Charles Evans Hughes.

UNRAVELING OUR FINANCIAL TROUBLES ABROAD

THE international financial situation can be expressed in simple terms. As a result of the war, the victors assessed damages against the Central Powers. Other bills against Germany have accrued because of the expenses of the armies of occupation, of goods stolen in the war, of various missions of control, of the service of the Dawes loan, and of other important but lesser claims. All of the creditor nations want to be paid. For a variety of reasons, the debtor nations, with a very

few exceptions, are not paying, notwithstanding the fact that the schedule of payments had been gradually whittled down in 1920 and definitely agreed upon in 1921.

A bankers' committee in Paris had a plan for the solution of the difficulties in 1922, but the attitude of the Reparations Commission made it impossible for the bankers' committee to submit its plan. Then came the Dawes report. The two outstanding facts about the Dawes report are: (1) as described by Roland W. Boyden, formerly our unofficial representative upon the Reparations Commission, it is an expression of a simple principle, namely, "that you can't get any more than you can get"; (2) the Dawes plan is simply a piece of machinery for doing what can be done to restore financial equilibrium and confidence, especially throughout Europe. This is a simple summary of the situation.

But if this were all, the man in the street would see but one difficulty left. That would be the question, How far are the interested parties willing to use the Dawes machinery in all good faith? Where the will is present, most anything can be done. After the repudiation of the German mark in 1921-22, the German Government adopted the "rentenmark" as its unit of exchange. This mark was supposed to be backed by all the real estate of Germany. It was not so guaranteed; but the assurance that it was gave the people of Germany confidence in it, with the result that this currency remained at par until the present reichmark, with its gold basis, supplanted it. The maintenance of the new mark at a uniform level—in other words, the stabilization of the mark—has been due to the confidence and will of the German people. The Dawes machinery will work, and international settlements will be made, in proportion as it is the will of the governments to do these things.

OUR UNITED STATES AND THE PARIS CONFERENCE

THE Paris financial conference, so far as the facts are available at this time, is set forth elsewhere in these columns. The two important problems facing the conference were the division of the Dawes payments and the division of the receipts from the Ruhr. As we have already said, the division of the payments under the Dawes plan is primarily a matter of machinery and bookkeeping. If it were not for the costs of the armies of occupation and other priority claims, the international financial situation would be simply a budgeting problem.

But the division of the proceeds from the Ruhr offers more complicated difficulties. It is still a mooted question, seemingly, whether the occupation of the Ruhr was carried out under the Treaty of Versailles or was a private enterprise against Germany carried on by France and Belgium. If it was carried on under the treaty, the cost should be borne by all of the Allies. But if, as held by the British Government, the occupation was conducted outside the treaty, its cost should be borne by France and Belgium alone.

In the midst of this situation our American Government submits its claim for \$250,000,000 as the cost of our army of occupation in the Ruhr. There remain also our claims for damages because of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which are being worked out by a mixed commission. We are demanding our share in the Dawes annuity. We are not particularly worried about the source of these payments, but the complication here lies in the fact that if we get them from Germany, Germany's payments to the Allies will be that much less, and the ability of the Allies to pay us will be reduced by substantially those amounts. As Mr. Boyden has said, "We might just as well consider these claims against Germany as an addition to the

claims which we already have against those governments which are to share reparations."

Another interesting fact is that, while we are demanding our share in the Dawes annuity, we have not accepted the Dawes plan. Our whole attitude is the acme of simplicity—we want the money which is owing to us, particularly, just now, the one and one-half billion dollars owed to us by Germany. Because of this, we sent our ambassadors at London and Paris and Colonel Logan to the financial conference in Paris. It is for the payment of this amount that we are asking our share from German annuities. We seem to continue to hold that there is no connection between Allied debts and German reparations. Europeans interpret the American position to be "Germany to pay what she can and the Allies what they owe." We are looked upon abroad as maintaining a fiction, namely, that whatever may be said about the interest, the principal of all debts owing to our United States must be paid in full or the debtor be branded as a bankrupt.

France has insisted that she can and ought only to be asked to pay in proportion as she is paid by Germany. Great Britain has insisted on receiving from Europe amounts necessary to enable her to pay America. Thus, as pointed out by the *Manchester Guardian*, "the fact is that America sets the pace, and that unless Great Britain is to take all the financial wreckage left by the war on her own shoulders, we shall have to make demands upon our allies which, apart from our own indebtedness, we should not do." We are told that the more we get from one ally, the harder must that ally press its neighbor. Under the Dawes plan, Germany alone is faced with no such uncertainty. The English point out that this is an anomaly particularly resented by the French, who have suggested a Dawes

scheme for themselves, without its foreign control. Upon this point one British paper rather pungently remarks: "The suggestion conjures up a vision of Europe working under a system of financial committees whose duty it would be to transmit across the Atlantic a yearly tribute limited only by the capacity of the machinery to transmit it." The editor adds: "If such a thing were economically conceivable, it is not politically possible."

As a matter of fact, the United States is trying to gouge nobody. We are quite aware, for example, that France owes England as well as us. England's claim is as valid as ours. The fact is, however, that England is paying us, and in the meantime the pound sterling has gradually improved. We have faith that our debt-funding commission, if left alone, will be able to bring us to as friendly a settlement with France as it did in the case of England. We certainly have not pushed France. We shall not push France. We shall not push anybody.

PROS AND CONS OF PEACE- MAKING

THE job of peace-making is no sine-cure.

We recently sent out a letter announcing that one of our directors had offered to be one of ten persons to contribute \$1,000 each toward the purchase of a permanent home for the American Peace Society. Within a few days we received a favorable response. This makes two out of the ten. We have received encouragement from other quarters. So far so good.

The probabilities are that the American Peace Society will have its permanent home by the time of its one hundredth anniversary, in 1928. Our present rentals are 6 per cent of practically enough to buy the Society a home. With a small amount of subletting, additional sums could be re-

leased for the promotion of our work. Too, the Society is sadly in need of more room.

But here are some of the replies to our letter which do not add materially to the joy of life. One friend of the Society writes: "I spent the month of October in New England, and I found a large number of people up there who made rather wry faces when one mentioned the American Peace Society and its recent policies and politics. While I personally thoroughly approve of our present policy," etc., etc. Another says: "I think possibly a disinclination may be found to join in an endowment for a peace society. Some will feel that the policy of the Society may not always be determined on its present reasonable principles." Another: Your letter "suggests to me that the American Peace Society's permanency depends primarily upon the successive secretaries it may have, and that the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* seems to need an Associate Editor. If this is so, then it might be well to consider whether these needs can be met simultaneously with the acquisition of a 'permanent home,' and, if not, which objective deserves priority." Another: "But at any time during the last two or three years, and for the next two or three or perhaps more years, I would rather see the money put into work and literature than bricks." Another writes: "There is just a little doubt in my mind as to the advisability of a permanent home for the Society. I am perfectly willing to be convinced, but do not feel, from my present information, that any more work could be accomplished by the Society with an investment of \$20,000 to \$40,000 in a home, while, on the other hand, the income from that sum might materially benefit the Society by expenditures along certain lines. Our Society is known mostly by its work and the broadcasting of its name. Comparatively few would actually see the building, or be able to be present at our

functions; so that 90 per cent of our membership is undoubtedly advised of our progress by mail or newspaper publicity." And, finally, another says: "The demands for money to facilitate enterprises which are directly or indirectly intended to promote peace are so numerous and overwhelming that an old established institution, which hasn't anything very spectacular or striking to present, is apt to find it difficult to raise money. One trouble about your present proposal is that ten gifts of \$1,000 each would be of no use whatever towards securing a permanent home for the Society. Any fund to do that would have to run into hundreds of thousands of dollars."

On the other hand, the president of one of our leading universities writes: "That is a good cause which you present in your letter of January 7—the Permanent Home Fund of the American Peace Society. Another expresses this thought: "Please give my very heartiest best wishes to your President, Mr. Burton, and tell him if we had enough such people as he in this world, the American Peace Society would be unnecessary."

A judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals says: "I fully agree with the idea that the American Peace Society should have a permanent home and wish it might be secured to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the existence of the Society." A number content themselves by saying that "the Society should have a permanent home." Another well-known college president writes: "Let me thank you for your letter of January 7. I rejoice in this beginning of a fund toward the purchase of a permanent home. You know the men whom I should name in such a happy quest. . . ."

But, most encouraging of all, there is the letter which says: "In response to your esteemed favor of January 7 I take great pleasure in advising you that I, too, will be

one of the ten persons to give one thousand dollars each toward the permanent home fund of the American Peace Society, and I hope the requisite number of dollars may be readily found. . . . My only criticism is that perhaps you might have well found thirty instead of ten such donors of \$1,000 apiece. The American Peace Society should certainly have a permanent home before it is at the age of one hundred years."

These rather intimate things are referred to here because we would have our readers understand something of the lights and shades in the life of a peace worker. We confess to despising publicity and all that goes with it. If we appear here to be blowing our own horn, it is an honest blow. The American Peace Society will go on living; but if it is going to extend its work it must have adequate quarters.

CHURCHES HEADED RIGHT

"ORGANIZATIONS whose members are masked, oath-bound, and unknown and whose activities have the effect of arousing religious prejudices and racial antipathy violate the fundamental principles and ideals of our country and of religion and merit our condemnation," says a statement issued the other day by Christian and Jewish leaders. Committees were recently appointed by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the Central Conference of American Rabbis to promote mutual understanding and good will between Jews and Christians. At a joint meeting of the two committees on good will several plans of work were adopted and a joint statement was prepared.

A proposal for an interchange among the theological schools of the Jewish and Christian educators in behalf of mutual appreciation was favorably considered. Heartly interest was expressed in plans for

an appeal to the tolerance and fairness of the youth of the land. Appreciation was expressed for the work done and planned for an exchange of articles in Jewish and Christian journals. The conference recommended the establishment of plans in local communities that will bring Jews and non-Jews together for mutual study and effort. In issuing the statement the conference expressed "its faith that fellowship must be practiced as well as spoken." The statement says:

"We of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, as represented in a joint session of their respective committees on Good Will between Jews and Christians, realizing the necessity for a truer interpretation of Americanism and religion, and in order to advance both on the highest plane of good will and fellowship, herewith declare:

"1. The purpose of our committees is to promote mutual understanding and good will in the place of suspicion and ill will in the entire range of our inter-religious and social relationships.

"2. Because of our mutual respect for the integrity of each other's religion and our desire that each faith shall enjoy the fullest opportunity for its development and enrichment, these committees have no proselytizing purpose.

"3. We endorse the statement of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, made by its administrative committee, in its resolution of September 22, 1922, declaring that the 'rise of organizations whose members are masked, oath-bound, and unknown, and whose activities have the effect of arousing religious prejudices and racial antipathies, is fraught with grave consequences to the church and to society at large.' To this statement we add our conviction that such organizations violate the fundamental principles and ideals of our country and of religion and merit our condemnation.

"4. We realize further that we best reveal our fellowship by practical co-operation in common tasks, and it is our endeavor to formulate a program by which to realize the high purposes and noble

endeavors of mutual good will and helpfulness.

"The conference was of one mind that the very fact of a meeting of the character there held was in itself a distinct advance and an object for deep gratification. Action was taken guaranteeing the holding of other conferences of similar nature."

Among those representing the two bodies at the conference at which the statement was prepared were Dr. Abram Simon, of Washington, Dr. Louis Wolsey and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, and Dr. David Philipson, of Cincinnati, representing the committee from the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

UNDER the administration of our Jeremiah Smith, Jr., Hungary is improving; but Count Andrassy, Hungarian leading authority in foreign affairs, seems to be very much alive. His views, held by an appreciable number of other Hungarians, are disturbing to the countries round about Hungary. The Count is reported to believe that Hungary will abandon the passive policy hitherto pursued. He believes that his country will circumvent the Little Entente by concluding military conventions with Poland, Italy, Bulgaria, and Turkey. He holds that Hungary will keep in close contact with the Irredentist elements in the territories ceded to the neighboring States, and bring to an end the activities of the military control commission. The leading Legitimist organ, *Magyarország*, carries the thought further. In an article entitled "The Hungarian Christmas, 1928," it says that the Hungarians will quietly increase and arm forces till they reach a total of 800,000 men, and will wait for the first opportunity of using this force for military action against the Little Entente States. The paper thinks that this opportunity will come when Russia invades Bessarabia, in 1928. The paper thinks

no regard need be paid to possible armed intervention on the part of the Great Powers. The climax of the article is a graphic description of the victorious battles of the Magyars against the Rumanians and the Czechoslovaks and the ceremonial coronation of Otto II as "King of all Hungary, from the Carpathians to the Adriatic." Behold what a superheated imagination can bring forth!

REDUCED to its lowest terms, the human mind is a question mark. "Don Marquis," of the *New York Tribune*, aims to reduce our problems to their lowest terms. He believes that 1925 is going to be a great year for "making war impossible in the future." He finds peace conferences, disarmament projects, and moral influences of all kinds already in the wind. "There is a general spirit of optimism," he says, "which will continue to cheer the hearts of the world's population right up to the moment when the next fighting starts." He adds: "The cause of making war the great impossibility of the future is the greatest and most popular of great popular causes. How does it come that nothing is ever really done about it? One would think, to hear all the talk, that with all classes of all populations the desire for peace was so overwhelming that the idea of war anywhere must necessarily be an absurdity. We leave the answer to somebody wiser than we are." Here, in a brief compass, is a cross-section of real public opinion. On the last analysis, this opinion is a question. What is the answer?

To counsel patience is not enough. To point out that it takes time to break old habits doesn't get us very far. The encouraging thing is that Don Marquis has discovered this general interest in the problem of overcoming war. Don Marquis is an observing person.

EIGHT rulers within thirteen years is a lively record for a country the size of China. During the thirteen years of the Chinese Republic the rulers have been as follows:

Sun Yat-sen, 1911-12.

Yuan Shih-kai, 1912-15 (self-chosen emperor, 1915-16).

Li Yuan-hung, 1916-17, also 1922-23.

(Chang Hsun's monarchical restoration, 1917.)

Feng Kuo-chang, 1917-18.

Hsu Shih-chang, 1918-22.

Tsao Kun, 1923-24.

Tuan Chi-jui, 1924—?

There have been two intervals between presidents when so-called governing cabinets have functioned with presidential powers. The second of these periods ended Monday morning, November 24, 1924, when ex-Premier Tuan Chi-jui, former Anfu party leader, assumed the duties of a "provisional chief executive," having been invited to do so by Marshals Chang Tso-lin, of Manchuria, and Feng Yushiang and by Generals Hu Ching-yi, of Shensi and Sun Yueh. Various other military leaders subsequently endorsed this invitation; whereupon Marshal Tuan agreed to "submit."

WE DO not know whether or not we are "intellectuals," for we don't quite know what an intellectual is. Mr. Thomas L. Masson, writing in a recent number of the *Outlook*, pays some interesting respects to "Our feeble-minded intellectuals." What has caught our eye particularly is that Mr. Masson finds that the people of America want certain things. They want to make a decent living without too much strain on the conscience. We are ready and willing to maintain ourselves, to fight for ourselves, if need be, but we have a strong impulse to be decent about it. And then he says we want to know, second, how to make ourselves better. We don't want opinions. If we can get facts we are quite capable of forming our own opinions. We object to hav-

ing opinions ladled out to us "by a small group of smart Alecks, who praise one another and damn the rest of the world." He adds: "That is about the way we feel, and the sooner the intellectuals among us find it out, the better for them. If they don't find it out pretty soon, we propose to can them." In the light of these sentiments we beg to be permitted to remark that if Mr. Masson is an "intellectual" he does not seem to qualify as a "feeble-minded intellectual."

THE new year, according to the *Central European Observer*, promises hopeful things for Czechoslovakia:

"In the course of the year which has just opened, Czechoslovakia will be faced with plenty of work, but none of the tasks and problems are, so far as can be foreseen, of such a nature as to cause undue anxiety or threaten seriously to disturb the even tenor of events which characterized the past twelve months. A year ago, one of the political leaders of this country declared that the main feature of the spirit in which the post-war problems here had been tackled was optimism—an optimism based upon a steady determination to face and overcome obstacles, whatever their nature, and to make good all shortcomings as far as possible by practical effort. This still remains the spirit in which the republic faces its seventh new year. In the early years following the war, many of the problems facing the country were fundamental ones, touching the very existence of the State itself. There prevailed in some neighboring countries the hope and expectation (shared in also by some persons in this country) that Czechoslovakia was a mere passing phenomenon. No one any longer indulges in these phantasies, and the internal political differences and struggles have, in practice, resolved themselves into such constitutional fights as are normally waged in all modern States. Central Europe generally, moreover, is more peaceful, more settled and prosperous, than it has been at any time since the war, and this state of affairs is due not a little to the policy of political conciliation

and economic reconstruction consistently pursued from the very outset by Czechoslovakia and the Little Entente. This policy will be persevered with, for peace

and economic development (for which there is still plenty of room) continue, and will continue, to be essential for the complete recovery of Europe."

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

THE INTERALLIED FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

THE Conference of the Allied Ministers of Finance, called for the purpose of reallocating the reparation receipts from Germany under the Dawes plan, opened in Paris on January 7. The principal powers represented at this conference were six in number, viz., Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Japan, and the United States. The American delegation consisted of Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, American Ambassador in London; Mr. Myron T. Herrick, American Ambassador in Paris, and Colonel James A. Logan, Jr., American unofficial observer on the Reparations Commission. The conference lasted until January 14, when an agreement was signed.

Purpose of the Conference

The primary object of the conference was to reach a settlement on various questions of interallied finance, which had been under consideration by a group of financial experts since October 27, 1924. The two chief questions before the conference were as follows:

- (1) What is to be done with the receipts obtained from the occupation of the Ruhr?
- (2) How are the first annuities which are to be paid by Germany under the Dawes scheme to be disposed of?

The experts' report, a voluminous document, with numerous annexes, prepared the ground for the work of the conference. The first question which arose before the experts was naturally that of the Ruhr. The French and Belgians presented an account which the experts were unable to check. One of the many difficulties is the valuation of the deliveries in kind. As

for the costs of military occupation, both the British and Italian experts contended that the French and Belgians should claim no more than the excess costs over and above the cost of maintaining the same troops in home garrisons. A question arose as to the lump sums to be paid for the army of occupation under the agreement of March 11, 1922, which fixed the standard effectives as follows: France, 90,400; Great Britain, 15,000; and Belgium, 19,300. As a matter of fact, the French and Belgian effectives exceeded the standard effectives and the British fell short of them. Are France and Belgium to be credited on the basis of their total effectives or on the basis of the standard effectives?

Under the second part the first question was: To how many annuities should the first distribution relate? The Italians and Jugoslavs, who have both received already more than their share, consider that the first two annuities should be enough, but the other Powers think that the distribution should cover at least four annuities.

The next question is that of the service of the 800,000,000 gold-mark (£40,000,000) loan, which has absolute priority. It falls from 91,000,000 the first year to 90,000,000 the second, and so on, but as the installments do not coincide exactly with the payment of the annuities, the charge for the first year will be only 80,000,000.

The cost of the various commissions, which also has an absolute priority, has to be cut down, though it will probably not fall below 30,000,000 goldmarks (£1,500,000) a year.

The cost of the armies of occupation on the basis of the agreement of March 11, 1922, appears to amount to at least 25 per cent of the first annuity. The British

experts propose to reduce the estimated 280,000,000 gold marks (£14,000,000) to 100,000,000 (£5,000,000).

All these questions came up for discussion, and there were besides many other controversial points to settle.

The United States Claims

One of the most spectacular aspects of the conference was concerned with the claim made by the American delegates for American participation in the sharing of the reparation receipts. This claim was made necessary by the fact that under the Dawes plan Germany's payments to the Allied powers are all included in a fixed annuity, the allocation of which was undertaken at the Paris Conference.

American claims fall into two categories: expenses of the armies of occupation and damages to American civilians during the war. Both the amounts of these claims and the manner of their payment out of the German annuity had to be fixed in Paris.

The American claims led to sharp disagreement between the American and the British delegates, the French and the Belgians having accepted the American position at the start. The disagreement, however, was speedily adjusted by negotiation, conducted principally by Colonel Logan. As a result of these negotiations, an amicable arrangement was made, under which the United States will receive about \$25,000,000 yearly on the total of her claims, amounting to approximately \$625,000,000. Thus reimbursement of the United States will take 25 years.

The sum remaining due for the costs of the American occupation is fixed at between \$250,000,000 and \$260,000,000, while the amount of the war damage claims the conference has agreed will be based on the findings of the mixed claims commission. This has been tentatively fixed at \$350,000,000.

An attempt was made to limit the American claim for damages to \$350,000,000 as the maximum, but this limitation was dropped before the final agreement was drawn up. Payments to the United States will amount to $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the annuities, until the total of the claims is satisfied.

Details of the Agreement

The agreement as signed constitutes a mass of detail which gathers up the scattered ends of the back accounts among the allies, liquidates the Ruhr occupation, limits the future outlay for the military occupation of the Rhineland, fixes the running expenses of the reparation organizations, including the Dawes Plan Commission, and determines the proportion of Germany's payments each and all are entitled to under the Dawes arrangement, besides admitting the United States to participation and assuring the payment of its war damage claims as well as the cost of the occupation of the Coblenz bridge-head.

During the next two years the Allies will be allowed a maximum of 160,000,000 gold marks (\$40,000,000) for the maintenance of their troops on the Rhine. The Reparation Commission, which was allowed 9,250,000 gold marks (about \$2,300,000) for 1925, will have to cut down its outlays to \$7,500,000 gold marks (\$1,875,000) in the following year, at the same time providing from that total a sum running up as a maximum to 3,700,000 gold marks (\$925,000) for the Dawes plan organizations.

For the Rhineland Commission 10,000,000 gold marks (\$2,500,000) is allowed, and to the Military Control Commission in Germany for the ensuing year the sum of 8,000,000 gold marks (\$2,000,000). The occupation of the Rhineland will come up again in September for revision once more with reference to future years.

Mr. Kellogg's Speech

While the conference was in progress reports were received in Paris concerning the appointment of Ambassador Kellogg to the post of the Secretary of State. In view of this, special importance was attached to the following speech delivered by him at the close of the conference, in reply to the speech made by the French Minister of Finance, Clementel, who had presided at the meeting:

Permit me to congratulate you on the successful termination of your labors. The three outstanding events in the rehabilitation of Europe in the last year are the Dawes

report, the London Conference, and the Paris Conference.

The Dawes report was successful because it was the work of very able financiers and men of great public experience, who labored to evolve a plan which would settle the much-vexed reparation question upon business principles, bearing in mind the rights of the various governments involved.

The London Conference was a success because the statesmen gathered there were all animated by a patriotic determination to make it a success. They worked in a spirit of conciliation and helpfulness, taking a broad world vision of the European situation. I am happy to say that the Paris Conference has been a success for the same reason. The representatives of all the governments here assembled have shown by their action that they are animated by that spirit of mutual consideration and toleration which is necessary for the permanent peace of the world. These three great events, I believe, mark the beginning of a new era for Europe which will have a reflex action on all the nations of the world.

I know there are many who have been skeptical about the working of the Dawes plan. I, for one, believe it will work. It is being carried out, and I am sure it will be carried out because it is based on sound business principles, and I assure you that the people of the United States are deeply interested in its success. There are, of course, many difficulties yet to surmount, many problems yet for solution, and, while no one can predict what may happen in the future, if the peoples of all the nations are animated by the same spirit which has marked the progress of the last year, I have the greatest hopes for the restoration of prosperity, peace, and happiness for the troubled nations of Europe.

We cannot expect by one stroke, as if by magic, to settle permanently all the problems confronting the great as well as small nations of Europe. All great cosmic disturbances are followed by secondary disturbances of less intensity, and this is so in great social and civic upheavals. One cannot expect that, after a war of unparalleled extent and severity, bringing within its commentary sweep the leading nations of the world and surpassing in its ruins and devastations the records of all history, that governments can be restored, trade and commerce rehabilitated,

and peace and prosperity brought back by a single treaty or by many treaties in the course of a year or two.

The pathway to restoration is a thorny one, but if we have a thorough understanding of the fundamental principles lying at the base of these national disagreements and political and economic disturbances, if we are animated by a spirit of patriotism and tolerance toward the rights of all the peoples participant in the war, there is no reason why we should not bind up and heal the wounds of the conflict and restore Europe again to a basis of prosperity and security.

I have not the time and it would be improper for me to attempt to discuss your many problems. I believe you capable of solving them yourselves. It is important, however, that we know the situation and appreciate these problems confronting each country. I cannot close without paying warm tribute to our chairman, M. Clementel, the French Finance Minister, whose ability and conciliatory spirit have so much contributed to this conference; to the great part played by the Chancellor of the British Empire, with his broad vision and his helpful attitude toward difficult questions, and to the common-sense statesmanship of M. Theunis, Signor de Stefani, and the Japanese Ambassador, whose distinguished diplomatic career has added influence to our deliberations.

Nor would I minimize the important participation of the representatives of all the Powers present; their helpfulness in this conference has not been of a minor nature. On behalf of my colleagues and myself, I wish to thank all the delegates and their advisers for their courtesy to us during this conference.

The Interallied Debts

While the Paris Conference has settled several very important points of difference between the Allied powers, it has not dealt at all with the question of the interallied debts. This was due principally to America's determination to keep this question out of consideration. It remains, however, one of the vital problems confronting the European powers, and it is expected that a Franco-British conference to deal with it will be held some time in the spring.

Secretary Hughes's Statement

The agreement signed in Paris came up for discussion in the United States Senate,

and in answer to the attacks made upon the terms arranged for, Secretary of State Hughes issued the following statement under the date of January 19:

The portion of the agreement reached at the recent conference in Paris which relates to the participation of the United States in the Dawes annuities has already been published in the newspapers. The full text of the agreement is on its way to this country and will be published as soon as received.

In the meantime it may be said:

The conference of finance ministers held at Paris was for the purpose of reaching an agreement as to the allocation of the payments expected through the operation of the Dawes plan. In view of the inclusive character of these payments, it was necessary for the United States to take part in the conference in order to protect its interests.

The conference at Paris was not a body, agency, or commission provided for either by our treaty with Germany or by the Treaty of Versailles. In taking part in this conference there was no violation of the reservation attached by the Senate to the Treaty of Berlin.

The agreement reached at Paris was simply for the allocation of the payments made under the Dawes plan. It does not provide for sanctions or deal with any questions that might arise if the contemplated payments should not be made. With respect to any such contingency, the agreement at Paris puts the United States under no obligation, legally or normally, and the United States will be as free as it ever was to take any course of action it may think advisable.

The agreement at Paris neither surrenders nor modifies any treaty right of the United States.

NEW CABINET IN GERMANY

AFTER a whole month of party negotiations following the elections, held early in December, President Ebert at last succeeded, on January 16, in forming a new Cabinet, headed by Dr. Hans Luther, Minister of Finance in the last Marx Ministry. The new Chancellor and his Cabinet face a large number of important and difficult problems.

Results of the Elections

There has been a considerable realignment of political forces in the Reichstag

as a result of the elections. The Nationalists have gained from the Fascists and they have lost to the People's Party. Their increase is partly due to the increased poll. The Socialists have gained from the Communists, whose losses would have been more pronounced but for the increased poll. With these reservations, the result bears out, to a considerable extent, the forecasts made a fortnight ago. Its indecisive character is shown by the fact that every party, with the sole exception of the Fascists, is able to extract some measure of satisfaction from it. The extremes of Right and Left have lost, the Fascists overwhelmingly, the Communists less heavily than was expected. All the other parties have gained. This is to be accounted for by the fact that the poll was so much heavier and they have shared in the support of those who on the last occasion did not vote.

The election offers two aspects which must be regarded separately. The rival flags under which it was fought were symbols, the one for and the other against the Republic. The figures show that there is a majority in the country for the Republic, but at the same time that heavy forces are arrayed against it. The other issue was the policy of the late government, and in particular its foreign policy of fulfilment under the Dawes report. Here it must be said that there is a more decisive majority in its favor. On the whole, therefore, the election must be taken as a message of peace—with a strong dissentient minority.

Resignation of the Marx Cabinet

The first result of the elections was the resignation of the Cabinet, headed by Dr. Marx. The Chancellor presented his resignation to the President on December 15, and efforts began to be made immediately to find a successor for him who would be able to form a government.

The first attempt was to organize a ministry under the Chancellorship of Dr. Gustav Stresemann, former Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Marx Government. But this attempt was speedily abandoned, and on December 17 Dr. Stresemann reported to President Ebert his inability to form a Cabinet.

The next step was an attempt to form

a strictly non-party Cabinet. It took four weeks, however, before agreement was finally reached on giving the Chancellorship to Dr. Luther.

New Chancellor and His Cabinet

Dr. Luther, the new Chancellor, who is a native of Berlin and is in his forty-sixth year, was formerly in the Prussian administrative service at Magdeburg and was appointed Burgomaster of Essen in June, 1918, when he immediately had experience of handling difficult situations in connection with labor unrest and the subsequent revolutionary period. He showed a firm attitude, for which he was awarded the Iron Cross. He acquired at the same time an insight into the organization of great undertakings, which no doubt stood him in good stead when he joined Herr Cuno's Cabinet as Food Minister in 1922.

In Herr Stresemann's second Cabinet he succeeded Herr Hilferding as Finance Minister, after the Socialists had withdrawn from the government, and thus he took over the management of Germany's finances at the critical period of the inflation, when the Ruhr campaign was being cleared up. He remained at the Finance Ministry in Herr Marx's Government, and under his guidance the transition to a stabilized currency was made. Dr. Luther counts as a "personality" of pronounced opinions and remarkable energy.

Dr. Luther's Cabinet is made up as follows:

Chancellor, Dr. Hans Luther (no party, close to the German People's Party).

Minister of Interior, Ernst Schiele, (leader of the Conservatives in the Reichstag).

Foreign Minister, Dr. Gustav Stresemann (leader of the German People's Party in the Reichstag).

Minister of Economics, Herr Neuhaus (no party, close to the Conservatives).

Minister of Labor, Herr Braun (Roman Catholic).

Minister of Justice and Occupied Territories, Herr Schumacher.

Minister of Defense, Herr Gessler (member of the Democratic Party, though no longer of the Reichstag faction).

Minister of Posts, Herr Stingle (no party; close to the Bavarian People's Party).

Minister of Food and Agriculture, Count von Kanitz (no party; close to the Conservatives).

From the list of names it can be discerned at a glance that the "black, white, and reds"—representatives of the old régime—hold a majority in the new government. Not less than four members represent the Conservatives, of whom Herr Schiele even holds the highly important post of Minister of Interior Affairs. Two members represent the German People's Party—Dr. Luther and Dr. Stresemann. Dr. Schumacher is known to be Conservative in attitude, though he leans toward the Roman Catholics, and Herr Stingle is not regarded as a Liberal.

This government is called a "Cabinet above parties." With this Cabinet Dr. Luther appeared before the new Reichstag and took over the reigns of government.

Problems Confronting the New Cabinet

A new set of problems is coming to the fore, and the composition of the new Cabinet indicates that the People's Party regard the co-operation of the Nationalists as a lesser danger than their opposition.

The question of the evacuation of Cologne is at the very forefront of discussion. Then the difficulties under the Dawes plan have only begun.

The Dawes report may be agreed to, but for Germany the problem begins when the money has to be found. The Socialists are opposed to any further indirect taxation. They demand a levy on property. The People's Party knows that any large taxable property disappeared in the inflation period, and there remain only taxes on income and indirect taxation. Nobody, it is said, can lead an onslaught to the battle-cry of "fulfilment," but call it "liberation" and the crowd will charge. The Nationalists, who oppose a policy of fulfilment, went into the elections with a policy of liberation. It is all a question of method. Herr Gessler, the Minister of Defense, who has declared his readiness to join a coalition with the Nationalists, justified his decision on the ground that it was time they showed what they could do.

There are now two distinct currents in the Nationalist Party. The one represents the old Conservatives, the Agrarian Junkers of East Prussia, Pomerania, Meck-

lenburg, and other parts of darker Germany. They have not changed, and neither they nor their followers are in the least influenced by the Revolution. There is the other current, composed of the hereditary official and officer class, with opposition and obstruction in their blood. Both are Monarchist, but outside Bavaria their monarchism is adhesion to a memory rather than a thirst for a counter-revolution. They are depressed by the drab Republic in its black frock-coats, and they hunger for even such a measure of display—it is a pretty large one—as that of the French Presidency.

COLOGNE EVACUATION

UNDER the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, January 10 was to be the date on which the Allied troops were to evacuate the bridgeheads of Cologne. Held since the end of the war principally by British troops, this important city on the Rhine constitutes one of the keys to the guarantees established under the peace treaty for the fulfilment by Germany of the conditions laid down by the Allied Powers.

Postponement of the Evacuation

The period of occupation was to come to an end five years after the coming into force of the treaty, but for some weeks previous to that date there had been insistent rumors to the effect that the British Government did not contemplate the evacuation. These rumors were connected with the intimations, then current, of the reports of the Interallied Military Mission of Control regarding the state of disarmament in Germany, which were expected to be unfavorable to Germany's contention that she has fulfilled all her obligations under the treaty.

About the middle of December the question came up for discussion in the British House of Lords, and Lord Curzon, speaking for the government, stated clearly that the immediate evacuation of the Cologne bridgeheads was conditioned on the reports of the Mission of Control. This statement aroused a veritable storm in Germany, and tremendous interest began to be attached to the next meeting of the Conference of Ambassadors, which was to

meet in Paris on December 27 to take up the question of the evacuation.

The conference met on that date and, after considering the report of the Mission of Control, decided to recommend to the Allied Powers a postponement of the evacuation.

Allied Note to Germany

In a note prepared by the Conference of Ambassadors and presented to Germany as an identical note from all the Powers concerned, the reasons for the postponement of the evacuation are set forth in detail. Delivered on January 5, this note reads as follows:

Article 428 of the Treaty of Versailles, of the 28th June, 1919, stipulates that the German territory situated to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, shall be occupied by the troops of the Allied and Associated Powers during a period of 15 years, to run from the entry into force of the treaty, as a guarantee for the execution of the said treaty by Germany.

By the terms of Article 429, if the conditions imposed by the said treaty of peace have been faithfully carried out by Germany, the occupation foreseen in Article 428 shall be successively restricted at the expiration of the first five and then of the first ten years.

The Allied governments are already in a position to inform the German Government, without awaiting the 10th January, 1925, that they have obtained proof showing that Germany has not yet fulfilled and cannot possibly have fulfilled by that date the conditions laid down in Article 429, so as to enable her to benefit by the clause relating to the partial evacuation anticipated.

Thus, by merely referring to Part V of the treaty, a sufficient ground for the decision of the Allied governments is to be found in the information collected by the Interallied Military Commission of Control, in spite of some obstruction, in regard to the extent to which the military causes have been carried out.

For example, to mention only some essential points among the facts already known, the following facts have been ascertained:

In violation of Article 160, the great general staff of the army has been reconstituted in another form.

In violation of Article 174, short-service volunteers have been recruited and trained.

Contrary to Article 168, the transformation of factories for the manufacture of war material is far from being complete.

Contrary to Articles 164 to 169, a surplus of every kind has been found to exist beyond the amounts of military material allowed, and considerable illicit stocks of war material have been discovered.

Contrary to Article 162 and to the decision taken by the Boulogne Conference on June 19, 1920, the reorganization of the State police has not been begun.

Contrary to Article 211, the German Government is far from having taken all the legislative and administrative measures demanded by the Allied governments in their note of September 29, 1922.

The Allied governments, moreover, expect to receive shortly the report of the Inter-Allied Commission of Control giving the full results of the present general inspection. This report will enable them to determine what still remains to be done by Germany, for her obligations in military matters to be considered, in the terms of Article 429, as having been faithfully carried out. A further communication will be addressed to the German Government on this subject.

The presentation of this note caused an outburst of indignation in Germany, and the German Government hastened to reply to it.

The German Reply

The reply of the German Government was presented on January 7. The German note protested against the action of the Allies and pointed out that the occupation, lasting many years, of large German districts was one of the hardest stipulations of the Versailles Treaty. Measures of such a kind, the note declares, could never promote peaceful collaboration among the nations, and the Allies could not be in doubt as to the significance of their step and the seriousness of the situation created thereby.

The note demands the communication at the earliest possible moment of the detailed charges made by the Allies, stating that the present method of the Allies prevents the German Government from refuting these charges. To give as a reason for the failure to evacuate the alleged status of German disarmament is, the note

continues, inadmissible, in the opinion of the German Government:

"The Allied Governments could claim the right to postpone the evacuation only if Germany were guilty of failures, the importance of which corresponded to the exceptional hardship of extension of the occupation. In handling international agreements it is a fundamental law that there should be no evident disproportion between the failure to fulfill individual provisions of a treaty and the consequences drawn therefrom."

The German Government insists that Germany is disarmed so completely as no longer to be a military factor in European affairs, and in view of these clear facts, it is contended, the Allies cannot draw from details of the disarmament question, the right to reprisals against Germany. The note further declares that the Versailles Treaty is the result of one-sided dictation, not of mutual agreement, and in all respects places upon Germany gigantic burdens. It is, therefore, inevitable that there should be differences of opinion over the execution of the treaty provisions, which, however, cannot be interpreted as meaning a lack of loyalty, *vis-à-vis* the treaty on the part of Germany.

"Proper understanding of the points in dispute can only be achieved by mutual agreement," the note adds, and it says in conclusion that if the Allied governments, in their further dealing with the question of evacuation as well as of disarmament, would be guided by the spirit shown at the London Conference, it would be possible to come to a speedy settlement of the conflict created by the action of the Allies.

THE ITALIAN CRISIS

FOR the past few weeks Italy has been in the throes of a crisis in her political life comparable only with the upheaval of 1922, which thrust the Fascisti to the pinnacle of power. The situation that had finally resolved itself into this crisis is a very complex one and can be understood only with reference to a whole series of events, some of which have been set out with admirable clarity by a well-informed

correspondent of the *London Times*, from whose analysis we borrow some of the explanations below.

Mussolini's Return to Despotism

Briefly stated, the position is that after nearly six months of a policy which tended gradually to re-establish a normal condition of affairs in Italian politics, Signor Mussolini has, in the twinkling of an eye, reversed the whole trend of his actions and has restored in an intensified form the original intolerance—not to say ferocity—of the early days of the Fascist Revolution. Italy is virtually under martial law, with all its accompanying symptoms of drastic control of the press, the abrogation of the rights of private citizens, the forced dissolution of political associations, and the mobilization of an armed militia.

The whole of this machinery of repression has been imposed on the morrow of the day when the prospect was utterly different, when it seemed certain that freedom of the spoken and written word would be partially, at least, restored, that elections would be held upon a new and fairer system, and that Fascismo—and its leader—would submit themselves, like ordinary democratic ministers, to the judgment of the country upon their acts. Only two weeks before this reversal of policy the government had accepted from the hands of Signor Salandra a series of measures which would have restored the force of the ordinary law and ended the Fascist application of the doctrines of Machiavelli. Now that day has been indefinitely postponed.

Reasons Given by the Dictator

In giving his reasons for this sudden reversion to the doctrines of the Black Shirt revolution, Mussolini says that he has discovered that the Opposition have been plotting the overthrow of the throne and the constitution. There appears to be no truth in this accusation, both as regards official Opposition (known as the Aventinists) and the unofficial Opposition, composed of the wreckage of the old Liberal Party under the former prime ministers, Signor Giolitti, Signor Orlando, and Signor Salandra. The component parts of both these oppositions differ radically in political theory, but they are united upon two points: first, hatred of

Fascismo; and, secondly, the very subject-matter of Signor Mussolini's accusation, namely, respect and regard for the constitution. For these reasons it is improbable that there is any serious breach between the various sections. Even if some deputies come back to the chamber and others stay away, the essential unity of them all will not be impaired.

It is true that one of the sections is called republican. But this section threatens the established order only in its motto: "Italia senza Vittorio Emanuele." Their republicanism is purely traditional, dating from Mazzini and Garibaldi; they are numerically insignificant; and their objection to the monarch is, if the truth be known, confined to the person of his present majesty, whom they consider to be too modest—or too weak.

For the rest, the Communists are *ipso facto* anti-constitutionalists and polled well at the last election. But they do not constitute a serious danger and have been sedulously kept outside the opposition, in spite of two attempts to obtain admission.

Mussolini and the Opposition

Perhaps the most important factor in the situation has been the fact that Mussolini's first moves in the direction of a return to normal conditions were greeted by the Opposition with suspicion and open disbelief. Incensed by this attitude, Mussolini declared that all efforts at conciliation had failed.

There is reason to believe, however, that he was too precipitate in this conclusion. Utterly detested though the Fascist regime is by the vast majority of the Italian people, there were still many who agreed with the leaders of the unofficial Opposition (Signori Giolitti, Orlando, and Salandra) that too sudden a transition would be calamitous. And the great virtue of the conciliation policy was that it left the way open for a transition ministry during whose tenure of power Signor Mussolini could have lived as an Italian citizen, and even as a Deputy, and Fascismo could have continued as a political party, with some prospect of eventually coming back with all the eclat of the material good they have wrought for the country plus the moral eclat of men who have known how to be moderate.

The Triumph of the Fascismo

For the time being Mussolini has succeeded in vanquishing all his opponents. There seems no doubt that the abandonment of conciliation has indefinitely delayed this peaceful solution of the political troubles of Italy. Nothing for the moment remains but a stark contrast between Fascismo and the rest of the country, and perhaps Mussolini has bought a temporary continuance of unfettered despotism at the risk of eventual total extinction; for while it may be possible to renew in the Black Shirts the cheers of 1922 and to restore the language and the measures of 1922, it seems scarcely possible to recapture the consent of the country, which was the real reason for the success of 1922.

It may well be that by his return to the ways of revolution Mussolini has endangered his own best chance of political survival. But it is impossible to say when the crash will come. The capacity of the Italian people to submit to a despotism is almost unlimited. Deprived of their power to talk, to meet, and to write, they are faced with a situation which would tax the ingenuity of a people far less dependent upon these mediums for generating enthusiasm. But their patience is not inexhaustible and the resentment of the politicians is backed by the steady increase in the cost of living and by a rising exchange and is favored by the impossibility of continuing a regime of repression indefinitely at high tension.

There will be elections this year, if Signor Mussolini holds to his plan, and if those elections are in any sense free, the Italian people will have the chance to say how they like being treated, to use Signor Giolitti's words, "as though they were unworthy of liberty."

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN RUSSIA

DURING the last twelve months important economic developments have taken place in Soviet Russia, especially with regard to the manner in which the present leaders of the country have been applying, since Lenin's death, the new economic policy devised in 1921 by the dead leader of Communism. According

to the Information Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, this new economic policy has been essentially an attempt to establish conditions in which a system of State capitalism can exist side by side with a system of private enterprise. The result so far has been rather curious from the point of view of the interrelation of the two systems.

Agricultural and Industrial Production

The agricultural production of the country is now almost exclusively in the hands of the peasants; the so-called "Soviet estates" contribute very little to the total output. The peasants hold their land in what amounts to undisputed possession. The output of their cultivation is theirs, to dispose of as they see fit. A certain part of it goes toward the payment of taxes. There is not a uniform system of taxation, some of the taxes being collected in kind and some in money. In order to obtain the money with which to satisfy the tax-collector, the peasant has to place a part of his product on the market. He has to do likewise if he wants to have money with which to pay for the manufactured goods and other articles of consumption that he requires.

The industrial production of the country is almost exclusively in the hands of the government. Less than one-twentieth of the total industrial output is in the hands of private capital, operating under a system of leases and concessions. This private capital controls only very small enterprises. All the large enterprises are in the hands of syndicates or "trusts," which operate as State agencies, though on the basis of their own budgets. These enterprises have to sell their output mostly to the peasants, and must obtain from the latter their food supply and some of the raw materials they need.

Thus, so far as the basic productive activity of the country is concerned, the spheres of the two systems are well defined. State capitalism is supreme in industry, while private enterprise is paramount in agriculture. It is in the system of distribution, which effects the exchange of products between the rural expanses and the industrial centers, that the two systems come to a clash.

Under the new economic policy this

system of distribution consists of three categories of trading agencies. The first is the State, acting through the instrumentality of various governmental departments and organizations. The second consists of co-operative organizations, which are under very close control of the State. The third is made up of private traders. All three of these categories operate in the carrying on of the internal trade of the country.

Re-emergence of Trade

This re-emergence of trade, which was practically non-existent during the first period of Communism, when the régime attempted to introduce a system of exclusively State distribution, has been the most significant manifestation of the new economic policy. Some of the more far-seeing of the Communist leaders realized its importance from the very start. Lenin, for example, almost from the time of the introduction of the new economic policy and until his illness led to his practical elimination from the conduct of affairs a full half year prior to his death, constantly admonished his followers of the seriousness of the problem.

"We must learn how to trade," he repeated over and over again in his addresses and writings. Otherwise, he predicted, the emergence of the private trader would prove to be as much of a danger for the NEP as the uncompromising attitude of the peasantry had proved to be for the strictly communistic stage of the experiment.

It was not long before this particular phase of the situation actually manifested itself. And, starting with the end of 1923, the status of internal trade, as regards the relative position of the three categories of trading agencies, became the outstanding feature of the whole economic situation.

While permitting private enterprise to engage in trade under the new economic policy, the Soviet leaders have never intended for private capital to assume anything like a commanding rôle in the process. On the contrary, they permitted private individuals and groups to carry on trading operations merely because the trade apparatus of the country had been so badly disorganized that every available means had to be utilized to set it in opera-

tion once more. It was intended that gradually the whole distribution process would be concentrated in the hands of the State-controlled co-operative organizations. The trade process would then be under what Lenin called the indirect control of the proletariat.

Theoretically the proletariat—i.e., the Communist Party—has at its disposal a number of powerful means for putting this program into effect. It controls the government, and thus has discretionary legislative powers. It controls practically the whole industrial output of the country. It has in its hands the whole credit machinery of the country through the State control of banking. It has some trade organizations in the form of governmental bureaus and of co-operatives. With all these means at the disposal of the State, the Communist leaders expected that the rôle of private capital in the internal trade of the country would be more or less limited even at first, and would gradually be reduced to zero through sheer inability to compete with the much more powerful State-controlled organizations.

Success of Private Trading Organizations

Lenin and even some of the less able leaders had foreseen that once a competitive market is created, however limited in scope, it would immediately become a scene of a fierce struggle between "Socialist and private capitalist elements." They did not foresee, however, how rapidly and how powerfully the latter would come to dominate the market.

According to estimates made by responsible Soviet leaders, private capital controlled by the beginning of 1924 fully 80 per cent of the retail and over 50 per cent of the wholesale trade of the country. Shut out of industry by the relatively greater risks inherent in it and by the determination on the part of the State to retain the principal branches in its own hands, private capital has sought a field of application in trade and has succeeded eminently.

This tremendous preponderance of private trading enterprises over the bureaucratic trading organization controlled by the State has been due to a large number of reasons. Stalin, the powerful secretary of the Communist Party, in his report on the XIIIth Congress of the Communist

Party, says that the situation is due to "the youth and inefficiency of the State trading and co-operative apparatus; the wrong policy of the 'trusts,' which abuse their monopolistic position and increase unduly the price of their products; the weakness of the commissariat of internal trade, which regulates trade solely from the viewpoint of the government." He gives a number of other reasons, among which not the least important are the instability of the currency and the inefficiency of the credit machinery.

The question of credit, especially in the villages, has been another cause of apprehension on the part of the Soviet leaders. The process of re-establishing the banking institutions of the country after the introduction of the new economic policy naturally began at the top, with the State Bank and other large banking institutions. But the need for credit has been getting more and more acute in the smaller centers, especially in the villages. And here a supply appeared to fill the demand.

Usurers have sprung up in the village districts with the rapidity of mushroom growth. The peasants need credit for financing some of their operations, such as the purchase of stock implements, etc., and the usurer is there to supply it—at exorbitant rates of interest.

Attack on Private Capital

This is the situation that confronted the Communist leadership last spring, just three years after the introduction of the new economic policy. In Stalin's formulation of it, "the merchant and the usurer are now firmly planted between the State and the peasant." It was this situation that formed the center of discussion at the last (the XIIIth) congress of the Communist Party.

The resolutions of the congress were most emphatic in calling attention to the dangers for the Communist régime, which are inherent in a further growth of this situation. The decisions of the congress indicated an important new departure in the application of the new economic policy.

As originally applied, the NEP permitted private trade, though it specifically neither fostered nor opposed it. Under

the new direction given it at the congress, the NEP is designed now to wage a fierce struggle against the development of private capital in both trade and credit finance. The whole machinery of the Soviet régime is now directed toward fighting private trade by substituting for it trade carried on by State and co-operative organizations. At the same time, attempts are being made to establish a system of small credit institutions for the villages, though so far only very small appropriations have been made for this purpose.

Problems of State Finance

The financial situation in the country was during this same period also a matter of serious concern to the Soviet Government. A rigorous reform of the currency was undertaken and carried out quite successfully.

The essence of the currency reform has been the introduction of a new currency backed by a sufficient reserve of precious metals and stable foreign currency. The devaluated old currency is being removed from circulation, by its demonetization and exchange, at a fixed ratio, for the new currency.

While the reform has been carried out, the future fate of the currency is dependent upon a number of circumstances. With the disappearance of the old rouble, the treasury has given up its practice of printing unlimited amounts of paper money with which to make up the deficit in the State budget. But the budgetary deficits still continue, in spite of strenuous attempts on the part of the government to increase taxation as much as possible. These deficits have so far been made up by moderate borrowings from the State Bank; by the issuing of internal loans, and other means.

The loans have not been very successful. So far, not one of them has been subscribed to the full amount, and the government has been even obliged to resort to the expedient of having State industrial enterprises invest a fixed percentage of their free capital in government securities, which, of course, is merely a process of putting money from one pocket into another. There is a great danger for the new currency, therefore, in the pressing needs of the treasury on account of the

budgetary deficits. It would be the end of the new currency if the government should again resort to a practically unlimited issue of paper money against treasury certificates for the purpose of making up budgetary deficits.

Foreign Trade Situation

Another danger which confronts the new currency is the foreign-trade situation. During the year 1923 Russia had a favorable balance of trade. This condition was achieved by drastic reductions of imports and by the exportation of considerable quantities of grain. The surplus, which was over a hundred million gold roubles, has been one of the important factors in making possible the creation of the new currency, since it has been used as a part of the metallic cover. Moreover, the existence of a favorable balance in the foreign trade has made it easy to maintain the exchange value of the "chervonetz," the new Russian currency.

This year the outlook for a favorable balance of trade is not very bright. The decrease in the agricultural output is so great that the exports of grain during the year are likely to be very much smaller than last year. This fact will have unfavorable effects both on the budget and on the foreign trade. However, the Soviet Government insists on retaining in its hands a complete control of the foreign trade of the country, organized into a State monopoly, and this may give it some chance for manipulating the chervonetz exchange.

A rigid control of the foreign trade monopoly and a struggle against private capital in the internal trade of the country constitute the keynote of the present-day economic policy in Soviet Russia.

At the moment the latest news dispatches indicate the continued activities of the Bolsheviks to regain Bessarabia, now incorporated in Rumania, witness the recent constituted Moldavian Soviet Republic. There is evidence that this last is a step toward winning support throughout the Balkans. This Republic establishes a new front on the southwest confines of the Soviet Union very close to the lost territory of Bessarabia. Russian communism is face to face with state nationalism. This, however, is a political aspect of the problem.

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DATES

(December 16, 1924-January 15, 1925)

December 16—President Coolidge announces that he is opposed to competitive naval armament.

A Communist member of the British Parliament is formally excluded from the Labor Party at a meeting presided over by Ramsay MacDonald.

December 17—Herr Streseman, Foreign Minister of Germany, declines President Ebert's invitation to form a new cabinet.

December 18—Mr. Baldwin unfolds the economic policy of the new British Government, dealing with the relief and safeguarding of industry.

Secretary of States Hughes, departing from precedent, expresses his satisfaction at the appointment of Mr. Matsudaira as Ambassador from Japan to the United States.

Lord Curzon announces that the bridgehead at Cologne will probably not be evacuated on January 10.

Finland signs the Geneva protocol, being the seventeenth to adhere.

December 19—Stating that the disturbances in Albania were organized in Yugoslavia, the Albanian Prime Minister appeals to the League of Nations for intervention.

December 20—Mussolini, Premier of Italy, notifies the Chamber of Deputies that he will introduce in January a bill to modify the electoral law of December, 1923.

December 21—Head of the Yugoslav legation in Paris charges the Bolsheviks with fomenting the trouble in Albania.

December 27—The Conference of Ambassadors, meeting in Paris, unanimously decide to declare that the evacuation of the Cologne bridgehead on January 10 will be impossible, owing to the default of Germany in meeting her part of the agreement.

December 31—M. Clementel, whose attitude toward interallied debts has roused much criticism in Great Britain and the United States, explains his position to English and American journalists.

The Italian Fascist Government suppresses all opposition newspapers.

January 3—Signor Mussolini, in a speech to the Italian Parliament, assumes full responsibility for the deeds of Fascism.

January 5—The note of the Allied ambassadors on the postponement of the evacuation of Cologne is delivered to Germany.

January 6—The League of Nations publishes the denial by Yugoslavia of the charges made by former Premier of Albania.

January 7—Mussolini forms a new cabinet, in which neither Liberals nor Democrats are included.

The Conference of the Allied Finance Ministers opens in Paris.

January 11—It is announced from the White House that Secretary Hughes will leave the cabinet on March 4, and that Frank B. Kellogg, Ambassador to Great Britain, will succeed him as Secretary of State.

January 13—Alanson B. Houghton, Ambassador to Germany, is named by President Coolidge as Ambassador to Great Britain, succeeding Mr. Kellogg.

January 15—Dr. Hans Luther accepts appointment as Chancellor of Germany and forms a "Cabinet above parties."

OUR FOREIGN POLICY*

By RICHARD WASHBURN CHILD

Author, United States Ambassador to Italy 1921-24

EVEN at solemn European conferences, where supposed prizes of diplomacy are at stake, moments come when some delegate in an informal atmosphere takes the screens of discretion from truth.

Said one of them to me on such an occasion: "If I may express myself with your American forcefulness, Europe and your own country have suffered less from any hard-boiled reluctance in your foreign affairs than from those who counsel various forms of soft-boiled foreign policy."

Even if close contacts with our American foreign policy might prejudice a diplomatic officeholder, voluntary retirement from an ambassador's post gives some measure of detachment and opens the way to telling, as one American would tell another before the open fire, how much he had seen of the workings of our foreign policy, and how much is gross nonsense out of all the nonsense we have heard about it.

I assume that we all have the same point of view. We wish to preserve our own peace and contribute to any working plan to preserve universal peace that is really a workable plan. Furthermore, we all wish to preserve the legitimate interests of the United States and prevent encroachments on those interests, whether they concern the safety of Americans or their property abroad or at home. To the full extent of our power, we desire to contribute to friendly negotiation and peaceful settlements of disputes, provided we do not become unwelcome meddlers and busy-bodies in other nations' affairs. We have every wish to co-operate—all of us. The first piece of gross nonsense, therefore—and everyone has heard it from those who go reckless in words—is that a part of us, from some villainous or stupid motive, are trying each day to avoid fulfilling America's duty to the world. Whenever a group arises which disagrees with the foreign policy of the United States, represented by those who are conducting it as they have been instructed to conduct it by the great majority of the American peo-

* Reprinted, with permission, from the *Saturday Evening Post* of December 13, 1924. Copyright, 1924, by the Curtis Publishing Company.

ple, then out from baffled wrath and from those whose suggestions are not taken come streams of accusations of moral, intellectual, or emotional delinquency. Anyone with diplomatic or foreign experience and without any political partisanship in our foreign affairs, knows well enough that flood of phrase-making and how by adding those phrases into a grand total the sum is exactly the double zero of nonsense.

The European diplomat was right; our danger and the danger to the general welfare of the world comes from those who are agitating for various and diverse forms of foreign policy—soft-boiled.

It would be absurd to say that our present foreign policy is 100 per cent wise and perfect. Any administration, no matter how wise it may be, fails to seize every last advantage or to foresee every emergency. In my own corner of the game I can see now that I made mistakes, sometimes by concessions and lack of persistence, sometimes by failure to concede and to conciliate. I learned constantly something more, as time went on, and one of the things I learned in Europe was that the foreign policy of a nation, particularly our nation, does not consist merely of adopting a scheme or signing a paper, as some of our sentimentalists would have us believe.

A Ridiculous Charge

Foreign policy, first of all, is made up of active international dealings of great variety, done on good principle and on the basis of sound morals. Therefore the first example of the nonsense spread about by those who have some new scheme or international program not yet accepted is the accusation that the United States, because it has not adopted the scheme, has no foreign policy. If anyone doubts the nonsense of this, let him go to Downing Street, where British foreign policy is conducted. The British, for instance, are members of the League of Nations; but the moment you went to the British Foreign Office and stuck your nose inside the door you would know that the League of Nations is not the whole of British foreign policy, that it occupies even at the best but a small fraction of time and interest in the great press of business of British foreign policy. If you went to the

Quai d'Orsay, in Paris, and took a second look, you would see that the League of Nations was not all or half or a quarter of French foreign policy.

If you go to Europe and browse around in the capitals and read the newspapers and go out to dinner with the distinguished and the humble, you will hear and see less of the League than you will see and hear among agitators in the United States. You will hear a great deal about other phases of foreign policy of other nations—you will hear of Italy's treaty with this country, of England's Russian policy, of French policy and occupation of the Ruhr, of the Dawes Commission plan, of conferences, of reciprocal arrangements as to trade, travel, usages, and all that weaves one nation's life into that of another.

The conduct of such business, nation with nation, and the principles on which this business is done constitute foreign policy. No single plan or program, no scheme or proposal, no experiment or Utopia, no matter how inspired or blessed by good will, or even by practical sense, has displaced the usual old-fashioned conduct of foreign affairs—the international business of the world, the relations of one nation with another. Who would say that the British would have no foreign policy were it not for the League of Nations? Who would say that if it were not for membership in the League the French Foreign Office would close its doors? These questions show how ridiculous it is to say that the United States has no foreign policy. One might as well say of a restaurant that served no huckleberry pie that it had no food.

As time has gone on, this talk about a lack of foreign policy and about isolation has grown increasingly vehement and silly. I have waited until after a national election to show how silly such phrases are, because I desired to avoid the phrase of "partisan politics" so often directed at those who express the will of the majority by those who have met opposition in the presentation of some minority plan. I agree with them that there should be no petty partisanship in our foreign policy, though I cannot see why the determination of vital questions in our foreign policy should not rest upon the well-educated verdict which often may only be reached after

sincere intense partisanship, just as the verdict against the League was accomplished.

The Strength of Our Position

But if I have any political partisanship, certainly it is not of the kind that masks itself under religion and righteousness in order to undermine the reputation and efficiency of my country's foreign policy; if I set forth anything here that may be called partisan, I trust it will be founded upon facts, upon the realities of a world as it is, and not upon fads—upon plans that are based only in an imaginary world as we might wish it to be. I will try to confine my example to those matters of United States foreign policy with which I have had intimate contact. I will try to show that among all America's moral obligations, one of the first is to be intelligent, and that intelligence and achievement have taken us much further toward fulfillment of our duty to the world than merely running after phrase-makers and impractical idealists until our tongues hung out.

Long before the Armistice was signed I made speeches and wrote articles suggesting that the United States might stay away from the Peace Conference when that conference took place. Habit—thinking of mankind was all against that idea. Whoever heard of a war when any victorious nation in it failed to come to a peace table? Nevertheless, in June, 1918, I urged my idea upon some of the advisers of President Wilson. I received some sympathy from the friends of a man who had kept us out of the war, and had given as one reason that it was our duty to keep at least one powerful nation in the position of detachment, so that the war-ridden world could turn to that nation for unprejudiced guidance. Wilson, having apparently lost that position of arbiter when we made a belated entry into the conflict, had an opportunity to regain it by staying away from Paris.

In June, 1918, I said before the Council of Foreign Relations in New York:

Our greatest usefulness to the world will be in the service we may render as a judge when we are asked for that service. It is folly to throw that position away by becoming a party to the suit. It is not necessary

to attend a peace conference to make known our views or even to protect ourselves, and our power of moral persuasion will be much greater rather than less if we keep free from the intrigue and conflicts which are foreign to our interest until we are asked for our good offices in adjusting these disputes.

The moment our delegates appear in the position of offering suggestions or of forcing our moral views upon others they may depend upon meeting counter proposals that we enter unnecessary embarrassing entanglements. These counter proposals will either be framed so that we cannot accept them, and therefore appear as unwilling to accept responsibility, or they will be framed to lead us into the snarl of European politics, so that we may be the cat's-paw for one nation to use against another in selfish and sordid causes.

I had the painful experience in Paris during the Peace Conference of watching the fulfillment of my fears and the tragedy of lost opportunity. Out of that whirlpool of intrigue came a broken man. Out of it came a treaty of peace which future generations may say was a betrayal of armistice unequalled in the history of the world. So far as protection of our interest was concerned, it is only necessary to point out that our State Department has been busy ever since reminding other foreign offices that our association in the war gave us certain rights which we will claim.

So far as wisdom of settlement is concerned, the result was principally an adjustment of indemnity so unworkable that its constant revision has ever since occupied and disturbed every government and kept armies of occupation moving backward and forward and maintained a running sore of economic disturbance vexing conquerors and vanquished alike. Secondly, it was a Balkanization of European States, which has erected a new European diplomacy no less fretful, no less dangerous, no less freighted with racial animosities than the old. Thirdly, it was the source of false hopes, based on the glow of prospectus and faith in high principles, but now so baffled by the failure to provide foundation that the saddest experience I had in Europe was to find everywhere cynicism and distrust of all new suggestions.

After all, as Mussolini says repeatedly,

"The want of the world is not for plans and programs and policies, but for daily action and constancy in getting things done." We all may have a tender regard for the goodness of intention and warmth of heart of those who seek short cuts to guarantee peace or design new institutions for international co-operation; but in the meantime the realities of international relationship face our State Department, and it is actual performance according to principles and not mere prospectus which makes a foreign policy. On that basis rather than by the test of phrase-making our foreign policy under Hughes has been the most vigorous and has achieved more than any other in the memory of living Americans.

When the Disarmament Conference was called by Harding in Washington, I had already gone to my post in Europe; but through my contact and talks with the President I knew what was in the mind of the Administration as to that conference. I found two opinions among the statesmen and people in Europe. One was that the United States called the conference from selfish motives in order to put something over; and the other opinion was that a set of impractical idealists had forced the President to hold a conference and present to the Old World a moral preachment and another set of false hopes, probably doomed to be rejected if fortune was good or to be accepted if destiny had decreed another excursion conducted by American dreamers up a blind alley. Secretly, foreign governments and foreign thought regarded this American leadership with alarm.

Two Constructive Achievements

A shrewd statesman of the newer school, who has conducted a small European power through the troubled waters left by the Peace Conference, said to me:

I assure you, nothing will happen. Those who are innocent as to the true workings of international conferences do not realize, as those of us who have had experience realize, that conferences are merely show windows. What is vital is never decided in the open at conferences, and nothing is easier to break than a conference. One great European power, as you know, has developed the utmost skill in strangling conferences. It never can be made to appear in the show

window with its hand on the throat of the conference, but it has developed the perfect technic of throwing doubt, despair, suspicion, and weariness into an assembly of nations, and yet appear all the time as ardently desiring the success of the enterprise. There is only one way to defeat these tactics; it is necessary to have a definite demand for action, and the very moment the conference is opened to hit everyone square on the nose with that demand.

Hughes did exactly that; he did it when the average statesman was convinced fully in his secret heart that the conference at Washington would be a harmless feast of discussion, yielding no particular nourishment and no dangerous indigestion. There were forces of other kinds present to give out suggestions as to disarmament, but nothing ever surprised European diplomacy more than the Hughes declaration delivered at the outset and in effect requiring the conferees to sign on or say no.

Let us not forget that the two post-war steps of practical idealism, the two important examples of international co-operation weighed in terms of results and not in terms of talk, have not come from the leadership of the League or the inspiration of the League, or from the foreign policy of any other power, but from the United States. The first was the Washington Disarmament Conference, the second was the adoption of the Dawes plan and the refinancing of Germany.

In each case, as my neighbor the farmer said to me the other day, speaking of our foreign policy, it was shown that "the show counts for more than the billboard pictures." In each case, as another man has said, "We did not attempt to teach vegetarianism to tigers by a correspondence course."

As to the accomplishment of the Dawes plan, there are innocent and guillible persons who will be taken in by those who say that America should have taken the step officially. Nothing could be more amusing to those who know, as I do by close experience with conferences and foreign offices, business men, common people, and diplomats in Europe, that the whole hope of success in straightening out the reparations question depended on taking that question as far as possible out of politics.

Issues Removed from Politics

I had not been an ambassador a year before I was writing to President Harding and to Secretary Hughes that the great obstacle to settlement was in the fact that premiers and foreign ministers, delegates to conferences, and diplomats were all looking over their shoulders at their own parliaments; that so long as reparations, collections, and occupation remained political questions in political hands, nothing could be done. It was so dangerous a subject to politicians that even the League never blinked an eyelash at moving armies in the Ruhr. I was certain that no governments could make loans to Germany, that no single group of national bankers could do it. Any clear thinking would show that only where a security could be issued which would sell to men and women on the streets of several countries was any settlement in sight. And there was no chance of arriving at this business solution in the atmosphere of politics, where every official was affected by the attacks in his own parliament, chamber, or congress.

The accomplishment of the American Government, after nearly three years of planning and waiting, in taking the settlement out of politics and putting it, as far as possible, into the hands of business men, was a tremendous achievement of diplomacy. The critics who say that we should have insisted on taking official action are merely saying that we should have insisted on dragging the settlement deeper into politics, backward not forward. We had spent tedious years in raising it as far as possible out of that mud. Those who now complain that we did not jump into that wallow from which we were trying in all good conscience to extricate our sorely-troubled friends appear to me as somewhat green in practical international affairs.

I only know that when I found Owen D. Young in Paris on my way back to the United States, and realized that a man whose ability as a conciliator and whose resourcefulness are not exceeded in any man I ever knew was there on European soil, before my eyes, representing the desire of America to help, and had come free of all political tags and ties, I threw up my arms in celebration. Dawes, Young, and Robinson represented the non-political

influence and power, without which I had learned the old sores of reparations and occupation would never be healed. Hughes had won a long, hard, quiet game, played straight through the petty clamor of those who were babbling that he had isolated America—by those who once having been drunk on phrases demanded phrases as sots demand their liquor, who even now prefer to have America beat herself on the chest rather than to have her intelligent and to have her get results. It is a curious fact that a deeper appreciation of the services of the United States in maintaining peace and as a friendly conciliator is to be found in Europe than is to be found in the people of our own country. During my three seasons in Rome, few weeks went by when I did not talk with a fellow diplomat of some smaller European nation or of some South American republic on the subject of the services we were rendering or would be requested to render as a friendly arbitrator.

What the Far East Wondered

I believe there is no indiscretion in saying that I was consulted as to the possibility of obtaining an American arbitrator in the Memel dispute long before the League of Nations set forth this European arbitration in its show window. I was asked as to the qualifications of the American—Mr. Norman Davis, who later became the successful representative in the settlement of this dispute. At the Genoa Conference more than one proposal was made to me that important arbitrations should be undertaken by America or her representative.

One evening when my friend, the learned, wise old minister of Siam at Rome, was dining with me, he turned to me with his dry, Oriental smile and said, "We are wondering in the Far East whether the United States could have brought Japan and China to a full settlement of the Shan-tung and other questions at Washington if the United States had not maintained her detachment from the pooling and intrigue of international bodies."

Far away, across the world from his hemisphere and mine, the minister of one of two South American republics that have suffered from an ancient dispute—the

Tacna-Arica controversy between Chile and Peru—came to me, telling me of the plan to have this settled by the arbitration of the President of the United States, and expressing his deep anxiety that something might take the settlement out of the hands of the United States.

At a court reception in Rome the ministers of our sister republics in the American continents discussed with me the Pan-American Conference in Chile, the share of unselfish leadership toward peace and away from suspicion undertaken by the United States, and the treaty to preserve peace in the Americas signed by sixteen American States.

I grew accustomed to the passage into or through Europe of American advisers and American relief executives. I grew accustomed to proposals that America should almost single-handed relieve Russia, relieve the Near East, relieve Greece, relieve here and relieve there. I received in my quarters at the Lausanne Conference delegations of Americans who, in spite of what has been said by irresponsible agitators since, asked me if I considered it appropriate for them to send cables thanking the President for what I had done at Lausanne for the American cause. After my statement on the American question before the Lausanne Conference, the one clear position taken by any delegate, I received a letter from the only American representative of the Armenian societies, complaining that other nations had let the Armenian cause down, but asserting that, representing the United States, I had hit the nail on the head.

I met, in Europe, Mexican diplomats who spoke of the new clarity and friendliness of our Mexican policy. "It is something we can understand," said they. I saw representatives of Cuba who talked about the work of Crowder in Havana and the new opportunities for refinancing Cuba. Panama and Costa Rica had avoided war by an arbitral award of the Chief Justice of our Supreme Court. The five Central American countries were holding a conference in Washington, out of which came a treaty of peace and amity providing for limitations of armaments, for a tribunal of arbitration, and nine other conventions of mutual interest. I heard at diplomatic dinners in Europe of

the successful offer of good offices by the United States when we invited the presidents of Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador to a conference in August, 1922, and averted a war. In the files of my embassy there were records of more than fifty new international agreements made by my country.

The Ignorance of the Learned

Naturally enough, I drew from these experiences considerable pride. I received the impression that, in terms of practical finished jobs, the United States single-handed had even a better actual record as a peacemaker on her own behalf, and on behalf of other nations, than the League of Nations, which had side-stepped the Ruhr and backed out of the Corfu dispute. I had counted over on my fingers—first, the one great step toward world disarmament; second, the one great step toward cutting the economic and political tangle of Europe; third, the contribution of America of four or five billion dollars in relief goods and relief loans; fourth, the making of more international agreements for ourselves and for others than one nation usually makes in half a century, and the furnishing of arbitration and good offices in instance after instance because we have the power inherent in our detachment; fifth, the final establishment of the United States open-door policy in the Far East, and its extension on behalf of square dealing and prevention of exploitation to the Near East and to all parts of the world, a step with which I myself had the good fortune to be associated.

And then I came back to the United States and heard certain professors and preachers, certain college presidents, and certain ex-officeholders, certain political candidates and certain foreign propagandists telling the good people of my country that the United States is isolated. I came back to a State Department doing the largest humane active-accomplishment business of any international agency, single or co-operative, and I learned from some woebegone voices that the United States had no foreign policy.

Of course, I know exactly what is meant by "isolation" and by "lack of foreign policy." Those who use these phrases mean that we do not belong to the League

of Nations, and that while we do not belong to the League of Nations they will keep their eyes tightly closed to anything we have done or will do for peace and international good will, even if it amounts to more than all the efforts of the League itself; and, of course, I know exactly what the so-called radicals mean when they say we are imperialistic. They mean that on the one hand they wish us to recognize Bolshevik Russia so that more American capital can flow into the relief and repair and development of Russia, but that on the other hand whenever American capital flows into South America or the Near East, hungry and desirous for that capital, then we are engaging in imperialistic exploitation.

Exploiters and Exploited

I have learned something of the meaning of that phrase "imperialistic exploitation" from various corners of the world. If, during the time of America's own development, when we successfully sought British capital for co-operation in the development of our West, our mines, ranches, and farms, we had suddenly thrown ourselves on our backs and wailed to the skies that we were being exploited by the British, we would have been in the same position assumed by certain groups in China and Korea, the Philippines, South America, and Mexico who wail about foreign exploitation.

When I was in China a few years ago a prominent Chinese of the bright-boy-statesman school spent an evening telling me of the wickedness of Japanese exploitation of China; but later on I met the same man in Tokyo endeavoring to induce investors to buy some of the most important iron mines of China. Usually I have found that the loudest cries of exploitation of weaker peoples rise from the throats of those who wish to clear the way for a monopoly of exploitation carried on for their own account.

Imperialism in the sense of territorial expansion has proved a bad business. The expense of administration, particularly since the doctrine of self-determination has given peoples not yet fit to govern themselves an ambition to be let alone so that they may kill one another, far exceeds the income. That kind of imperial-

ism no longer stands an auditing of the books, and even if the United States had the slightest inclination toward it, good sense would run a blue pencil through it. In these times mere auditing shows that it does not pay.

What is left for us, according to the radical critics of our foreign policy, is for us to forbid American capital or enterprise to go to backward or less developed countries at all. These critics wish us to say to Americans, "If you co-operate with other weaker peoples in the march of civilization and the development of the world, God help you, because we won't." That would satisfy those who say that our foreign policy is imperialistic. It does not satisfy them that we help Mexico to stable government and then withdraw, or Cuba to stability, then withdraw, or Santo Domingo to good order and then withdraw. It does not satisfy these accusers of imperialism that we loosen all the reins in the Philippines until there is a threatened runaway. It does not satisfy them that we have taken the world leadership in declaring against zones of influence, monopolies, inequality in opportunity, or have asked through our fundamental foreign policy for the open-door principle.

No amount of patience with snarling, disordered neighbors satisfies these radicals. They go on crying out that we ought to recognize Russia so that Russia may have the benefit of the same "tyrannical and hideous" but wholly helpful "exploitation" which our capital and management have given upon demand to foreign peoples who have knocked at our doors asking for it. They talk as the Chinese statesmen, skilled in playing one nation against another, talked to me in Peking. They told me of the terrible fact that a certain foreign power had wrested away concessions for a railway.

"Who granted these concessions?" I said. "You did! Who took them and laid them at the feet of these foreigners and asked them to take them and invest their effort and money in them? You did! Who made money on the side out of the transaction? You did! If there is anyone connected with exploitation of China, it is you. And in addition you are trying to exploit the foreigner who comes to your aid."

The brief fact is that those who see imperialism and exploitation in our foreign policy are lining up, willingly or unwillingly, with the same forces of crookedness, disorder, hypocrisy, and stagnancy represented by these Chinese complainants, masking themselves as bearers of the flag of liberty, of the cup of freedom and of the salver of democratic self-determination.

My experience as an ambassador showed me plainly enough that in this business of exploitation—in the field, called dollar diplomacy—instead of being ahead of other nations, we are sometimes leaning far over the other way. I went abroad eager to help American interests and prepared to stretch my instructions to do it. It made no difference to me whether that interest was the largest American industry, the smallest American missionary, the seller of shoestrings, or the bidder for a contract to move the Mediterranean southwest. I ran squarely two or three times into the stone-wall principle that forbade me helping any private interest in any particular way in which the same help was not extended to all possible competitors.

I saw opportunities at times to corner and pocket advantages for America; but I had to sigh and let them go, because to take them would have offended the principle of the open door, if not directly, then indirectly. I had to do business with some ambassadors and ministers who had been promoted to their places by Downing Street, the Quai d'Orsay, and other foreign offices, because certain British or French, or other national business interests, had been served by them in the competition for commercial plums and concession sweetmeats. But behind me there was always the stiff and conscientious principle of open play, open policy, open opportunity, open door; and when I hear accusations that our foreign policy is imperialistic or exploiting or emphatically dollar diplomacy, I am forced to gentle amusement.

Short Cuts to Utopia

I remember a foreign banker of some distinction who came to me in Rome and said, "If you will join me, a few words will land us a great concession in —."

I replied, "I am sorry; it is a nice grab;

but the United States is not in that business, directly or indirectly."

So we see one group accusing the United States of imperialistic foreign policy meeting another group which says that the United States has no foreign policy. One group says that we meddle too much; the other complains that we ought to meddle everywhere. One says we are entangled and the other says we ought to be. One claims our hands are covered with the mess and the other says, "Dip in!" Such is the way of the world. While the talk goes on, the State Department does its day's business, and, keeping a free hand, continues to serve the cause of peace and conciliation as no other agency in the world is able to serve it, for the simple reason that no other agency has the good fortune of being so detached, so truly free from the snarl of commitments. The great mass of Americans have too much common sense not to see it.

In spite of that common-sense conclusion, another type of common sense is necessary. It is necessary to hold a measure of tolerance for an eager minority who still are inspired more by alluring short cuts than by the painful daily uphill climb out of war, who are stirred by phrases more than by facts, who prefer prospectus to performance. Of course, such persons—and we ourselves are after the same end—are all eager to stop war and to make international relations better all the time.

Campaigns to show how horrible future war may be are instructive, but not a particularly important contribution to ways and means of stopping war. Slogans which merely call upon the people of the world to co-operate, but give no definite guidance, rob the attempts of the world to co-operate of its dignity and reduce effort to a silly mumbling of catchwords. I used to have many a caller come into my embassy and say, "Help Europe." And I would say, "How?" And my visitors would then run their fingers around their collars, but gave no answers.

I learned to believe more firmly that it is a great mistake to be so sure of our own morals that we can go forcing our morals upon others. One will probably run into a foreigner who will say, "Why are you so interested in my countrymen here in my land, when you show so little

interest in him when he comes to America and is a stranger just around the corner?" One will probably run into a representative of the new Turkey who will say, "You ask us to set apart a great piece of territory as a home for the Armenians. If you will excuse it, I demand that you set aside the State of Pennsylvania for a home for the American aborigines."

Someone who is crusading for the independence of the Koreans will probably come across a Japanese with a taste for realities who will say, "Ah, yes, and we on our part demand that you give independence to the Philippines." Another moralist may meet some benighted person who may say, "Please do not force your morals upon us. We already have a set of our own. We do not like political and economic exploitation, but moral exploitation is the worst of all."

I learned to believe during my service abroad that it was a great mistake for us to be about offering plans to other peoples, particularly if these plans were furnished only with good will and glib phrases and lacked architects' drawings to scale, surveys and estimates of cost; particularly if the offering is made to those who have already sampled an American cure-all and are still trying to overcome its effects. I know that our good intentions have received great appreciation abroad, but that

the world, seeking moral forces, is now insisting more and more on intelligence as a moral obligation.

The truth of the matter is that the working out of international relationship is a long job. No panacea will ever come fluttering in with the morning mail, no matter how eagerly we wait for the postman. Some obscure school child may suddenly become inspired and write out a new workable plan ready-made, but the chances are against it.

We have wasted tremendous energy already in shooting our high aims at imaginary bull's-eyes. I suspect that, after all, our task is a building process—the job of putting brick on brick, constructing a wall against war, and a place where peace and understanding and co-operation and fair play can meet and stand on firm foundation.

In the meantime Hughes has done a big job and has sprung no trick plays. In the meantime there will always ring in my ears the statement of a distinguished European who said to me when a great conference was in a tight box:

"The greatest asset of the world today is the detachment of the United States. All the rest of the big forces are isolated from freedom of thought and action. For pity's sake, do not join those who are thus isolated."

BUILDERS OF THE STATE

By RICHARD WATSON

Who builds the state? Not he whose power,
Rooted in wrong, in gold entrenched,
Makes him the regent of the hour;

The eternal light cannot be quenched:
This shall outlive this little span;

Shine fierce upon each tainted scheme;
Shall show where shame blots all the plan;
The treachery in the dazzling dream.

He builds the state who builds on truth,—
Not he who, crushing towards his aim,

Strikes conscience from the throne, and ruth,
To win a dark, unpitoeous fame.

He builds the state who to that task
Brings strong, clean hands, and purpose
pure,

Who wears not virtue as a mask;
He builds the state that shall endure,—
The state wherein each loyal son
Holds as a birthright from true sires
Treasures of honor nobly won,
And freedom's never-ending fires.

ECONOMIC PROSPECTS OF 1925

By HERBERT HOOVER

Secretary of Commerce

A FORECAST of the business future must be simply a weighing of the economic and political forces in motion. The annual survey of the Department of Commerce shows that the New Year begins with the economic structure of the world upon more solid foundations than at any time since the war. With the exception of a few spots of secondary importance, there has been during the past year a real advance toward social, economic, and political stability throughout the world. The only exceptions are Russia and China, which even before the war, contributed less than 3½ per cent of international commerce, and of course a part of this continues. Generally, the world is producing more goods, there is fuller employment, there are higher standards of living, more assurance of economic stability for the future, and more promise of peace than we have seen for many years.

Economic Developments in the United States

In our own country the outstanding economic development of the year has been the very large recovery in agriculture, after its two-year lag behind the recovery of industry. The farmers have a large measure of losses in the last three years yet to recover, but their outlook is encouraging. There are some secondary difficulties still remaining, particularly in the cattle industry and the effect of the subnormal corn crop; but the prices of all farm products are gradually moving toward the general average of commodity prices. This improvement in prices of farm products has been paralleled with some decrease in the prices of many industrial commodities, such as fuel, building materials, metals, etc., so that there has been little change in the average of all price levels, and thus the farmers' purchasing power is being remedied in both directions.

While there has been a good deal of adjustment in prices of single commodities during the year, the average wholesale price of all commodities has varied but 3 per cent as between the ends of the years 1922, 1923, and 1924. It would

thus appear that we are tending to the common level in prices of about 50 per cent over pre-war, which seems to represent at least our present economic plane in prices.

The average wage in industry has been stable during the last year and remains around 100 per cent above pre-war, while the cost of living has maintained almost exactly the same level at the end of each of the last three years, 1922, 1923, and 1924, about 72 per cent over pre-war. Our labor, therefore, continues to enjoy the highest real wage in its history. There was some unemployment in the middle of the year, but it has now been largely overcome.

General Recovery of Industry

While there was some slackening of manufacturing production as a whole in the spring, due in part to the uncertainties of election and in part to reduction of accumulated stocks, yet there was but little slackening at any time in consumption of major articles, as shown by the continued high levels of car loadings, of sales of wholesale and retail establishments, and of construction activities. The end of the year finds us with a recovered industrial production at practically the same levels as a year ago.

Two industries—textiles and northern soft coal—have lagged in recovery. The textiles are suffering in part from sharp competition of foreign imports and in part from shift in national habits. An improvement may be looked for in the forthcoming year. The condition of the bituminous coal industry in the Northern States is unsatisfactory, owing to the unusually large stocks accumulated early in the year as a safeguard against possible strikes; to the decrease in industrial consumption during the middle of the year; and to the increased proportional production of the Southern States, due to lower wage levels. The difficulties in this industry created by strike stocks and mid-year dip in industrial activity should soon be overcome.

Building and Transportation Expansion

The construction work of the country has maintained high activity. While the shortage, particularly of housing and business buildings, due to the cessation of construction during the war, has been to a large degree overcome, yet continued high real wages and general prosperity create a demand in excess of that due only to increasing population, because of the insistence of a population of rising standards of living—for more elbow room and better housing generally.

One striking factor in maintenance of increased construction activities is the effect which the automobile is producing in increasing the demand for road construction and in causing migration of population in many of our towns to new housing in the suburbs. Another effect of these forces is to maintain rents out of line above the general price levels. With our high real wages and little unemployment, there is no reason to expect any material change in the course of this industry.

Our railroads have shown continued increase in efficiency during the year and have now proved themselves equal to any burden which is likely to be thrown upon them. Motor transportation continues to develop and to enter more and more into the vital economic life of the country—in fact, almost imperceptibly our road improvement programs are taking on the complexion of new transportation systems.

Increase of Exports and Decrease of Imports

Our foreign trade has shown considerable expansion in exports during the year and some decrease in imports. The increase in export figures has been due in some degree to the higher prices of agricultural produce, though chiefly to general expansion in all exports; the decrease in imports has been due in large part to lessening activity in production lines at the middle of the year, thus reducing the requirements for imports of raw material.

The total of our exports for the year will show about four billion six hundred millions and our imports about three billion six hundred millions. The merchandise balance will be about one billion dollars in our favor. The net gold imports for the year in partial liquidation of this

balance amounts to about two hundred eighty millions.

Our invisible exchange will show larger balances against us than in 1923 because of the greater volume of tourist travel, increased freight charges paid foreign shipping, and, above all, the largely increased volume of loans and investments to foreign lands, which will probably amount to as much as one billion, as against one-third of that amount for 1923.

Larger Movement of World Trade

International trade in the world as a whole shows a larger movement of commodities during the past year than at any time since before the war; but international exchange of goods, measured in quantities, is probably still 10 or 12 per cent below pre-war, although the United States is unique among the large combatant nations in having recovered its foreign trade to a point 15 per cent to 20 per cent above pre-war on a quantity basis. One of the by-products hitherto of this lower movement of commodities has been the continued depression of shipping.

With the general strengthening of the economic fabric of the world, with the gradual growth in the movement of commodities which is now taking place, together with the fact that there has been but little new ship construction during the last four years, and that the existing shipping is becoming more and more obsolete, it is fair to expect a recovery in the shipping world. The usable surplus tonnage at the present time in the world is probably not in excess of two million tons, as against four million tons a year ago.

Public and Private Finance

The year has again been marked by a decrease in federal taxation and by a large discharge of federal debt, which will amount for the year to something in excess of \$900,000,000.

Time and demand deposits in member banks show an increase of about two billion eight hundred millions and bank clearings for the year were higher than in 1923. The gold reserves have not increased, despite imports, because of the larger circulation given to gold certificates. Savings continue at a very high rate, as indicated by the increasing savings deposits, the large

absorption of bond issues, and the extraordinary expansion in insurance, thus demonstrating that there has been maintained a high state of efficiency throughout industry and commerce, with little evidence of waste, extravagance, and speculation.

In fact, the most far-reaching movement in our economic life today is the larger understanding of its broad problems, the better appreciation of the factors of stability, and the definite progress in the elimination of waste, through more stable employment, through better administrative methods, and through the rapid march of scientific discovery. That we are able to maintain wages at 100 per cent above pre-war, while the cost of living is 72 per cent and the average wholesale price of commodities about 50 per cent above pre-war, is the very definite proof of increasing efficiency in production and distribution and of the free flow of competitive action.

Economic Conditions Abroad

In the foreign situation the settlement of the conflict over German reparations through the Dawes plan, with its stabilization of German currency and the German budget and the recuperation of employment and production in Germany, is having and will have a far-reaching effect upon the whole of Europe, and it has favorable influences reaching to our shores.

Great Britain shows considerable improvement in all phases of its economic life. The commercial and industrial situation in France, Italy, and Belgium shows steady improvement during the year. Some progress is being attained in these countries toward reduction of expenditure and increased taxation, directed toward the better balancing of budgets and more stable currency. Poland has stabilized her currency. Yugoslavia, Finland, Serbia, Estonia, Lithuania, Sweden, and Norway show manifest stability in economic and trade conditions and steady progress over preceding years. The Netherlands, Denmark, and Spain show some temporary depression during the year, due to local conditions which are improving. Austria, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Turkey do not show the rate of progress of some of the others. Russia makes no real advance. A large part of Europe, however,

continues dangerously overarmed, and currencies are not yet upon that foundation of stability which will only be reached when they are placed upon a gold basis.

The year has been one of steadily increasing prosperity for the whole of Latin America, despite three revolutions. Our sales of export goods to this territory show an increase over the previous year of about 12 per cent. We now enjoy the highest trade with them in our history.

The conditions in Egypt, South Africa, Congo, and other parts of that continent show steady improvement, with increased productivity and trade. In Asia, the situation in Japan marks the courageous upbuilding from the earthquake disaster. China is much depressed by continued civil war. Conditions in India, in the Middle East, have shown a steady economic improvement and subsiding of political and social agitation.

March of Wholesome Recovery

It has been suggested in some press quarters at home and abroad that the result of these favorable factors may be leading our country towards a period of inflation of the character of 1919-20, with its disaster of 1921. It can be assuredly stated that we are on the march of wholesome recovery from the war, and there is no present indication of inflation. We only secure inflation when undue expansion of credit finds its outlet in bidding up prices after the plant and labor capacity of the country is employed to the maximum. We have reached no such stage, because there is still a margin of labor capacity for enlarged output, in the form, however, of more full-time employment than from people out of work.

As a nation, our business men, bankers, and public officials have gained enormously during the past four years in understanding of the basic factors which create healthy prosperity, as distinguished from over-expansion, as well as in understanding of their responsibilities in the matter. Our informational services are now upon such a basis as quickly to detect dangerous currents.

Altogether, forces in motion, both at home and abroad, mark solid progress toward peace and toward prosperity for the coming year.

ALBANIA

By GORDON GORDON-SMITH

THE recent revolution in Albania, which resulted in the overthrow of the government of Bishop Fan Noli by the forces of Ahmed Bey Zogu, has once again drawn public attention to the little State on the Adriatic.

Albanian affairs have occupied the attention of the Great Powers for over fifty years. When that country formed part of the Ottoman Empire it was in a state of chronic rebellion. The Turkish authorities planted block-houses, garrisoned by troops and gendarmerie, who maintained a semblance of order all over the country; but it was notorious that the authority of the Sultan, imposed by such means, only extended as far as a rifle bullet could carry.

From time to time the Albanian questions occupied the attention of the Great Powers; but, on account of their mutual jealousies, little progress was made toward the pacification and stabilization of the country. Two Powers were specially interested in Albania, Italy and Austria. As a result, they carried on active intrigues among the population, in order to assure themselves of support in case active intervention should be necessary.

Each of those Powers took advantage of the political divisions existing in Albania, due to the religious differences of the population. Of the 850,000 inhabitants, over 500,000 are Mohammedans, the remainder being Roman Catholics and adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church. The Catholics inhabit the north, the Mohammedans the center, and the Greek Orthodox Christians the south. These sections are again divided into clans, under their begs, or feudal chiefs. Blood-feuds between tribes are common and last for years. The population is active, brave, and energetic, but extremely ignorant, over 70 per cent being unable to read or write. Everybody goes armed, so that the tribal vendettas yearly take a heavy toll in human lives.

The people have, however, many good qualities. They are courageous, hospitable, and have a great respect for their plighted word. Once an Albanian gives "bessa", or his word of honor, he can be trusted to keep it at all costs. It was these qualities

which made the Sultan Abdul Hamid recruit his personal bodyguard at Yildiz Kiosk exclusively from Albanians, as he knew he could absolutely count on their fidelity. For this reason the Sultan was never as harsh toward the Albanians as he was to other parts of his empire. Taxes were never collected in Albania with the rigor shown in other provinces.

Before the Balkan War of 1912, which freed Albania from the yoke of the Turk, Italy and Austria carried on intrigues for the support of the population. Austria took the Catholic section under her wing. It was notorious that all the Catholic priests were agents of the Vienna Government and received heavy subsidies for the work of Austrian propaganda. The Italians, on the other hand, were the friends and protectors of the Mohammedan section. When, after the war of liberation, in 1912, the fate of Albania came before the London Conference of the Powers for decision, neither the Vienna nor Rome governments were able to score any advantage and, as a compromise, Albania was given its independence and the Prince Wilhelm Zu Wied, a brother of Queen Elizabeth of Rumania, was elected Invret, or King, by the Powers.

Then came the World War. The puppet king disappeared in the confusion and Essad Pasha, an Albanian and a former general of the Turkish army, seized the power and ruled the country as a dictator. Though his methods were harsh, he at least maintained order in the country. When, after the defeat of the Serbian army, he was driven from the country in his turn, Albania was occupied by Austria, which held it till the Allied victory.

Immediately after the Armistice Italy proclaimed a protectorate over Albania and occupied the country with considerable military forces. But, as the result of the war, a new State had come into being, Yugoslavia. The Belgrade Government regarded with deep disfavor any occupation of Albanian territory by Italy. The presence of Italian troops in Durazzo, Tirana, El Dibro, and Valona would undoubtedly have led to an acute conflict between Italy

and Yugoslavia, if the matter had not been settled by the revolt of the Albanian population itself against the Italian occupation.

So serious was this that the Italian Government was placed in a dilemma—either to send strong reinforcements to Albania and crush all resistance by force of arms or to evacuate the country, and even do it promptly, to avoid disaster. The first decision of the Rome Government was to increase the army of occupation by several thousand men. This, however, aroused violent opposition in the war-weary population of the Peninsula, and, when the government still persisted, four Italian regiments sent to Bari to embark for Albania mutinied and refused to go on board the transports. There was, therefore, nothing left but to withdraw the army of occupation and abandon the protectorate.

At the same time the chief effort of the Italian Government was devoted to preventing the Yugoslav Government from profiting by this situation to intervene in Albania. As this period of tension coincided with the Italo-Yugoslav dispute regarding Fiume, the situation for some time was critical. The settlement of the Fiume dispute had happily the effect of producing a "detente" all along the line, and the Italian and Yugoslav premiers reached an agreement. Both Italy and Yugoslavia declared that they would respect Albanian independence and refrain from any intervention in the internal affairs of the country.

It was fortunate that this agreement was arrived at, as shortly after one of the periodic revolutionary upheavals took place and Ahmed Bey Zogu, the premier and leader of the conservative Mohammedan party, was overthrown by Bishop Fan Noli, leader of the Catholic and Greek Orthodox Christian party. Ahmed Bey Zogu was accused of being too friendly with the Belgrade Government. As a consequence the new Fan Noli Government was more or less hostile to Yugoslavia. It was accused of encouraging, or at least doing nothing to discourage, raids into south Serbian territory by a kind of Albanian comitadgis known as "Katchaks."

There is little doubt that these raiders were further encouraged and materially aided by the Bolshevik régime in Moscow. This gave support both to Bulgarian Mace-

donian revolutionaries and to Albanian Katchaks. It hoped to drive Yugoslavia into war with Bulgaria and Albania and to take advantage of the confusion thus created in the Balkan Peninsula to bring about a Soviet revolution. It was further hoped that this policy would also embroil Yugoslavia and Italy. A Soviet delegation headed by Colonel Krakovjecky, a former staff officer of the imperial Russian army, was sent to Tirana to foment trouble there. The attempt failed, as Fan Noli's Government was ordered by the Great Powers to call upon the Soviet delegation to leave Albanian territory.

At the same time the more conservative, not to say reactionary, Mohammedan element rose in rebellion against the Fan Noli Government, called Ahmed Bey Zogu from his exile in Yugoslavia, mobilized its forces, and marched on Tirana. After some fairly severe fighting, Tirana was occupied, and Fan Noli and his colleagues fled to Rome. But what is most subject for congratulation is the fact that the agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia stood the strain of these events and neither side made any effort to profit by them and establish any undue influence in Albania.

Whether Albania will demonstrate that she is capable of self-government remains to be seen. Since the end of the World War the country has been in a state of turmoil and confusion. Many of the more warlike tribes have got completely out of hand, rendering the pacification of the country more and more difficult. The country is without roads or railways, trade and industry are non-existent, and the treasury is empty. This, in a country where the population has a rooted objection to paying taxes of any kind, is bound to spell disaster. What the solution of the problem will be it is hard to say.

What the country urgently needs is a large loan of from forty to fifty million dollars for the equipping and payment of a strong force of gendarmerie, the construction of roads, bridges and railways, and the draining of the more marshy lands. But until there is a stable government foreign capital will be chary about entering Albania, and without foreign capital all progress is impossible. We therefore find ourselves faced by a vicious circle.

The only consoling feature is the fact that there is no threat of armed intervention from without, and Albania is being left to "stew in its own juice" and try to find some way of aiding itself. In the opinion of many, the original error was in giving the country its independence. When Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine

have been put under mandate, the same treatment might have been applied with advantage to Albania. What is most wanted is a strong force of gendarmerie under European officers and a stable government at Tirana, maintained in power by the influence of all the European nations.

ONE SILENT POWER FOR PEACE

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

ONE of the most beautiful monuments ever created by the hand of man was unveiled with impressive ceremonies on the 4th of October, 1909, in Bern, capital of Switzerland. This work of art, handiwork of the French sculptor, René de Saint-Marceaux, was paid for by contributions from practically all of the governments of the world. These contributions were gladly made because the nations belonged to and appreciated the services of the Universal Postal Union. They felt, therefore, the urge to express their appreciation in some form of appropriate and enduring art.

A Monument

Thus the monument came into being. On the ledge of a rock, from the foot of which flows a spring of water, sits a majestic woman, whose delicate hand rests on the escutcheon of the town of Bern. Opposite her is an admirably modeled bank of clouds, gliding gracefully in space, and bearing, as upon their shoulders, a sphere around which float five female figures, symbols of the five grand divisions of the world, offering letters each to the other. It is an exquisite picture, albeit in granite and bronze, a strikingly lifelike thing, amid its lawns and trees, all backed by the purity of the distant Jungfrau and other Burnese Alps. It was in this way that humanity has tried to pay its tribute to the Universal Postal Union.

Rise of an Idea

The Universal Postal Union is an international organization which, without oratory or publicity, actually promotes peace between nations. It has been working at

this job since 1874. If it does its business quietly, it does it effectively. It works rather than talks. While practically every man, woman, and child of the world is affected by it, little is said about it. We hold no mass meetings over it; we do not discuss it at the breakfast table; we just accept it as we accept gravitation, air, light, or other fixed fact of our universe.

Yet it is no law of nature that enables us to place a five-cent picture on an envelope and to have a whole ounce of our writing delivered within a short time to some person in an out-of-the-way village, say, of Shansi or Timbaktu. That service has been made possible through many years of careful human effort.

The history of the postal service is intimately connected with the history of all modern civilization. In 1653 Louis XIV provided for the placing of letter-boxes in different quarters of Paris to facilitate the collection and distribution of correspondence for the inhabitants of the city. For the use of these boxes a tag on the letter was required. But this innovation did not prove to be particularly successful. Postage stamps did not appear in England until 1840. In the early part of the nineteenth century men had pointed out that the post, like the arts and sciences, "ought to be managed in a cosmopolitan spirit." But not until the middle of the century did government postal authorities begin to think seriously of an international postal exchange.

Montgomery Blair

The forerunner in the movement toward the establishment of international postal relations on a basis of uniformity was a citizen of the United States—indeed,

Postmaster General of these United States during our Civil War—Montgomery Blair. In a note dated August 4, 1862, when war was threatening the destruction of our nation's capital, Mr. Blair found time calmly to explain the advantages of calling a conference of delegates of the various governments for the purpose of simplifying and improving the international postal relations. This proved to be one of the important documents of history. Because of it a conference met in Paris on the 11th of May, 1863, and the delegates of the fourteen countries represented accepted a series of general principles as the bases of an international postal treaty. It was not proposed to bind any of the countries represented. But the idea of an international postal union, thanks to Montgomery Blair, had been brought to the attention of practical men.

Von Stephan's Contribution

Five years later Von Stephan, Postmaster General of the North German Confederation, proposed the foundation of the Universal Postal Union, in a pamphlet proposing the convening of a postal congress. Because of the Franco-Prussian War this congress was not held until 1874.

At the suggestion of Germany, the Swiss Federal Council invited the governments of Europe, the United States of America, and Egypt to send representatives to this congress. The congress opened on the 15th of September, 1874, with twenty-two governments represented by thirty-eight plenipotentiaries. Within a month a common agreement had been arrived at on the basis of the plan proposed by Von Stephan. The ratifications of this treaty were exchanged in Bern on the 5th of May, 1875, and the treaty came into force on the 1st of July of that year.

An Important Treaty

By the terms of this important treaty the contracting powers formed themselves into a single postal territory, called the General Postal Union. The treaty extended to letters, post cards, books, newspapers and other printed papers, patterns, and commercial documents. Uniform rates of postage were established for the transmission of such articles. Under its terms

each administration is permitted to keep the postage it collects; the right of transit is guaranteed throughout the territory of the Union; all action of the States under the treaty is voluntary. A secretariat was provided, under the name "International Bureau of the General Postal Union," to operate under the Postal Administration to be chosen by the Congress.

This secretariat was founded to collect, publish, and distribute information of every kind which concerns the international postal service; at the request of the parties concerned, to render opinions upon questions in dispute; to make known any proposals for modifying the rules and regulations of the Union, and to notify the members when alterations have been adopted. Its purpose is also to facilitate operations relating to international postal accounts, and to interest itself in all questions of importance to the Union.

Arbitration of Disputes

In case of disagreement between two or more members of the Union as to the interpretation of the treaty, the question in dispute is decided by arbitration. Where this method of settlement is found necessary, each of the parties concerned chooses as arbiter another member of the Union not interested in the dispute.

In case of an equality of votes, the selected arbitrators choose, with the view of settling the difference, another arbitrator with no interest in the question in dispute. If one of the offices concerned does not take any action on the proposal for arbitration within twelve months from the day following the date of the first application, the International Bureau, on a request to that effect, may call on the defaulting administration to appoint an arbitrator, or the Bureau may appoint such additional arbitrator itself. The decision of the arbitrators is rendered by a majority vote. Under this system of settlement there have arisen no insoluble disputes between the Powers.

Periodic Congresses

Provision was made for periodic congresses every three years of plenipotentiaries of the countries participating in the treaty. The second of these congresses was

held in Paris, forty-three countries with fifty-three plenipotentiaries being represented. The third congress was held in Lisbon in 1885, with fifty-two countries represented by fifty-two plenipotentiaries. The fourth was held in Vienna in 1891, with fifty-one countries represented by seventy-two plenipotentiaries. The fifth was held in Washington, D. C., in 1897, with sixty-three countries represented by eighty-three plenipotentiaries. The sixth was held in Rome in 1906, when a number of other countries joined the Union. The seventh was held in Madrid in 1920, lasting through sixty-one days. The eighth and last congress was held in Stockholm, Sweden, beginning July 4, 1924, and lasting fifty-six days. All the countries of the world are now members of the Union.

Achieving Results

Out of all this quiet work to meet definite needs of the world, the governments have achieved results. Because of it a "letter" means the same thing the world round. This is also true for "prints" and "samples." When sometime ago it was found that the regulation mail bag, weighing eighty-eight pounds, was too heavy for the Japanese, through the Universal Postal Union the weight of each bag was reduced to sixty-six pounds.

Thus the Universal Postal Union is a universal clearing-house. It is a center of information. Through its Bureau, for example, the postal authorities of the world were informed of the fact that the increase of postal rates in certain countries following the war destroyed so much of the postal business of those countries that the increase was found uneconomical. This was most useful information for the countries wrestling with the temptation to try that apparently plausible method of raising revenue.

Because of the Union, government authorities have been able to obtain uniform transportation rates on most of the steamship lines. An interesting fact in our own case, however, is that we of the United States are paying eighty cents a pound for letters and post cards and eight cents a pound on parcels by way of our own ships, while the rate for other vessels is only thirty-five cents a pound for letters and post cards and four and thirty-eight

hundredths cents a pound for prints and parcels. In the main, however, rates established by the Universal Postal Union are readily accepted by the steamship lines.

Because of the Union, the postal accounts of the various nations are greatly simplified. The details here are typical: Every five years the various countries count and weigh their mail for a period of twenty-eight days. They multiply the total by thirteen. This gives the count and weight for 364 days, the record for a year. Since the expenses of transit and warehousing are borne by the administration of the country of origin, and since some governments carry more foreign mail than others, it follows that the nations fall into debtor and creditor groups. The creditors make out their accounts on the basis of the twenty-eight-day counts and weights and submit their bills accordingly. There is no hitch or trouble involved, and the system goes on smoothly to the incalculable advantage of us all.

Because of this clearing-house in Bern, classification of mails means the same thing throughout the world, rates are more nearly uniform, and transportation is far more expeditious. Before the Universal Postal Union, our own Post Office Department had to keep separate accounts with the post-office departments of many nations. The simplification of these accounts alone warrants the expense of maintaining the Universal Postal Union. And this expense is astonishingly small. The net cost of running the Union is about \$60,000 a year. The total cost to the United States ranges from \$2,500 to \$3,000 a year. When I visited the offices of the Union in August, 1924, eleven persons were upon the payroll. It is with such a force and such a limited expense that the society of all the nations is able to maintain a single postal territory for the reciprocal exchange of correspondence between the post offices of all the world.

This is a most remarkable international fact. Under the terms of the covenant of this international organization, all States have equal rights. Preserving the sovereignty and independence of each country, the founders of the Postal Union provided with great wisdom for the general

interests of all men upon the solidarity uniting all the nations of the world. As the senior member of the congress which celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Union remarked in 1900: "The Postal Union represents the United States of the whole world and its motto is not only '*e pluribus unum*' but also '*ex omnibus unum*.'"

The approval of the Universal Postal Union by the Government of the United States has been shown in many ways. Perhaps the most marked expression of this approval is found in the Revised Statutes of the United States, section 398. Under the terms of this statute the Postmaster General of the United States has the power to make postal treaties or conventions by and with the consent of the President. In other words, our Government has seen fit to honor its Post Office Department by making an exception to that clause of our Constitution which provides that only the President shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties. It is because of this that the United States has been able to work with the Universal Postal Union.

It needs no expert knowledge to appreciate the importance of this great work. True, most of it is quite technical in nature. The details of surcharges, of registered articles, of trade charges on packets, of the mailability of articles, of the routing of mails, of statistics, are some of the many problems handled only by the technicians. But these technicians are all dependent upon the Postal Union.

An Agency for Peace

No special gift of insight is required to see that the Universal Postal Union is an agency for the promotion of international peace. Before it could become organized, it was necessary to conciliate opposing interests of many States. There were difficulties of nearly every description. The post-office departments of many nations had large numbers of contracts covering postal regulations. There were problems of transit, a variety of interests and of opinions.

Joining the Postal Union meant heavy financial losses for some of the larger

powers. Thus the formation of the Universal Union meant real sacrifices for some. But these sacrifices were made, in behalf of the general good. It was out of such a spirit that the mailing privileges formerly enjoyed only by the well-to-do were extended to all classes of people. If enlightenment of peoples means the promotion of peace between nations, then it becomes necessary to admit that the Universal Postal Union is an outstanding agency for the promotion of peace.

The head of the Post and Railway Departments of Switzerland, Mr. Zemp, expressed the view twenty-five years ago "that the Universal Postal Union is the most powerful work for peace which history has ever seen." This view was also expressed by the Director General of the Swedish Posts, Dr. Juhlin, at the fiftieth anniversary of the Union, at Stockholm last August. Dr. Juhlin said: "The post is a means of communication on which everybody depends; for this reason all eyes are turned towards us. The post is especially important for the extension of intellectual culture and of civilization, for the encouragement of co-operation among the nations, for the development of industry and commerce. It is consequently expedient for us to make it, to the very utmost, accessible to everybody, to cheapen it, and to simplify its use. To do this, however, we must have wide views; we must have the will to subordinate special interests to general interests. It is in possessing these great qualities that we shall best and most thoroughly serve both our own interests and those of the whole world."

At the dedication, in 1909, of the monument to which I referred at the beginning, the Director of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union, Mr. Ruffy, turning to Saint-Marceaux's beautiful creation, said; "And you, messengers of the five continents, hasten, in your wondrous flight, to carry to the absent ones messages of love from home, to the pioneers of civilization encouragement and support from the old country; bear above all, in your outstretched hands, messages of peace for a blessing to the whole of mankind."

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES

By THE RT. HON. LORD PHILLIMORE

GENTLEMEN, you have perhaps observed that I have left on one side all questions of contractual law—that is to say, of the rights and duties which arise by virtue of a treaty or some form of convention. These are not fundamental rights, in the sense of the title given to my series of lectures. The rights and duties of which I have been speaking to you are primordial, those which derive from the nature of things—*ex rerum natura*—which have their origin in the mere existence of States, and, as I have already said, of their juxtaposition—not rights *ex contractu*.

Neither do I understand that I should include in this series the question of remedies for rights denied, or international legal procedure.

Those of my listeners who have been brought up on the Code Napoleon or upon the systems of jurisprudence which descend from it, know very well that by the side of the Civil Code there is a Code of Civil Procedure; and, side by side with the Penal Code, a code of criminal prosecutions; and they know the distinction between substantive law and the law of procedure.

Some one may, perhaps, object that I have discussed intervention, and that intervention is a species of litigation. The observation is a fair one. I might answer it by making an addition to the other rights of States, that of the *jus litigandi*, the right of establishing one's rights by the different processes of diplomatic communication, acts of retorsion and, in the last resort, war.

Again, I am not treating of the succession of rights or of duties which may follow on the cession of territory or the extinction of a State. I may, just in passing, say that my listeners will find this question discussed at length in a treatise, accompanied by a great enumeration of

precedents, written by a Mr. Arthur Berriedale Keith.¹

In conclusion, if you follow the analysis of law which is to be found in the Institutes of Justinian, we are occupying ourselves with the contents of the first two books—persons and things—not with obligations, nor with successions, nor with suits.

Now, we have to look at the other aspect, no longer the rights, but the duties, of States.

Perhaps you may observe, "What more is there to say? Will it not be a mere repetition?" "*Jus est suum cuique tribuere.*" One discharges one's duties by acceding to the rights of one's neighbor. This is quite true; but if we look at international relations from another aspect, also, we shall appreciate them more clearly. Particularly we shall find the limitations. We shall see how far one can push the rights of a State, and where one would stop if the pressure becomes too severe. We re-examine the rights in enumerating the duties. Calvo, in his work, after having developed the rights of States in four books, consecrates his sixth book to the mutual duties of States. Whilst stating that "every right supposes the correlative notion of a duty," he still finds room in this book for many useful pieces of advice.

Cruchaga also consecrates a chapter (XIII) to the duties of States.

When we come to analyze the duties, we shall find those which are strictly correlative to the rights of another. For instance, to respect his sovereignty and independence; to render him the marks of honor which, according to the accepted usage, are due to him; to recognize the extent of his dominions; to permit him to appear in one's courts when he litigates for the preservation of national property; to receive and to reply to his embassies.

Next we shall find duties which are consequences of rights. If a State desires that its sovereignty and independence should be respected, it must keep good

(NOTE.—Above is the translation of the fourth and last lecture delivered by Lord Phillimore at the Academy of International Law, at The Hague, July, 1923. The third lecture was published in the December, 1924, number of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE.)

¹ The Theory of State Succession. London, 1907.

order in its own dominions, with a sufficient police, and not trouble by its disturbances the peace of other States.

Should one go further? Should one add good will to justice? That is a question which arises if we come to extradition or to revenue laws.

As far as extradition is concerned, a State, as I have already said, is bound not to allow its territory to be made the home for hostile preparations against its neighbor. But, on the other hand, custom has long established that it may give asylum to political refugees. Now comes the question, if an individual is accused of some ordinary crime, has the State which he has offended the right to demand his extradition, and is it a duty to grant it?

It seems to me that if one looks back to the time when there were no extradition treaties, one will see that international usage did not accord this right and did not demand this duty. Hall, who has examined this question very minutely, arrives, though with hesitation, at the same conclusion. Perhaps this conclusion is not one of great importance, because now almost every State has bound itself by extradition treaties. But, as the usual type of these treaties contains an enumeration of the crimes for which extradition is to be granted, it happens sometimes that the enumeration is not exhaustive and would permit some accused person to escape. Then it may become a question of real importance.

However, at any rate, States now mutually give up persons guilty of crime in the various cases fixed in their extradition treaties. Do they go further, and is it part of international usage that they should give assistance to each other to prevent infractions of their municipal laws? Answer: Not at all. Let us take, for example, the law of marriage. One, or, perhaps, both, of the parties, who, according to the law of their domicile, cannot intermarry, leave their country and get in a neighboring country the advantage of more elastic jurisprudence. The local authority of the country which they seek will not refuse to give sanction to the marriage; or, if it refuses, it will not be out of any care for the laws of the other country, but only for the protection of its own citizens, male or female.

The most striking instance is that of the customs. Smugglers leave their entrepôt freely, without any interference on the part of the custom-house officers of the exporting country. I have grieved to notice how little respect for the good order of a neighboring country is shown by the authorities of the country from which prohibited goods are dispatched. It has grieved me, for example, at Gibraltar to see the tobacco which every night, under the nose of the municipal police, is packed on the backs of dogs that it may get across the frontier, escaping the custom-house guards of Spain. If the laws on import duties were not sometimes so extravagant, I should agree with Cruchaga² in recommending that all States should change their practice and support each other mutually for the observation of the law.

At this moment there is a question which comes home to all of us. It takes its origin in the new legislation of the United States on the subject of the trade in alcohol.

Whilst respectfully expressing my surprise that any State should determine to try and assist morality and hygiene by so drastic a method—one might say by so tyrannical a one—and so difficult to apply as is the federal law on this subject, still I would wish that no other State should in any way give its assistance to the smugglers or accord its protection to ships engaged in this unlawful commerce.

In my first lecture I explained to you that there might be some qualifications of the systems of rights and duties to apply to States which are only half-sovereign and to federal States.

So far as a half-sovereign State is concerned, it and its suzerain divide between them their rights and duties, without increase and without diminution on account of their special position.

As to a federal State (*Bundesstaat*), there is no difficulty, as far as its rights are concerned. They would be put forward by the federal government.

But, as regards its duties, there are practical difficulties which I shall best explain by narrating the case of the ship, the *Caroline*, in 1838,³ not to be con-

² Cruchaga, page 193, sec. 255.

³ Phillimore, vol. 1 and vol. 3, Westlake, chapters on the Principles of International Law (1894), p. 115.

founded with the case of another *Caroline* in 1842.⁴

This ship, as I have told you in a former lecture, was moored in American waters and in that part of the river Niagara which belongs to the State of New York. It was there to render aid to certain Canadian rebels, and the ship was boarded by a loyal force of Canadians and sent down the rapids with some loss of life. Three or four years afterwards a person named MacLeod, when doing his business within the territory of the State of New York, was charged with murder on this account and was brought before the local magistrate.

Great Britain accepted the responsibility for the action in the matter of the *Caroline* and required that the prosecution against MacLeod should be dropped; and the correctness, as a matter of international law, of this requirement was accepted by the Federal Government at Washington. But the local authorities would not let him go, and the courts of the State of New York rejected the plea founded on this state of things. Happily, MacLeod was able to prove that he had taken no part in the affair; that he was not even on the spot—the defense which we call in England an alibi—and the jury gave a verdict of not guilty.

But if by misfortune a different verdict had been returned, I do not know by what means a satisfactory result could have been obtained. There was an idea of an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States; but its jurisdiction to entertain such an appeal was doubtful.

Now, it is an occurrence which might recur in the United States and in any other country where the States which form a confederation divide their sovereignty with the federal body and are, as regards their part of it, independent of all federal control.

This is a point for which some remedy ought to be found in any revision of federal constitutions.

As far as the British Empire is concerned, I think that we have made satisfactory provision by our court, which is supreme for the dominions, the Judicial

Committee of the Privy Council, and by the right reserved to His Majesty, by virtue of his prerogative, as we express it, to entertain an appeal of his subjects from every tribunal beyond the seas.

According to the information which our colleague, Professor Borel, has been good enough to give to me, it would seem that Switzerland has taken steps to provide against this difficulty, and that the Swiss constitution confers upon the federal authorities and tribunals a sufficient controlling power for this purpose.

Now, gentlemen, I have two things still to say which seem to me of serious importance. The first is, perhaps, rather a consideration of philosophy than of jurisprudence. A person who enters into the ordinary contracts of life does not thereby diminish his liberty or his independence. I may be seeking to gain my living, and I enter into the office of an employer as a clerk, or I become his secretary, his chauffeur, or his gardener. I am not as free as I was the day before, because I must go to him at a fixed hour and do that which I am employed to do; but, on the other hand, if I had wished to keep my liberty, I should have been without an occupation.

The same thing for the employer. Yesterday he was free not to employ me; but then his car would have remained in the garage, or his garden would not have been cultivated, or he would have to write his letters himself. Now I turn again to my position as employee. It is possible that I may bind myself so tightly to such absolute obedience that I should become a slave. In this case I really should injure my own liberty and my own independence; but, as regards the ordinary contracts of life, it would be absurd to look at them in that way.

From the individual I pass to the State. Would any one require that, for the sake of the independence or sovereignty of a State, it should never bind itself by treaties? No one would say so. History teaches us the contrary. Without treaties, no peace, no progress. We all know it.

But, notwithstanding, I observe in modern democracies a hesitation, even an objection, to tie their hands, as they would say, by new treaties. And specially do I observe that hesitation among our friends who are citizens of the United States. I

⁴Westlake, *International Law* (1904), chapter XIII. Hall ed., Pearce-Higgins, section 84. See Calvo.

would with all respect say to the American nation that their history should teach them the contrary. When I was writing my book, "Three Centuries of Treaties of Peace," I went through an almost innumerable number of treaties between the United States and other States of America and also European States—treaties of commerce, or of commerce and navigation—in which the United States was not afraid to tie its hands, obtaining in exchange mutual obligations on the part of the other contracting States. It is the principle: "*Do ut des.*" You exchange the duties which you take upon yourself for the rights which you gain.

The second question, I think, I have already called attention to. It is as to the rights of the individual. I have already stated that in my view the individual has no right in international jurisprudence. He is not a citizen of the world—*civis mundi*; he is a subject of some State. Any questions between him and his own State belong to the municipal law. If he desires to complain of the action of some other State, he appeals to his own State, and it, if it thinks well, takes up his case.

I must admit that Fiore and Cruchaga take another view. Fiore even would give an international position to corporations which owe their origin and their existence to some charter of incorporation or patent from the sovereign of the country, whose qualification is purely municipal and who derive no title from the other States of the world. He is, I think, alone in his idea. Cruchaga does not follow him.⁵

Let us leave corporations and return to the individual. As to his case, I cite Fiore:

The reasonable international rights of men are those which belong to him as being man. They constitute the international rights of human personality and are principally:

(a) The right of liberty and personal inviolability;

(b) The right of choosing to be the citizen of such and such a State, or to renounce the citizenship which he has acquired and to choose another;

(c) The right to emigrate;

(d) The right to have no interference with his liberty and to engage in international commerce;

(e) The right of property;

(f) The right to enjoy liberty of conscience.⁶

But he goes on to say:

No one can insist upon exercising his reasonable rights or enjoying them except under the condition that he would submit himself to the laws of the country in which he proposes to exercise and enjoy them.⁶

Cruchaga speaks on the same note, saying:

Every man has rights which must be respected in the country where he is and obligations which he must fulfill to the inhabitants of this country and the form of government which is established there.

This is a position which is recognized by international law. Among many other rights, a man has that of enjoying his individual liberty, of diplomatic protection in suitable cases, of acquiring or changing his nationality, of entering into the territory of every country and leaving it when he pleases, etc.⁷

Now, let us examine these statements of Fiore and of Cruchaga. And, to begin with, you must remember what I said in my second lecture, on the difference between the law which exists and the law which one would like to bring into existence. Are these two writers stating the law, or are they advising States to raise their principles to the rank of law? If they are setting out to state that which is already law, are they logical?

Let us begin with Fiore. A man *qua* man has certain rights. Be it so. But Fiore says that he can only claim them under certain conditions. He wants to make himself citizen of a certain State. He is answered as follows: To begin with, can you enter into our territory? We forbid access to persons who are not in perfect health, who have not been sufficiently educated, who have neither sufficient funds to support themselves nor a trade which they can carry on, or who have been condemned for crime; and, lastly, for fear

⁶ Fiore, sections 67-68. See also Art. 654 658.

⁷ Cruchaga, section 130, p. 94.

⁵ Cruchaga, section 131, pp. 94-95.

lest our nation should be denationalized, we only admit a certain number from each foreign nationality every year.

Where are the rights of a man? According to Fiore, he has got them, but he must exercise them in submission to the laws of the country. Even if he is allowed the liberty of entering it, he will probably find that the laws give him no right of citizenship till he has resided some ten years. Even then it would probably be so qualified a right of citizenship that he could not become a Member of Parliament or hold a government office. Perhaps even the only voting power which would be allowed him would be in municipal elections.

Now, supposing he wishes to change his nationality. His State will not let him leave the country till he has discharged certain military or civil duties. He may be given a passport on condition that he returns when he is required, and with some security or guarantee that he will return; and when he has been allowed to leave the country, he is still retained as a citizen. In case of war, if he fights against his country, he will not be treated as an enemy, but as a criminal. It is possible that something in the legislation of his original country or the laws governing his family relationships will still bind him. If he dies leaving property, it will be subject to the same death duties as it would be if he remained a citizen.

As regards the rights of personal liberty, he is told: Certainly, it is a free country, but, for the sake of public safety, we must from time to time impose certain restraints on the liberty both of citizens and foreigners.

As to the right of property, with regard to foreigners it is not uncommon that there is legislation—and, in my view, very wise legislation—forbidding them to own real estate except to a limited extent or for a short time.

Could one, either in the case of citizens or foreigners, deny the right of the State to make a capital levy on their properties? It would be, in my view, bad policy and false economy; but could it be said to be contrary to those rights of man which he could only exercise in submission to the laws of the country?

As to liberty of conscience, this is not

exactly in the same position, because if the individual claiming it finds a State where the people are his coreligionists, he might persuade it sometimes to exercise in his favor any right of intervention that State possesses, either at common law or by contract under those new treaties of which I have spoken to you. But if he does not find a State composed of coreligionists who would intervene and come to help him, how could he assert his right? It would be a question of morale, not of law.

Cruchaga appears more logical, while his position seems more extreme; but if you examine it, you will see that he imposes on every man duties which he must fulfill towards the inhabitants of his country and the rule of its government.

This is nothing else than the legislation, the collection of the laws of the country to which he must submit himself.

Then Cruchaga makes a sort of confusion of rights. The diplomatic protection of which he speaks is that which each State grants, if it so wills, to its citizens when they are in a foreign country, while the right of acquiring or changing nationality, if such a right exists, is not exercised by a State, but by the individual. But, in speaking of nationality, he goes as far as to express himself thus:

(4) Each person has a right to change his nationality.

(5) The State has no right to forbid persons to change their nationality.

(6) The State has no right to force persons to change their nationality against their will.

(7) Every person has a right to resume the nationality which he has abandoned.

(8) A State cannot impose its nationality upon persons domiciled in its territory against their will.⁹

But he allows that the State has a right to dictate the conditions under which it will grant nationality or release it.⁹

All this is so contrary to English jurisprudence that it is difficult for me even to appreciate it.¹⁰

⁹ Cruchaga, section 352, p. 277.

¹⁰ Cruchaga, sections 338-375, pp. 267-298.

¹¹ NOTE.—According to English jurisprudence, a foreigner cannot demand as his right that he be admitted into a country.

And we are not solitary in this position. According to the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, article 34:

Only States or members of the League of Nations can be parties in cases before the Court.

In the discussion on this subject which took place in our preparatory commission, the late M. Ricci-Busatti (the Italian member of our commission, since dead, to my great regret) expressed himself thus:

It is impossible to put States and private individuals on the same footing; private individuals are not subjects of international law, and it is entirely within the realm of that law that the court is called upon to act. . . .

Our president (Baron Descamps) very rightly remarks:

The real object of the law of nations, of *jus inter gentes*, is the relation of State to State, considered as sovereign groups, and, as such, members of the League of Nations. The conditions of subjects of each State in another country, the co-ordination of public and private law of each State with that of the other nations—these are the concerns of nations in their mutual relations; but these questions enter only indirectly into the realm of the law of nations, and do not change in their essential character by being included in this law.

Finally, the Brazilian member (M. Fernandes) added his opinion, saying:

In his opinion, the clause which conferred only on States access to the International Court of Justice—agreeing completely with legal logic, since States alone constituted legal persons in international matters—covers, nevertheless, all cases which may be considered as coming within the competence of the court. . . .

To repeat: A person is not a citizen of the world; he is always the subject of some State or other. Perhaps you will think this doctrine too rigorist; but, in my view, the individual should never be able to implead his own country before a court of justice.

But all this is no reason against writers on public law and on morality teaching governments that neither a government, nor even a State, is a divinity to be wor-

shipped; that the State, in the last resort, is but an agglomeration of individuals, and that, while cultivating peace, justice, and the prosperity of the whole, the real object is the prosperity of each individual.

Also the steps of progress in international matters are made by conventions and treaties, and we have a magnificent example in the object which the League of Nations proposes to attain. Read article 23 of the covenant:

. . . The members of the League will

(a) Endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations;

(b) Undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

(c) Will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;

(d) Will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control in this traffic is necessary in the common interest;

(e) Will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;

(f) Will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Here, gentlemen, is the first step in advance.

The States which have bound themselves by the covenant have created for themselves by this treaty mutual contractual rights and duties, other than those which belong to ordinary international law. Man, as formerly, remains incapable of asserting his rights against his own State, with which he cannot enter into litigation. But, for the six causes which have been enumerated (A to F), the classes mentioned remain clients and under the protection of all the States

which have entered into the covenant. So be it.

I am aware that among my auditors there are many to whom most of the observations which I have submitted to you concern things already well known to

them. I hope they will pardon the repetition and even find some advantage in it. As to all of you, it will be a great satisfaction to me if I have been able in any respect to help you in your important studies.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

(NOTE.—The British Foreign Office has published the following correspondence with the Governments of the self-governing Dominions, entitled "Consultation on matters of foreign policy and general imperial interest.")

The correspondence opens with the following dispatch, sent in June, 1924, by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governors-General of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, and to the Governor of Newfoundland:

JUNE 23.—Following from Prime Minister for your Prime Minister:

Begin: You will probably have seen from press reports of recent speeches of Secretary of State for the Colonies and myself in Parliament that we are concerned as to adequacy of present system of consultation with other self-governing parts of empire on matters of foreign policy and general imperial interest. We fully accept principle of necessity for effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several governments may determine (see Resolution IX of Imperial War Conference, 1917). We also realize that action to be taken as result of consultation, whether at or between imperial conferences, must be subject to constitutional requirements of each country. But we feel, as result of our experience since taking office, that system in practice has two main deficiencies.

First, it renders immediate action extremely difficult, more especially between conferences, on occasions when such action is imperatively needed, particularly in sphere of foreign policy.

Secondly, when matters under discussion are subjects of political controversy, economic or otherwise, conclusions reached at and between imperial conferences are liable to be reversed through changes of government.

Such a state of affairs inevitably leads to ineffectiveness; it also causes disappointment, and doubts are thrown on utility of whole imperial conference system.

What the remedy is, it is difficult to say. On the first point—*i. e.*, the importance of securing, on occasion, rapid decisions, particularly on matters of foreign policy—it occurs to us that further examination of the Resolution on negotiation, &c., of treaties passed at last year's imperial conference might be worth while in order to consider how far that resolution needs to be supplemented and interpreted, and whether principles embodied in it can usefully be extended to other matters affecting foreign relations.

On the second point—*i. e.*, means of making imperial conference resolutions, whether they relate to economic or other matters—more effective, what is wanted is, I think, as I indicated in a speech in Parliament on June 18, "creation of some sort of workable machinery, so that the public opinion of the whole of our Commonwealth of States should influence the policy for which the Commonwealth must be responsible."

We had in view desirability of avoiding party issues when proposing appointment of economic committee with a reference framed so as to exclude questions of tariff policy.

One method of bringing about result desired which was mentioned by Secretary of State in recent speech in Parliament is that imperial conferences in future should not be confined to representatives of parties in office for time being. When it was contemplated some years ago that a special constitutional conference should be held, it was proposed from more than one quarter that such a conference should be representative of oppositions as well as governments. On the other hand, we realize that this suggestion is open to the criticism that it would tend to hamper the frank exchange of views and unrestricted intercommunication of confidential information on such matters as foreign policy and defense which have become so outstanding features of recent Conferences.

Another method might be to continue representation of governments only, but to arrange

for each government to obtain from its own Parliament beforehand a general approval, within sufficiently wide limits, of the attitude to be taken up by its representatives. Whilst avoiding the criticism of the first method, this might tend to diminish flexibility of conference procedure.

We should like your views on these suggestions, and if you should be able to make any others they would be welcome. We ourselves have quite an open mind and are merely exploring situation.

Our own feeling is that time has hardly come either to revive idea of constitutional conference or to call special meeting of imperial conference to consider problems outlined above. But we should like these problems given preliminary examination in near future, and it has occurred to us that possible method might be to have a meeting of, say, two representatives of each country concerned, who have had experience of constitutional working, to consider these problems and present a report as basis for further discussion. How would you view this idea, and, if it commends itself, what time would be most convenient for a meeting? Possibly October might be suitable, as this would permit of some of Dominion delegates to next Assembly of League of Nations being amongst representatives, if this were desired.

Similar telegram sent to other prime ministers.—RAMSAY MACDONALD. Ends.—THOMAS.

Two days later the Colonial Secretary sent a copy of this dispatch to the Governor-General of the Irish Free State, saying that the Prime Minister would be glad if the President of the Executive Council would give his views on the suggestions made.

On June 26 a telegram was received, through Lord Byng of Vimy, from the Prime Minister of Canada stating that he and his colleagues were at the time very busy winding up the parliamentary session, but that as soon as the prorogation took place they would endeavor to give the dispatch their best consideration. Copies of this reply and of the other replies received were sent to the various Dominions, the Irish Free State, and Newfoundland.

The first considered reply to the dispatch of June 23 was from New Zealand and was as follows:

JUNE 28.—Your telegram June 23. Consultation on matters of foreign policy and general imperial interest. Following for Prime Minister from my Prime Minister:

Begins: The difficulties you point out are fully appreciated and I agree that a remedy is not easy to find. The point of real importance is to ensure that nothing will be

done in the direction of weakening the unity of the Empire.

I fear it would not be possible for me or any other minister to leave New Zealand for probably eighteen months, but I see no objection to the appointment of a small committee to carry out a preliminary examination of this difficult subject. If there is a general desire for such an examination, it might be undertaken by men—not necessarily politicians—from different parts of the Empire who are well versed in constitutional law and procedure. Their report could be considered by the various governments before the meeting of the next imperial conference. Ends.—JELlicoe.

Australian Views

On July 16 the Governor-General of Australia forwarded the following telegraphic dispatch:

JULY 16.—Following for Prime Minister from my Prime Minister:

Begins: Your telegram of June 23. My Government has noted the statements by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and yourself in Parliament affirming the principle of full consultation with the self-governing parts of the Empire on matters of foreign policy and general imperial interest. We note also that you accept the principle of necessity for an effective arrangement for continuous consultations in important matters of common imperial concern and for such concerted action as the several governments may determine.

My government has given a great deal of consideration to this most important question and notes with pleasure your government's acceptance of the basic principle.

It is, of course, obvious that in practice there are two main difficulties in establishment of an effective system of joint consultation and action, namely, (a) the impossibility of full exchange of views when the imperial conference is not sitting, particularly in the sphere of foreign policy, where immediate action is imperative, and (b) the possibility of conclusions of imperial or economic conferences being reversed through change of government.

The problems which have to be considered appear to divide themselves into: (1) The manner in which an imperial policy should be laid down in regard to matters of common Empire interest, such as foreign policy, defense, and inter-Empire trade. (2) How should consultations take place with regard to giving effect to such policy when determined upon and for its alteration where necessity arises? (3) What steps can be taken to ensure that any common policy arrived at will be given effect to, irrespective of change of government, in different parts of the Empire?

With regard to (1) it is now an established principle of empire government that prime

minister conferences shall take place at frequent intervals. At these conferences a common Empire policy on questions of imperial interest can be arrived at and submitted by the respective prime ministers to their individual parliaments for their ratification and assent. The machinery for ensuring a common policy, therefore, already exists by holding of the imperial conferences, and no alteration of existing practice appears either necessary or desirable.

(2) It is unavoidable that questions of urgent foreign policy must be dealt with according to the circumstances in which they arise, and they are, therefore, in an entirely different category from other matters upon which a common policy may have been determined at an imperial conference. It appears to my government, therefore, that no alteration in the underlying principle of consultation which at present exists is practicable, but considerable improvement could be effected in the operation of such machinery. These improvements should be on lines of (a) a closer liaison between the Foreign Office and Dominion governments, which could be effected by the establishment by the dominions of a foreign office branch in their high commissioners' offices under the control of an officer of such standing and character as to enjoy the confidence of the Foreign Office; such a representative would be in a position to keep his prime minister informed in regard to current events and atmosphere in connexion with foreign policy, in addition to information which is conveyed by cable to the prime minister and by information at present sent from time to time by the Foreign Office. (b) Fuller and more regular advice in regard to all questions of foreign affairs, both by cable and mail, than is at present forwarded to the prime ministers of the self-governing Dominions. (c) Greater efforts to anticipate questions which are likely to arise and require urgent decision, with a view to ascertaining the views of the Dominions in advance in place of informing them of decisions after they have been arrived at and acted upon or when it is too late for any alternative action to be submitted.

With regard to questions other than foreign policy, my government is of opinion that the establishment of a permanent imperial secretariat responsible to the prime ministers of all the self-governing parts of the Empire, whose task would be to prepare for the imperial conferences, carry out all secretariat work during the sittings of such conferences, follow up all resolutions and decisions arrived at, and keep the Dominions constantly informed of developments between the conferences, would go a long way towards solving the problem of effective and continuous consultation. This secretariat would also embrace existing imperial committees such as the War Graves and Shipping and the Economic Committee when established. It would not merely be a connecting link between the individual Dominion governments

and the British Government, but also between the governments of the different Dominions. At the present time the secretariat for imperial conferences is provided by the British Government, together with representatives of the Dominions concerned, but immediately the conference is over the secretariat is broken up, and no effective machinery exists for keeping the Dominions continuously informed as to developments or alterations necessitated by changed circumstances. In the opinion of my government, a great improvement would be effected by the establishment of a permanent imperial secretariat.

With regard to ensuring that any common policy arrived at at imperial conferences will be given effect to, irrespective of change of government, this appears to my government to be quite impossible of definite solution. It appears to us, however, that the task of holding this great Empire together, which is so dependent on giving effect to a common policy arrived at at imperial conferences, should be raised above the ordinary level of domestic policy and not subordinated to local political issues. We are of opinion that the British Government should give greater consideration to the considered views of the Dominion governments than in the past, otherwise all our efforts towards effective consultations and formulation of common policy will be futile.

Your suggestion that party issues might be avoided by inclusion in imperial conference delegations of representatives of all parliamentary parties is, in our opinion, not likely to achieve the result desired. As you state, it would tend to hamper that frank exchange of views and unrestricted intercommunication of confidential information on such matters as foreign policy and defense. Furthermore, it might easily lead to serious consequences on the return of the delegations to their respective countries. The leader of the government and of the opposition would respectively feel compelled to relate his version of the conference and his reasons for agreement or disagreement with conclusions arrived at.

Secrecy in these circumstances would be impossible. Further, an atmosphere of political controversy would inevitably obtrude into the conference itself, and present free and unfettered discussions between men who at the time are actually shouldering responsibilities of the government in their respective countries would disappear. My government does not believe this suggestion would effect the result desired, but, on the contrary, believes that it would tend to increase further the difficulties which are at present experienced.

Your second suggestion, that each government shall obtain from its own parliament beforehand a general approval, within sufficiently wide limits, of the attitude to be taken up by its representative, is one which the Commonwealth Government has almost invariably followed. As, however, the con-

clusions of such conferences must always be ratified by the respective parliaments, my government does not consider this suggestion material aid in finding a solution.

We appreciate your attempt to explore the situation and agree as to the importance of finding a solution. We feel, however, that solution will be gradually evolved, and consider that our object is more likely to be defeated than attained by undue precipitance.

The existing arrangements for the formation of a common imperial policy and for subsequent consultation form the basis of a system which in the future may well become effective.

In these circumstances, we do not see that any advantage is to be gained by the appointment of representatives to consider this problem and present a report as a basis for further discussion. All points at present under discussion were present to the minds of the prime ministers at the imperial conference held last year, but it was unanimously felt that the best course to pursue was to allow the situation to solve itself by gradual evolution rather than by immediate definite action.

My government therefore does not propose to send representatives to a conference to discuss these questions, but is prepared during the interval until the next imperial conference is held to explore further any suggestions that may be put forward, and also to offer for similar consideration by other governments concerned any improvements in the existing machinery which may occur to us. Ends.—FORSTER.

Canadian Standpoint

The views of the Canadian Government were given in the following telegram sent through the Governor-General and received at the Colonial Office on August 8:

AUG. 7.—Following from Prime Minister for your Prime Minister:

Begins: *Re* preliminary meeting inter-imperial consultation, our government has now considered proposals set out in your telegram of June 23. We agree as to the desirability of more definite understanding on matters therein referred to. Questions are not new and very marked progress has been made in their clarification and solution particularly in recent years. Whilst finality is not possible in constantly changing situation, doubtless further steps can be taken. Difficulty is inherent in existence of several self-governing communities scattered over the globe with, in large part, different neighbors and different problems, and is increased by absence of precedent for the experiment in co-operation which members of British community of nations are working out. We believe with good will, which has always prevailed, it can continue to be met.

As to first of specific proposals, we agree that it would be helpful to consider possi-

bilities of further extension of principle embodied in resolution on negotiation, &c., of treaties. Second proposal does not appear feasible. It is undoubtedly inconvenient to have reversal of policy, but this liberty must be assured so long as separate parliaments exist and electors are to be free to have policy determined in accordance with their wishes. As a matter of fact, even with change in government there is very considerable measure of continuity of essential policy. Proposal to have all parties represented in the imperial conferences with a view to preventing policy agreed upon thereat being rejected by existing or future parliaments would seem to imply setting up a new body supreme over the several parliaments. We regard the imperial conference as conference of governments, of which each is responsible to its own parliament and ultimately to its own electorate, and in no sense as imperial council determining the policy of the Empire as a whole. We would deem it most inadvisable to depart in any particular from this conception, which is based on well-established principles of ministerial responsibility and the supremacy of Parliament. We consider that, with respect to all imperial conference resolutions or proposals, each government must accept responsibility for its attitude and the opposition or oppositions be free to criticise; with parliaments and, if occasion arises, peoples deciding the issues.

As to approval by Parliament in advance of the attitude to be taken by our representative, we feel that this could be given only where Parliament had knowledge in advance of specific questions to be considered and in the light of the then existing circumstances. We agree that even in such cases adoption of this method might tend to diminish the flexibility of conference procedure.

We share the feeling expressed in your message, that the time has hardly come either to revive the idea of constitutional conference or to call a special meeting of the imperial conference to consider these problems. We would be prepared, however, to take part in the manner suggested in meeting in the near future for preliminary examination of these problems and preparation of report as basis for further discussions, provided that other parts of the Empire agree and date convenient for all can be found. Early in October would appear to us to be the most convenient time for such meeting. Ends.—BYNG.

The Governor of Newfoundland, telegraphing on August 16, said:

My Prime Minister desires me to state for the information of the Prime Minister, that the proposal that the opposition as well as the government should be represented at the [imperial] conference or that the government should obtain general approval by Parliament in advance does not favorably impress him or seem practicable; that the whole

subject is too large and intricate seemingly for discussion by correspondence, and that the preliminary examination such as Prime Minister suggests would seem essential to progress. If the Prime Minister will advise date most suitable to the others, my Prime Minister will arrange for representatives as suggested.

International Conferences

Meanwhile, on August 11, Mr. Massey, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, had intimated to the Colonial Office that he would be glad to learn whether, in the Dominions, there was a general desire for the appointment of the committee, as proposed by Mr. MacDonald, and what decision had been reached.

On August 18 the Colonial Secretary replied, informing the New Zealand Government of the gist of the replies received from Canada and Australia, and adding that he was communicating with Australia, and expressing the hope that the Commonwealth Government might be prepared to reconsider the question and to take part in the proposed preliminary meeting. On the same day a similar dispatch was sent to Australia. In this dispatch the Colonial Secretary said:

In the circumstances I hope that Government of Commonwealth of Australia may be prepared to reconsider question and to participate in preliminary meeting. It looks, however, as though it would not be practicable to hold this meeting before November. In view of recent events, we should like to include among matters to be discussed method of representation of British Empire at future international conferences.

The Colonial Secretary at the same time informed the Canadian Government of his request to the Australian Cabinet to reconsider its decision and sent a telegram to the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, informing him of the progress of the correspondence and saying that the Prime Minister would be grateful for an expression of the views of the Prime Minister and the Union. This elicited the following reply:

AUGUST 21.—Your telegrams, June 23 and August 18, Consultations with Dominions on matters of foreign policy, etc. Following for Prime Minister from my Prime Minister:

Begins: The government, after careful consideration of the question of a conference on the problem of consultations with the Dominions on matters of foreign policy, etc., regrets that it cannot see its way clear to take part in such conference during the course of this year. It at the same time feels that a special conference for the purpose of pre-

liminary consideration and advise on the problem is, under the circumstances, very unlikely to prove of any advantage for coming to a final decision. The government therefore does not think it advisable to send representatives to such a conference. Ends.—ATHLONE.

A fortnight later a second telegram was received from the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa as follows:

SEPTEMBER 5.—My telegram of August 21. Ministers inform me that, after discussing with Mr. Thomas [who was at that time in South Africa as chairman of the delegation of the Empire Parliamentary Association] the question of holding of a preliminary conference on the subject of proposed constitutional inquiry, they now agree to the Union participating. They regret that it will not be possible for them to be represented by a minister at this conference owing to the meeting of the Union Parliament at the beginning of the coming year. They consider that February next would be preferable date, but have no objection to the conference being held late in November, and a delegate will be sent from the Union to attend the conference.—ATHLONE.

The reply of the Australian Government to the telegram of August 18 was sent on August 22 and reached London the same day. In this reply the Prime Minister (Mr. Bruce), after taking note of the position of Canada, said:

Your telegram of June 23 indicates that your Government's suggestion is for a junior conference to explore generally the problem of representation, &c., and that report of such conference will entail no responsibility whatever on the governments concerned, but will constitute merely an expression of opinion for the guidance of such governments. If this is the case and all other Dominions are agreeable, while still adhering to the views expressed in my telegram of July 16, my government is prepared to co-operate on the principle that anything which even remotely tends to improve the relations between the various governments of the Empire is worthy of trial.

On September 5 the Canadian Government and on September 10 the New Zealand Government made telegraphic inquiries as to whether the British Government had definitely decided to hold the proposed preliminary conference. The Canadian Government asked also whether the delegations to the proposed conference would be composed of ministers of the Crown, permanent officials, or delegates specially chosen, regardless of their association with the administration.

Replies to New Zealand and Canada were

sent on September 15, in which it was stated that the British Government were working out definite proposals as to agenda, representatives, time, &c. There was further communication with Canada as to the date of the conference, and on September 26 the Canadian Government intimated that as it was impossible to hold the conference in mid-October (as it had desired), it favored indefinite postponement, and that the matters which were to have been dealt with in the conference be taken up by correspondence. The Canadian Government had arranged for their ministerial delegates to the Geneva meeting of the League of Nations to go on to London, but their existing engagements would not permit their remaining in London into November.

The reply of the Irish Free State to the original suggestion of the British Government was received on October 11. Mr. T. M. Healy, the Governor-General, after expressing regret for the delay in answering, said:

My ministers have now carefully considered the suggestions set forth in the telegram transmitted with your dispatch of June 25. They would be prepared to take part in the manner suggested in a conference for the preliminary examination of these problems and the preparation of a report as a basis for further discussion. My ministers are convinced that, while the proposed conference cannot strictly be termed a constitutional conference, the suggested program involves matters of grave constitutional importance which required long and serious consideration beforehand.

Mr. Thomas, on October 13, sent a circular telegram informing the Dominions that he had been asked in Parliament, before the dissolution, the contemplated date of the meeting of the proposed constitutional inquiry, and that he had answered that in the circumstances it was impossible to suggest a date, but that nothing which had happened in the British Parliament should, in their opinion, interfere with the government going on with their proposal.

Mr. Amery's Dispatch

The next, and final, dispatch is dated December 2, and was sent by Mr. Amery, the present Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the various Dominion governments. It is as follows:

I have the honor to request [Your Excellency] [you] to inform your ministers that His Majesty's Government have had under consideration the suggestion of their predecessors that an inquiry might be held in

connection with the present system of consultation on matters of foreign policy and general imperial interest—*vide* Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's message of June 23.

2. The resulting correspondence, which has already been communicated to your ministers, disclosed considerable doubt as to the advisability of taking action in the sense suggested in Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's message. It was generally agreed that the time had not come to revive the idea of a special constitutional conference, though ultimately and after some hesitation participation in a preliminary inquiry was accepted in principle by all the Dominions, provided that a convenient time could be found. It had not, however, been found possible at the time of the dissolution of Parliament to make any arrangements for the holding of such a preliminary inquiry, chiefly owing to the difficulty of fixing a date which would be suitable for all the governments concerned.

3. His Majesty's present advisers are very sensible of the importance of the issues involved; they find themselves fully in agreement with the principles of consultation and concerted action set out in the opening sentences of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's message, and they are determined to carry out those principles to the utmost. But, while difficulties undoubtedly exist in making the present system of consultation fully effective, His Majesty's Government have grave doubts whether some of the suggestions set out in the latter part of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's message would improve the present system; they also question whether at the present stage an inquiry of the nature suggested would lead to any practical result.

4. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's message made special reference to the resolution on the negotiation, signature, and ratification of treaties passed at the imperial conference of 1923, and suggested that further examination of the resolution might be worth while, in order to consider how far the resolution needed to be supplemented and interpreted, and whether the principles embodied in it could usefully be extended to other matters affecting foreign relations. On this point in particular His Majesty's Government feel that the time which has elapsed since the resolution was passed is hardly sufficient to enable any very definite opinion to be given. For themselves, they would prefer to defer a considered judgment until they have had an opportunity of studying for a longer period the working of the resolution in practice.

5. For these reasons His Majesty's Government doubt whether there would be any advantage in pursuing further, at this stage, the proposal for a special inquiry into the matters referred to in Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's message. On the other hand, I need hardly add that, in carrying out the policy of working in concert with the Dominion governments in all matters affecting foreign relations and the common interests of the British Empire, they desire to avail themselves of every opportunity that may present

itself for personal consultation between ministers or with such other representatives as the Dominion governments may at any time wish to entrust with the task of representing their own views or of ascertaining those of the British Government.

6. There is one pressing matter raising issues which affect the vital interests of the whole Empire, on which personal consultation is, in the view of His Majesty's Government, essential. I refer to the protocol for the pacific settlement of international disputes. With regard to the arrangements to be made for securing personal consultation His Majesty's Government hope to communicate with your ministers at a very early date.

I have, &c.,

L. S. AMERY.

BOOK REVIEWS

HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT. By *Raymond G. Gettell*. Pp. 511. Century Co., 1924. Price, \$3.75.

Professor Gettell, of the Political Science Department in the University of California, has here rendered a service to the reading public. The thirty-one chapters of his book cover a very wide field of historical inquiry. This means much condensation and summarizing, which is not a disadvantage to the general reader. For the student of special topics there are long and well-classified bibliographies at the close of each chapter, as well as copious footnotes through the pages where citation and allusion seem to demand them.

Not least valuable among the admirable qualities of this book is the table of contents, which arranges, in easily read headings and subheadings, the outline of the subject-matter. He begins with the consideration of the nature of political thought, and follows its development from ancient to modern times. Many interesting stops are made by the way to survey the work of individual thinkers and to show the connection between new doctrines and political or social events.

Professor Gettell's study of the relation between our American Revolution and Republic to the doctrines of Grotius, Locke, and others is decidedly interesting. He also performs a much-needed service in briefly outlining the main lines of recent political philosophy,

especially the new psychological influence and the various forms of proletarian thought. His subject is a living, and, therefore, a growing, thing. "It grows," he says, "on the uncertainty of human affairs; it grows on the inadequacy of its own successive attempts to explain them."

QUAKERS IN PEACE AND WAR. By *Margaret E. Hirst*. Pp. 560. George H. Doran Co., 1924. Price, \$6.00.

Although herself a Friend, Miss Hirst has treated her subject purely as history. She has gone back to manuscripts and records, and with rare discrimination she has chosen from the mass of material that which is pertinent to her theme. The result is an impersonal history of the peace testimony of Quakers, and other sects as well, for the last two and three-quarters centuries. It constitutes a valuable study of the past of the peace movement.

Although her matter is so largely documentary, Miss Hirst writes in a fresh and human manner. Her well-chosen quotations are vibrant with the personalities of other days. There is an interesting chapter on John Bright; others treat of the Friends in America. Of special significance is that one devoted to William Penn.

This book, so ably done, is the first to cover its particular field. As a basis for further studies, it is full of promise. Let us hope that Miss Hirst or other writers may follow with books tracing the streams which led up to the anti-war movement, and also those which may have flowed from Quakerism to influence other world currents.

As it stands on its shelf, firm and broad with its coat of Quaker gray, one feels that the exterior of this book fitly represents the practical thoroughness of its contents.

FEDERAL CENTRALIZATION. By *Walter Thompson, Ph. D.* Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1923. Pp. 399.

CHILD LABOR AND THE CONSTITUTION. By *Raymond G. Fuller*. Thos Y. Crowell, New York, 1923. Pp. 323. Price, \$2.50.

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION AS IT PROTECTS PRIVATE RIGHTS. By *Frederick Jesup Stimson*. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1923. Price, \$2.50.

The question of governmental centralization or decentralization is at present confronting every large State. In the United States our dual system of government, de-

signed to provide mutual checks, makes the problem more than usually important. Especially, now that the demand for child labor legislation is rife, the matter of constitutional policy is of keen interest.

A constitutional amendment, giving Congress power to legislate on child labor under certain conditions, passed the Congress of the United States on June 2, and is now in the hands of the States for ratification. But the long conflict between central control and State rights is not, by any means, settled even on this one question. Therefore works bearing on the principles at stake have quite particular appropriateness just now.

The book by Dr. Thompson is much more general in its scope than the particular discussion of Federal legislation on social questions. Yet the child labor question as it relates to central government, the decisions of the Supreme Court against two previous laws on the subject, passed by Congress, are all carefully analyzed as illustrations of the main theme.

Dr. Thompson, of course, recognizes that our Federal Government has a tendency toward expansion of powers. This tendency, he traces back to certain sanctions in the constitution itself; "for," he says, quoting a statement of the Supreme Court in 1895, "constitutional provisions do not change, but their operation expands to new matters, as the modes of business and the habits of life of the people vary with each succeeding generation."

He follows this expansive tendency through a section on Social Legislation and another on Economic Legislation. The fourth and last division of the book deals with The Hazards of Centralization.

In his discussion of Federal child labor legislation, Mr. Thompson flatly states, after his résumé of the fate of such legislation in the past, "Child labor legislation is laudable, and Federal legislation on the subject may be desirable, but to permit such methods as have been resorted to would be to sanction a usurpation of the powers of the States whenever Congress deemed it advisable to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the States. Such an interpretation in the long run would probably be regretted."

In the last chapter he gives reasons why, in this and in other matters involving social and economic questions, separate action by the States would be better. Local interest,

wise experimentation in many places, leading to better unification later, and the feeling of a smaller community that local laws are self-imposed and not imposed from above, all make for a more active public opinion, on which alone all law rests.

The study is carried out in a temperate and scientific spirit, without resort to polemics.

"The desire to work and the knowledge of how to work intelligently are essential to the success of democratic institutions. Every child should have the responsibilities and opportunities for service that are needed to round out his education. But the aims and conditions of work should be determined by the principles of education and not by those of the counting house." (*Journal of National Education*.)

Essentially this and very much more to the same effect, Mr. Fuller says, in the preface and the body of his book. "What the child laborer needs is what any child needs, considered as a child." Measures, he thinks, which deal with children en masse, and assume that there is something wrong in working for pay, seem to him, therefore, ill advised and short of the mark.

The whole book is a plea for constructive rather than prohibitory legislation, and for a public opinion which can make such laws effective.

Mr. Fuller has long been interested in social research, its methods, and its aims. He writes clearly, sanely, dispassionately, yet, withal, earnestly.

The book canvasses the history of child labor reform in America since the rise of industrialism. The aim of these reforms is, he claims, the restoration to the American child of conditions normal to the child. He makes restrained use of statistics in reviewing the place of children in rural, urban, and industrial labor. Illiteracy and education are given their places in the history and finally he comes to Federal action.

The stamp of disapproval, which the Supreme Court set upon the two attempts of Congress to enact child labor legislation, was not, in his opinion, an unmixed evil, even from the standpoint of child labor. These laws were too much hampered by their very indirection.

There remain two other ways by which to bring about child labor legislation: action by the separate States, and amendment of

the Constitution. Because of paramount national interest and necessity, Mr. Fuller thinks that the theory of State rights should here be sub-ordinated. "Nations," he says, quoting Chas. Kingsley earlier in the book, "are gathered out of nurseries. They are gathered out of the schools and factories where children are."

If, as he thinks they do, the American people desire Federal legislation on child labor, "They will have to amend the Constitution. It is their Constitution . . . it can be changed and adapted to suit modern needs. . . . Its makers saw to that though they made amendment exceedingly difficult. But a child labor amendment should not embody legislation. That was the error in the prohibition amendment." It should merely give the power to legislate.

With the constitutional amendment now passed, Congress may do much or nothing. It all then depends upon the wish and will of the people in whom the sovereignty rests, as expressed in their national legislature.

The last chapter of the book relates to international legislation and the work of the International Labor organization. The United States is not a member of this organization. It is hampered in co-operation because to do so it must act as a nation and, traditionally, in labor legislation, it has hitherto acted as separate States. With the passage and ratification of the child labor amendment, Mr. Fuller points out that the path to co-operation would be clear.

It is, indeed, an anomaly that though the first International Labor Conference was held in Washington, in 1919, the United States has not been able to ratify any of the draft conventions.

An index and bibliography attest the thoroughness and sincerity of the work.

In the third book of the group, Mr. Stimson is deeply concerned about the Constitution of the United States. He published a book on the subject in 1908. This new book contains some of the same matter, but it is mostly rewritten and much enlarged. He has here especially elaborated the mission of the Constitution as a guarantee of rights to the private citizen.

It is written for the every-day reader who wishes to understand the foundations of his liberty. The book is very well planned for its purpose. At the beginning is a list of the clauses in the Constitution which protect private rights; at the end, just before the

index, is a colored diagram of State and Federal powers, showing just where and how they are separate and where they overlap.

Mr. Stimson tries to show how the Constitution is essentially a body of restrictions upon the government, not upon the people. "It is," he says, "essentially restrictive, never constructive; that is left to the people to act freely through their legislatures, for their own ends." It concerns the scope of government, not the citizen's conduct of life.

Concerning the recent political discovery of constitutional amendment as a remedy for social ills, he is aghast at the tendency to pour the hot thought of the moment, which should be in the form of repealable laws, into the mould of the Constitution and leave it as cast iron. He deprecates the present tendency—"the blind rush to cure an immediate evil, oblivious of all else, reckless of method or consequences." He fears for the endurance of a Constitution which thus shackles posterity. It would be better to go back at once to the English system, and abandon the attempt to protect the people against the Congress.

Mr. Stimson's book is convincing and informing, yet one must regret his frankly expressed suspicion of woman's effect in affairs of state. It may well alienate, at the outset, many of his best readers. "Women and reformers," he says, "want quick results." In speaking of President Roosevelt's impatient "essentially feminine" desire to cut the Gordian knot of constitutional ties, he avers that the mass of women voters will probably be of the same way of thinking. "It were almost fair to say, of not thinking, because, with a worthy concrete end in view, they may thoughtlessly press down the easy highway to centralization to the final destruction of the Republic."

These three books, each approaching the question of Child Labor *vs.* Centralization from a different angle, are singularly alike in their sincerity, their restraint and their backgrounds of special knowledge. On the amendment now before the states they may not be so far apart as appears at first reading. The emphasis, however, is widely and eternally different. Each book is lucidly written, so that he who runs may read. The three together will serve to clarify the thought of any who are interested in our governmental policy as regards social welfare.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

Edited by ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

1815-1828

Suite 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

(Cable address, "Ampax, Washington.")

PUBLISHED MONTHLY EXCEPT SEPTEMBER

Sent free to all members of the American Peace Society. Separate subscription price, \$2.00 a year. Single copies, 20 cents each.

Entered as second-class matter, June 1, 1911, at the Post-Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917; authorized August 10, 1918.

It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

CONTENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD..... 123

EDITORIALS

We and the World Court—Shall We Cancel the Debts?—The French Debt—Again the League—Our Heart and Our Treasure—Another War Maybe—German Wealth—Hungary—New Russian Banks—Editorial Notes..... 125-137

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

German Disarmament—France and the Vatican—Trotsky's Downfall—Poland and Danzig—Conference of the Baltic States—Jugoslav Elections—Expulsion of the Constantinople Patriarch—Spain in Morocco—India in 1924—A Year of Economic Progress in the World 137-163

GENERAL ARTICLES

Our Relations with Latin America..... 163
By the Secretary of State
Law Observance and Enforcement..... 166
By Judge Elbert H. Gary
Fabre-Luce's "La Victoire"..... 168
By Dr. Heinrich Kanner
Important International Dates..... 171

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Our Peace Treaties with Central American Republics..... 173
Peace Treaty Between Switzerland and Italy..... 176

NEWS IN BRIEF..... 179

BOOK REVIEWS..... 181

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.

Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.

It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.

Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.

It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.

FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is two dollars;

Sustaining Membership, five dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of ADVOCATE OF PEACE, Washington, D. C.

Hon. P. P. CLAXTON, Ex-United States Commissioner of Education, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Senator from Illinois, Washington, D. C.

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. PHILIP NORTH MOORE, St. Louis, Mo.

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN, 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, Esq., Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

HENRY C. MORRIS, Esq., 1155 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, California.

Prof. ARTHUR RAMSAY, Ex-President Fairmont Seminary, Southern Pines, North Carolina.

PAUL SLEMAN, Esq., Secretary American Colonization Society, Washington, D. C.

THEODORE STANFIELD, 126 W. 74th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Hon. HENRY TEMPLE, Representative from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS

HENRY C. MORRIS

PAUL SLEMAN

THEODORE STANFIELD

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D.

Hon. HENRY W. TEMPLE

OFFICERS

President:

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

GEORGE W. WHITE, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Washington, D. C.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

A. T. BELL, Esq., Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.

GILBERT BOWLES, Esq., Richmond, Indiana.

Dean CHARLES R. BROWN, New Haven, Conn.

Pres. E. E. BROWN, New York University, New York.

GEORGE BURNHAM, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston, Mass.

Rt. Rev. Bishop J. DARLINGTON, Harrisburg, Pa.

Dr. W. H. P. FAUNCE, Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.

GEORGE A. FINCH, Washington, D. C.

EVERETT O. FISK, Esq., Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM P. GEST, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hon. CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Washington, D. C.

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D. D., New York, N. Y.

Dr. DAVID STARR JORDAN, Stanford University, Calif.

GEO. H. JUDD, Washington, D. C.

Bishop WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Mass.

JOSEPH LEE, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM H. LUDEN, Reading, Pa.

L. H. PILLSBURY, Derry, N. H.

Judge HENRY WADE ROGERS, New York, N. Y.

Hon. ELIHU ROOT, New York, N. Y.

Mrs. FREDERIC SCHOFF, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. RUTH H. SPRAY, Salda, Colo.

Senator THOMAS STEERLING, Washington, D. C.

EDWARD STEVENS, Columbia, Mo.

*Pres. M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

*Pres. C. F. THWING, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pres. MARY E. WOOLLEY, South Hadley, Mass.

*Emeritus.

Suggestions for a Governed World

(Adopted by the American Peace Society, May 27, 1921)

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference

for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council in the performance of their respective duties whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment whenever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council

of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that.

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for and, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instructions in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
87

MARCH, 1925

NUMBER
3

EDITORIALS

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD COURT

THE popular movement to get our United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague is well nigh unprecedented in seriousness and in energy. In the light of this situation, our readers will wish to know reasons for and against our entering the court.

Of course, the American Peace Society would be expected to favor such a movement. William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society in 1828, literally gave his life to the cause of a Congress and High Court of Nations. Elihu Burritt, one time Secretary of the American Peace and Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, pleaded for Mr. Ladd's proposals in various international congresses abroad during the forties and the fifties of the last century. All familiar with the history of the American Peace Society recognize the consistency with which it has struggled for this ideal throughout a century.

Since there is no prospect for a durable peace between nations except it be based upon international justice as expressed in definable terms of international law, it follows that peace between nations depends upon two expressions of human endeavor; first, international law; and, second, the interpretation of international law in case of dispute about the meaning of any international law. This means the

quasi-legislative organization of the world in terms of periodic conferences of duly accredited representatives, and the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. This is a simple American doctrine, perfectly clear to a child, and in no way inconsistent with the practices of other powers.

There is a Permanent Court of International Justice now in existence. It is located at The Hague, capital of Holland. It is made up of distinguished jurists, one of whom is John Bassett Moore, of the United States. The court has rendered decisions in a few international cases and opinions in a larger number of questions presented to it by the League of Nations. It is a worthy court, and as such a most hopeful step toward the firmer establishment of international peace.

The objections to the United States entering this particular court rest primarily upon the fact that it is an agent of the League of Nations. Mr. Hughes attempts to explain away this difficulty by assuming that the judges are not elected by the League of Nations as such, and that therefore it is not an agent of the League of Nations in the technical sense of that word. His theory is that when the Council meets for the election of the judges it does not meet as the Council of the League of Nations, but as an "electoral council," and that when the Assembly of the League of Nations meets to do its part toward the election of the judges it

does not meet as the Assembly of the League, but as an "electoral assembly". In their "electoral" capacities, both the Council and the Assembly are organizations apart from the League of Nations. It is then that the United States, under the Hughes' plan, may sit in and vote for the judges, fix their salaries, fill vacancies, and provide pensions. After these things have been done, the United States may withdraw; whereupon the "electoral council" becomes the council of the League of Nations, and the "electoral assembly" becomes the Assembly of the League of Nations.

Opponents of this plan point out that the statute under which the court operates does not contemplate any such legerdemain. This statute provides that the members of the court shall be elected not by an "electoral assembly" or an "electoral council," but by the Assembly and by the Council of the League of Nations. The statute also provides that the number of judges may be increased by the Assembly upon the proposal not of an "electoral council," but of the Council of the League of Nations.

The salaries of the judges are determined "by the Assembly of the League of Nations upon the proposal of the Council." The expenses of the court are "borne by the League of Nations in such a manner as shall be decided upon the proposal of the Council." Thus it is argued the present Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague is not a broad, universal court, ever at the service of all the nations, as our Supreme Court of the United States is always open to any State of our American Union. It is, they say, merely an agent of the League of Nations.

To meet this objection the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported favorably a resolution providing for our entry into the court with the reservations sug-

gested by Mr. Hughes, but with certain changes by which the judges are to be nominated and elected. This resolution proposed a separate electoral commission to choose the judges, made up of representatives from all the nations, to assemble from all over the world for this purpose and no other. The resolution further provided that under this plan of election the United States would be put upon equal footing with Great Britain by eliminating Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, and India as voting members.

Friends of the League of Nations have energetically opposed this resolution. These opponents insist upon our participation in the court on the Harding-Hughes terms. This plan proposes that we adhere to the court without involving ourselves legally in any way with the League of Nations; and that the United States shall be permitted to participate, through representatives and upon an equality with other members, in any and all proceedings of either the Council or of the Assembly for the election of judges; that the United States shall pay a fair share of the expenses of the court, and that the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

Our readers are as capable as we of approving or disapproving this particular plan. We confess that we do not like it. The method is too involved and indirect. We should prefer to see our United States adhere to an international court of all the nations wholly independent of any group of the powers. Therefore we are in sympathy with the Senate resolution to which we have already referred.

True, most of the members of the League would object to altering their relations with the court. So the thing that we should like to see is probably incapable of realization, at least at this time. We

therefore favor the adhesion of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice with the Hughes' reservations, trusting to tomorrow to do the thing that ought to be done.

IS CANCELLATION OF THE DEBTS NECESSARY?

THE cancellation of the debts to the United States is not demanded by the economic situation in Europe. Take, for instance, the situation in Poland, one of the nations which has refunded its indebtedness to the United States. Here is a territory which was overrun during the World War. One half of it was overrun again during the Soviet War in 1921. German and Austrian currency of greatly depreciated value was still in circulation in Poland only a year ago. The Polish mark has been stabilized only since January, 1924. The new currency of Poland, the zloty, secured by gold or real values and controlled by a bank of issue independent of the government, has been in existence only since April 30, 1924. There has been no adequate taxation system in Poland until very recently, and the budget has been balanced for only a few months.

And yet this country is now able to advertise a stable currency with a reserve of 65 per cent gold and gold securities; an excess of government receipts over expenditures of \$14,282,000; a normal surplus of exports over imports; 14,000 miles of government-owned railroads showing an excess of receipts over operating expenses, and the funding of all external debts.

Poland is Europe's chief producer of rye. Among the other European nations, it ranks second in production of potatoes, third in barley and oats, and fourth in beet sugar. The textile industry of the country is highly developed, as well as the oil, sugar-refining, iron and steel, chemical,

and timber industries. There seems to be plenty of Polish coal, not to mention important deposits of salt, iron, zinc, and other minerals. The total external and internal debt is only approximately \$13 per capita.

Economic conditions in a number of European countries are far from happy; but it must be granted that they are improving. There is no better barometer by which to gage the economic weather of Europe than the condition of British business. The fact is that British sales on the European continent are now 30 per cent greater in value than they were in 1913, when Europe was in the midst of great prosperity. While most of the continental nations are still muddling along with their heavy customs tariffs, high-freight rates, poor railroad service, hates, rivalries, and petty squabbles, British business men are forging ahead. British exports to Switzerland during the first half year of 1924 exceeded those of the first half year of 1913 by 200 per cent, to Holland by 90 per cent, to France by 50 per cent. For the same periods of time Britain's sales in Scandinavia have practically doubled. Her exports to southern Europe have increased about 35 per cent. The gold value of the British exports to the succession States of old Russia for the last quarter of 1924 was 14 per cent greater than that of 1913. Comparing the gold value of Germany's exports to other European continental countries for the first nine months of 1924 with those of Great Britain to the same countries for the same period, Germany's sales were worth 83 per cent of the sales in 1913, while Britain's sales were worth 131 per cent of those in 1913.

In the presence of such facts, it does not seem necessary to raise the question of the cancellation of European debts to the United States.

AS TO THE FRENCH DEBT

MR. BORAH is quite within the facts when he points out that each of the four loans made by France to the United States during and immediately following the Revolution has been paid in full. Of the total amount of \$6,352,500 borrowed, the sum of \$4,327,600 was repaid by 1795, and the balance of \$2,024,900 was refunded into $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent domestic stock. All of this stock was repaid by 1815. In addition to these loans, there were certain aids and subsidies granted by King Louis XVI to the American colonies, amounting to \$1,815,000. It is not understood that France presents any claim under any of these negotiations. In 1824, in consideration of the services and sacrifices of General Lafayette in the War of the Revolution, Congress authorized a payment to him of \$200,000 and a township of land. Thus it may be said our debt has been paid.

But there was a far greater item in the actual cost to France because of what she did for us in that critical period of our history. As pointed out by William D. Guthrie and others, this item of cost to France, which bankrupted the government of Louis XVI and led to the French Revolution and the ruin of the French monarchy, has never been repaid. The amount of this expense incurred by France, for which payment has not been made or expected, is naturally indeterminate. The French archives, Professor Marion, of the College of France; the English historian, Trevelyan, and our own American historian, John Fiske, not to mention other authorities, warrant us in believing that France expended at least \$250,000,000 in order to help us secure our independence. No bill has been presented for this sum. It is, therefore, not a "debt" to France. But it is interesting to note that such an amount, compounded at 3 per cent interest for the years since the end of our Revolu-

tion, would now amount in principal and interest to much more than the amount which France now owes to the United States.

In the light of these facts, America can be counted upon not to embarrass this our first and only ally, as she struggles with her financial difficulties. She may count upon us rather to help her in every way possible.

 AGAIN RESPECTFULLY
SUGGESTED

FRRIENDS of the League of Nations render that organization a disservice by refusing to acknowledge that there are in its constitution erroneous principles and affronts to the teachings of history. In pointing out from time to time these defects in the structure of the League, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* has not been prompted by any captious spirit of ill will. On the contrary, the policy of this magazine has been to tell the truth as best it could, with the hope that the constitution of this great international organization at Geneva may be brought into line with American international ideals and practice, not to mention its own behavior in actual situations. We have shown from time to time how the Covenant of the League contemplates the coercion of a recalcitrant State by force of arms, and that, therefore, if the League were to function under its constitution, it would under certain conditions assume the proportions of a superstate. We have held, therefore, that the United States, under the terms of its written Constitution, could not, if it would, become a member of the League.

This position has been severely criticized by many earnest and honest friends of peace, both in this country and abroad. Support of our position, however, has recently appeared in a series of interesting articles by Dr. Charles H. Levermore, winner of the Bok Peace Award. In the

Baltimore Sun of February 13, Dr. Levermore, recently returned from several months in Geneva, says: "A 'superstate' will exist at Geneva if the present policy of the League of Nations is carried out by League leaders in Europe. This is something that should be regarded as a matter of serious concern to supporters of the League idea in America." This candid and careful interpreter of international affairs refers to the protocol proposed and unanimously adopted at the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations in October last. Dr. Levermore believes this protocol to be "the latest phase of a series of futile attempts by the League of Nations to make disarmament possible and peace permanent."

In the same paper of February 16 the writer continues: "Coercion, or resort to war as a means of punishment of a so-called 'aggressor nation,' is now the avowed policy of the League of Nations. . . . The League has thus abandoned the principle of preventing wars by the force of public opinion, and now proposes through the protocol to empower the Council of the League to call upon nations to wage immediate war against an aggressor."

Here is a straightforward statement of fact by an earnest friend of the League of Nations. In our judgment, this frank acknowledgment from such a source will go further toward a more hopeful discussion of the League in America than all the partisan condemnation of our country and the biased adulations of the League put together.

As an agency for the promotion of co-operation between nations, the League of Nations has rendered worthy services. As such it will go on rendering other services, if only it continues to limit itself to the work of mutual co-operation. But, in our opinion, the Council of the League is decidedly on the wrong track in its effort to "control" armaments in Austria, Bulgaria,

Germany, and Hungary, just as the Assembly was decidedly on the wrong track when it adopted the protocol last October with the thought of compelling peace between States. In its technical organizations, devoted to economic and financial reconstruction, to the improvement of communications and transit, and to the promotion of public health, the League may be of great service. We believe that the League has been of inestimable service in all these directions. This is said, in no patronizing spirit, but in a temper to be just. But any League of Nations organized for the coercion of States is not a peace organization. It is more in the nature of an agency for war.

Evidently, leaders within the League are beginning to realize this. Opinion in Europe—England, Sweden, France, and other countries—is swinging to the view that the protocol so enthusiastically adopted and heralded four months ago is a step in the wrong direction, just as Articles X and XVI of the Covenant were mistakes—if not of motives, certainly of judgment. The true friends of international peace will do well to follow the brave lead of Dr. Charles H. Levermore, to confess the facts, and to go about the business of revising the structure of the League, to the end that it may become in form what practically all of its leaders now privately confess it to be in substance, an agency for the promotion of international co-operation. Why should there be hesitancy to fashion the rules to the game as it can and ought to be played?

This is said here again, not for the purposes of belittling the League, of whittling from it any powers which it in fact possesses, but with the hope that candor and intelligence among the friends of the League will be able in these ways to add unto its glory and usefulness. Disappointment, failure, and heartbreak lie at the end of any other course.

IF OUR HEART FOLLOW OUR TREASURE

THE very great Master's observation, that "where your treasure is, there will your heart be also," gives rise to serious reflection, as one reminds one's self of the debts owed by European States to our American Government.

The simple facts as of November 15, 1924, are impressive. In round numbers, Armenia, not now recognized by us as a government, owes us \$12,000,000 and \$3,000,000 accrued interest; Austria, \$24,000,000, with \$6,000,000 accrued interest; Belgium, \$377,000,000, with \$95,000,000 accrued interest; Czechoslovakia, \$92,000,000, with \$24,000,000 accrued interest; Esthonia, \$14,000,000, with \$3,500,000 accrued interest; Finland, \$9,000,000, now a bonded indebtedness; France, \$3,500,000,000, with \$800,000,000 accrued interest; Great Britain, \$4,500,000,000, plan for payment adjusted; Greece, \$15,000,000, with \$2,250,000 accrued interest; Hungary, \$2,000,000, plan for payment agreed upon; Italy, \$1,750,000,000, with \$450,000,000 accrued interest; Latvia, \$5,000,000, with \$1,000,000 accrued interest; Lithuania, \$5,000,000, with \$1,000,000 accrued interest; Poland, \$160,000,000, with \$19,000,000 accrued interest; Rumania, \$36,000,000, with \$9,500,000 accrued interest; Russia, \$200,000,000, with \$56,000,000 accrued interest; Jugoslavia, \$51,000,000, with \$13,000,000 accrued interest. The total of these figures is approximately \$10,500,000,000, with an accrued interest of nearly \$1,500,000,000. These are debts owed to our United States Government alone, one-half for cash advanced, the rest for surplus war material, relief supplies, and other aid.

To these amounts there should be added our private investments in Europe; loans to governments, cities, business enterprises, including banks, insurance companies, and mortgages of many kinds.

While we are still unable to report all of these amounts, we know that they reach nearly \$2,000,000,000. In addition, there are the liquid funds held in European capitals for stock-market speculation.

Twelve billion dollars is a large sum of money. It represents an amount twelve times our national debt before the war. We sense the amount more vividly when we recall that there have been only slightly over one billion minutes throughout our Christian era, and that there are only approximately 1,700,000,000 men, women, and children on the face of the globe.

It cannot be doubted that we of America have treasure in Europe. How far may it be said that our American heart is in Europe also?

In attempting to answer this question, a number of views have been brought to light. There are those among us here in America who believe that the Europeans should be expected to pay. There are others who, like Mr. Bryan, would make a virtue of necessity and exchange these "worthless debts for priceless peace." American opinion, however, is, we believe, opposed to the cancellation of these debts.

In February, 1922, the Congress provided for the creation of a World War foreign debt commission, authorized not to cancel, but to refund or convert, and to extend the time of payment of the principal or the interest, or both, of any of these debts into bonds or other obligations backed by security calculated to protect the best interests of the United States of America. The act forbids the commission to cancel any part of these debts except through payment.

Under the terms of this act nearly 45 per cent of the total indebtedness has been funded in a manner satisfactory to all parties. The debts of Great Britain, Lithuania, Poland, Finland, and Hungary have been thus refunded. The debt commission has been continued, and there is every prospect that it will go ahead with

the funding of the debts of the remaining countries.

In our opinion, the attitude of our country in this respect is sound, both in finance and in morals. That our heart is in Europe along with our treasure does not mean that we should lose our head anywhere. Herbert Spencer showed how pure altruism leads to inevitable suicide; but it is also true that misdirected charity invariably does more harm than good to the beneficiary. It is not comforting to meditate upon a Europe bribed to disarm. Disarmament of such a nature would lack both in permanency and hope. What has been done by nearly one-half of the debtors can be done by the other half. Self-respect will ultimately bring them to that course.

European nations know that they are not in need of doles from the United States. Their ill wills, their extravagant expenditures for war purposes, their incapacity to base their own business on business principles, are matters which they must, like honorable men, readjust in their own way upon their own initiative. This we believe to be the honest view not only in America, but among the substantial men of Europe as well. This was the position taken by Great Britain with such beneficent results. The rapid rise of the pound sterling was due primarily to the moral stand taken by the British people upon this matter of debts; and, notwithstanding the great sacrifices of foreign securities which Great Britain made in order to carry on the war, she has today more than 3,000,000,000 pounds sterling invested in foreign countries. Surely, Britain has pointed the only way for the other debtor nations of Europe.

Something might be said in favor of the United States receipting obligations of foreign powers as an act of generosity; but to propose that we cancel the debts in exchange for an impalpable and uncertain so-called disarmament would be to compound weakness with shortsightedness.

Our United States did not provoke the war which ended in these enormous debts. Our country is not to blame for the heart-rending anarchy that is in Europe. But we are willing and anxious to help every one of those peoples toward a firm and enduring position by insisting upon sound finance and good morals. We are doing thus no injury to our friends; we are rendering them, we hope and believe, the service they need—a service which they will come to appreciate more and more.

THERE MAY BE ANOTHER WAR

THE rest of the world will be interested in the news that military supplies are being manufactured for Russia in four countries outside that country. The Russian commissar, Loganowski, is traveling through Europe, arranging for the purchase of war material for Moscow. A German factory in Sweden has received orders for 350 airplanes for scout and bombing purposes, as well as 500 field guns. In the meantime France is recruiting troops in her African possessions for service in Poland or Rumania in case of attack from the east. French feelings toward Russia have not been softened by President Rykoff's recent speech in Moscow, referring to Russia's debts to France, in which he took the ground that the French did not lend their money to the Czar because of any love for Russia, but to protect herself against Germany and to safeguard the interests of the entire bourgeois world. A cablegram to our "World's Greatest Newspaper" announces that Moscow has placed orders in various European countries for \$50,000,000 worth of cannons, tanks, and airplanes. German chemical factories have received orders for the prompt delivery of 4,500,000 pounds of chloride of potassium "for the Russian dye trade." Of course, potassium chloride can be used for other purposes.

Surely, there are currents and cross-currents, some of which certainly make for another war in Europe. State individualism is rampant. Foreign policies of the nationalists are in the main extremely selfish. Frontiers established by the Treaty of Versailles, many of them most wickedly drawn, seem to be incapable of rectification except by force. Unemployment and the cost of living are sources of bitterness and despair, cruel hindrances to culture or peace. Idealist experimentations seem to assuage the situation not at all. One is tempted to revert to the picturesque phraseology of Woodrow Wilson and call somebody "pigmy-minded," given to "aberrations of thinking," a "contemptible quitter," with "jaundiced eyes," and "amazing ignorance." There is a disproportionate number of persons in control of affairs in European States with "heads serving simply as knots to prevent their bodies from unraveling." They may have another war, if they want that sort of thing.

AS TO GERMAN RESOURCES

WEALTH in Germany has not been destroyed; quite the contrary. We have German authority for believing that to duplicate the Thyssen plant would take \$160,000,000, if carried out under German conditions of labor and cost of materials, or \$250,000,000 under American conditions. It is estimated that Thyssen must have earned at least \$75,000,000 since the beginning of the war. It is reported that the Stinnes family owns 231 coal or iron mines, 36 foundries, 18 steel works, 294 concerns for the construction of machines, 285 electrical light, power, and heat transportation plants, 128 factories for the manufacture of accessories, 196 railroads, steamship, and motor lines, 43 newspapers and periodicals, 27 hotels, 102 villages or small towns, 32 theaters, 40 plantations,

and more than a million acres of land in 19 countries of four continents.

But there are more important aspects of Germany's wealth than are indicated by any reference to individual fortunes. Take, for example, coal, over which most of the difficulties between France and Germany arise. Germany holds third place in the world as a coal-producing nation, and exports more coal than any other European country. For a generation Germany has shown an increasing determination to push to the utmost her use of her wealth in coal. Between 1880 and 1894, German coal exports only increased from 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 tons annually. Because of the Coal Syndicate formed in 1893, Germany's coal exports increased 800 per cent. In the meantime the syndicate fought coal imports with the utmost energy. During the first five months of 1922 Germany only imported 2,960,000 tons of coal, four and five-tenths per cent of her total consumption for those months. Since France had already taken the Saar Valley, it is clear that the loss of that section did not destroy the German coal industry. Before the war, Germany exported to Austria-Hungary 30 per cent of her coal; in 1922, 7.5 per cent; to Holland, 17.5 per cent, and in 1922, 5.6 per cent; to Belgium, 16.5 per cent; 1922, 14 per cent; to France, 15 per cent; in 1922, 50 per cent. In 1913 France received within her old frontiers 3,600,000 tons of coal and 2,400,000 tons of coke. In 1922 France received within her new frontiers 8,000,000 tons of coal and 6,000,000 tons of coke. Germany, making full use of her mining equipment, can produce now, within her present frontiers, 187,000,000 tons of coal and 140,000,000 tons of lignite, equivalent to 31,000,000 of coal, or, in other words, a total of 218,000,000 tons of coal annually. Making full use of her metallurgic equipment, the Reich can use annually about 178,000,000 tons of coal.

This means that Germany is in position to export annually more than 40,000,000 tons of coal. This in turn means that Germany, in spite of the modifications of her frontiers, will remain the greatest producer and the greatest exporter of coal in continental Europe and the third greatest producer and exporter in the world.

Germany wishes to sell this coal and France wishes to buy it. So that is that.

HUNGARIAN RECONSTRUCTION

IT HAS been reported that Jeremiah Smith, Jr., League of Nations' Commissioner-General of Hungary, is about to resign. We hope this is not true. Hungary needs the help of this gracious and intelligent young Boston lawyer. Hungary has been and still is in sore distress. Under the terms of the treaty of Trianon, she lost two-thirds of her territory, one-half her coal, 90 per cent of her timber, 99 per cent of her iron, 95 per cent of her quarries, and other sources of wealth. Five days after the armistice she was proclaimed a republic under Karolyi. A second revolution established her a republic of Hungarian Soviets under Bela Kun. A third revolution and a red terror re-established her under her old constitution. Evidences of her will to regain portions of her lost wealth and territory gave rise to a decided opposition in terms of the Little Entente. Then came her financial collapse.

In the face of such a situation the League of Nations has undertaken to enable Hungary to do two things—namely, to recuperate and to meet the charges against her for reparations.

The commission set up by the League of Nations for the accomplishment of these tasks is headed by Jeremiah Smith, Jr. This commission has been at work since the first of May, 1924. There have been results. A reconstruction law has

been passed. A bank of issue has been established with a capital of thirty million crowns, nearly one-half of which was underwritten by the Hungarian Government. A substantial loan has been successfully floated. The exchange has been stabilized. Foreign currency has begun to flow in and the revenues to increase. With the balancing of the budget, there have been many evidences of the return of confidence. The nation's resources in wealth are reported to be increasing. Modification of the system of licenses for exports and imports has promoted freedom of trade. A special cable to the *New York Times* under date of February 11 quotes Count Bethlen as saying that only one-half of the one hundred million gold crowns allowed to the government by the League of Nations has been used. This sum was used in the first six months, and since that time the budget has been balanced. How far the people are taxing themselves to help out we are not told.

True, the Iridentist movement in Hungary, backed by such men as Count Apponyi, is very much alive. It seems unreasonable to expect that the proud Magyars will continue to accept willingly the losses that are imposed upon Hungary. There is no doubt that armaments are being secretly accumulated within and without the kingdom. There have been at least two seizures of these armaments within the last year. Count Bethlen assures us, however, that the control of the high commission is recognized, and he dismisses the secret preparations for war as immaterial. Commissioner Smith's views upon this matter are not reported. The Count assures us that what Hungary needs now is long-term agricultural credits.

It appears that before the war the present territory of Hungary required an average of one hundred million gold crowns annually in long-term loans from countries now no longer able to lend. The result is that Hungary must turn now to western

Europe and to America. There is more need of money now than before the war, because not only improvements but restorations are waiting to be carried out. Because short-term credits are commanding 25 per cent interest, factories are unable to compete with other countries. It is this that causes the unemployment. Therefore we are told that almost every difficulty that Hungary has economically is due to a shortage of long-term credits. The interest rate on short-term loans would seem to indicate that long-term credits are not the only need in Hungary.

Anybody interested to forestall war in Europe must seriously consider this situation in Hungary. The danger of it runs deeper than the political or economic problems indicate. No one can read, say, such a book as *The Tragedy of Hungary*, by Louis K. Birinyi, without realizing that the Hungarian problem is racial and spiritual and serious. This book is but one evidence of the bitterness in Hungary. If Hungary is to take her place contentedly in the sisterhood of nations, a constructive work remains yet to be done. At the moment we find our only hope to lie with the work of the commission set up under the League of Nations.

NEW RUSSIAN IDEAS OF A BANKING SYSTEM

IT MUST be confessed that the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics in Russia is in the way of teaching something to the bankers outside that mysterious land.

During the last five years the Soviets have completely reversed their views of the banking possibilities within the Union. Shortly after the revolution the Union took up the business of smashing all the Russian banks and bankers. It was the purpose of the Soviet chiefs that all national business should be conducted without any banks. The destruction was complete.

The self-appointed smashing representatives of the proletariat discovered, however, that they could not get along without banks. Thereupon they decided to construct a system of strictly nationalized banks, no individuals being allowed to go into the business. The results are interesting.

There is already one central bank, known as the State Bank, with 389 branches. It is this bank which controls the emission of currency. Next in order of importance is the Bank for the Exterior Commerce of the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics, with branches in all the Russian seaports and in all cities in which goods for exports are gathered from the sources of production. Third, there is the Central Bank for Agriculture, which serves as the banking agency for the numerous societies for agricultural credits throughout Russia. Then comes the Bank for Interior Commerce and Industry, with branches in a large number of Russian and Siberian cities and towns. Next is the Co-operative Bank, doing business with the many co-operative societies of all kinds, sprinkled all over Russia. This bank also has branches in many localities. Sixth, there is the Central Bank for Communal Credits, also with numerous branches, devoted primarily to the financial operations of Russian municipalities. The newest of the banks, the Electro Bank, is concerned with financing the gradual electrification of the whole of Russia. The total number of these credit institutions at the present writing is 174, with 773 branches.

On the first of December, 1924, the banks had a total capital of 152,000,000 gold rubles, total assets of 2,147,000,000 gold rubles; current accounts, 573,000,000 gold rubles; discounts, 478,000,000 gold rubles; trading operations, 362,000,000 gold rubles. During 1922-1923 the Bank for Exterior Commerce did a business of a little less than 646,000,000 gold rubles.

During 1923-1924 its business rose to 1,700,000,000 gold rubles. This bank has made arrangements with leading banks in the large cities of Europe, North and South America, and in New York for the financing of all Soviet imports and exports. This Bank for Exterior Commerce owns and controls the Russo-Persian Bank at Teheran, with its branches throughout Persia; and another, the Extreme Orient Bank, located at Khabarovsk, with branches at various points in the Russian Far-East. It is planning at the present to open a branch at Constantinople.

Thus we see not only a remarkable change in the attitude of the Soviets toward the serviceableness of banks; we are confronted with a most interesting differentiation of banking functions, calculated, perhaps, to modify banking practice in other parts of the world.

OUR enormous and rapidly growing investments abroad naturally give rise to the inquiry how far the responsibility of the Government of the United States may be engaged, directly or indirectly. This has given rise to some nervousness in certain quarters. Indeed, a resolution has been introduced in the House requesting the President to direct all governmental agencies to refrain from directly or indirectly engaging the responsibility of the United States in the fulfilment of these financial obligations, and from giving official recognition to any arrangement which may commit the United States to any form of military intervention in order to compel the observance of any of those obligations, unless first authorized by the congress. In our judgment, this is a matter for consideration and discussion, both in the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate and on Foreign Affairs in the House, if for no other reason than to remind ourselves of the Porter-Drago doc-

trine agreed to at the second Hague Congress, 1907.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, too, welcomes Mr. Emile Daeschner, the new French ambassador who has come to succeed M. Jules Jusserand at Washington, arriving January 24, 1925.

Mr. Georges Henri Emile Daeschner was born on January 3, 1863. He comes of an Alsatian Protestant family and was educated as a lawyer. In two years from now he will have been connected with the administrative and diplomatic business of the French Government for 40 years.

After being graduated from the law school, he was appointed attaché to the political direction of the Foreign Office on February 10, 1887, and it is in this capacity that he entered his diplomatic career. He was appointed attaché to the cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1889.

For many years he was a member of the French embassy in London, and his perfect use of the English language will be of advantage to him in America. However, his most valuable training in international affairs has been acquired through confidential association with several of the most influential of French premiers and foreign ministers in his capacity as adviser of the Foreign Office and head of the Bureau of Administrative Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay. He was chief of the cabinet of the French Premier from June, 1905, to August, 1906. In the meantime he had been intrusted by the French Government with several missions abroad. He was member of the French mission sent by the French Government to Copenhagen in February, 1906, to represent France at the funeral of Christian IX, King of Denmark.

He was successively first secretary at the French embassy at Madrid (September,

1906) and at London (June, 1908). In July, 1909, he was called back to Paris to take up new duties as chief of the cabinet of the French Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

As minister plenipotentiary of the first class, Mr. Daeschner was appointed to Lisbon in March, 1913, and to Bucharest in January, 1920.

Mr. Emile Daeschner was director of the Bureau of Administrative Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when he was appointed French ambassador at Washington, in November, 1924. He is commander of the Legion of Honor.

The United States welcomes this distinguished representative of *La Belle France*.

OUR creeds are our attempts to phrase the spiritual faith we hold. Randall J. Condon, superintendent of schools, Cincinnati, Ohio, has recently issued what he calls "The Kindergarten's Creed." We would not detract from it by praising it. We print it for the encouragement of every believer in the childhood of the race:

"I believe in little children as the most precious gift of heaven to earth. I believe that they have immortal souls, created in the image of God, coming forth from Him and to return to Him. I believe that in every child are infinite possibilities for good or evil, and that the kind of influence with which he is surrounded in early childhood largely determines whether or not the budding life shall bloom in fragrance and beauty, with the fruit of a noble, Godlike character.

"I believe in play as the child's normal effort to understand himself through free self-expression, and I believe, too, in work, but work that is joyous, and that the joy in the doing comes largely from the well doing.

"I believe in freedom, but not in license; in prompt, cheerful obedience; in punctuality, regularity, accuracy, industry, and application; that wisely directed self-ac-

tivity should result in self-control, in self-forgetfulness, in an increasing desire to choose the good, true, and beautiful, and to contribute to the happiness of others.

"I believe in cultivating the intellect and the will, but I believe, too, in soul-culture, and that out of this cultivation comes the more abundant life, bringing forth the fruits of the spirit—kindness, gentleness, joy, peace, truth, faith, hope, love, reverence for God, for each other, and for all His lovely creatures.

"I believe that the white city of God, with its river of life and its tree of life, is the divine type of the kindergarten, with its life-giving love, sunshine, and companionship, and its symmetrical unfolding of all the beauties of child life—physical, mental, moral, spiritual.

"I believe that the work of the kindergarten is the holiest and happiest of all earth's tasks.

"To this work, Father, I believe Thou hast called me, and to it I give all that Thou hast given me of insight and wisdom and strength and love and gentleness and patience and humility."

AN ex-soldier of England expresses himself upon the manna of death. Here are his words:

"Most people will read the report of the League of Nations Committee on Chemistry and War with unmixed feelings of horror and detestation of what are there indicated as likely means of warfare in the future. But those who served in the war will find the most trustworthy promise of peace till now offered us in the fact that those who have hitherto reaped honors and profits while others fought are in the future to be exposed to risks not less than those which the men in the trenches are called upon to endure.

"Gas promises to democratize war even more than did the invention of artillery. In the future, the man who tries to escape from London to the sea in a luxurious express whenever he anticipates an air raid will be in the same peril throughout his journey and at its end as if he were in the trenches. For which many of us will feel properly grateful.

"In the modern community, organized and closely knit together into a single

bundle of life, the man who grows potatoes on a tiny allotment as truly helps in a war as the man who trains soldiers. He will in the future share equally with the man-at-arms the peril of pain, of maiming, and of death.

"But, it will be urged, this war in the air, this war of gas and bombs and germs, will be a war against not men only, but against women and babies. This, however, introduces no new principle. Wars have always been fought by the innocent, and the incidence of suffering has been upon the innocent. The old have made

the war. The old have profited by the war. The war spares them to perpetuate the iniquities that were the primary cause of the war. Let them once believe that there is no place on the earth that is safer than a front trench, let them once know that their personal peril is not less than that of a private soldier—that Whitehall is no more secure than an advanced bombing post, that the manna of death is as likely to fall on them in a remote hamlet as in the No Man's Land—and we shall take a long, forced march on the road that leads to peace."

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

GERMAN DISARMAMENT

ON JANUARY 19, which was the occasion of the presentation to the Reichstag of the completed Cabinet, Chancellor Luther delivered a speech, in which he outlined the salient features of his government's policy. This declaration of policy occasioned, on the next day, a heated debate, which, however, resulted in a vote of confidence in the new government.

Herr Luther's Speech

Chancellor Luther began with a tribute to his predecessor, Herr Marx, for his steadfastness along the thorny path of reconstruction. It would be the task of the new government to pursue the same path towards the same clear goal. Its policy would be based not on party support in the ordinary sense of the term, but on all those parties which consented to the present form of the State and were prepared to co-operate with it in a practical manner. The situation of the country was a clear warning that a government and a Reichstag faced with such momentous decisions must stand upon the broadest possible basis. At the same time the government, though it did not represent a parliamentary coalition, depended for its support on a majority in the Reichstag. From the time when he had placed him-

self at the disposal of President Ebert for the formation of a Cabinet he had been guided by the single desire to prevent the government crisis from becoming a national crisis.

The new government took its stand upon the republican constitution, and it would oppose, and punish with severity, as high treason, any attempt to bring about the alteration of that constitution by violent or otherwise illegal methods. It would, however, have to uphold the relations between the Reich and the Federal States, while respecting the peculiar circumstances of the latter and their place in the life and administration of the Reich. Furthermore, the government would see that the internal administration was kept pure, and that the official body devoted its whole powers to the welfare of the nation.

Turning to foreign policy, Herr Luther declared that the Cabinet would hope to co-operate in securing real and permanent peace among the nations. In detail, the main lines of the new government's foreign policy were primarily determined by the London Agreement. Stability in Europe was the essential basis for the solution of the reparation question, as contemplated in that agreement. The Cabinet would loyally carry out the laws passed as the result of the agreement, and it expected from the other side similar

loyalty of fulfilment. Unfortunately, the moral and political relief which the London Agreement had offered the German people had been adversely influenced by the failure of the Allies to evacuate the Northern Zone of occupied German territory. The government adopted as its own the attitude of the former Cabinet towards this question. The continued occupation of the Northern Zone implied that certain just claims accruing to Germany from the Treaty of Versailles remained unsatisfied. It implied a manifest breach of the spirit and principles into which the London Agreement had breathed life.

Problem of Disarmament

As for the reasons given for not evacuating the Northern Zone, namely, the alleged shortcomings of Germany with regard to disarmament, the new government adopted the standpoint of the note sent by the late government to the Allies. It repeated the request to be informed at the earliest possible moment on the matter indicated, so that it might be put into a position to define its reply. At the same time, the government would do everything in its power to obtain, by means of negotiation, the evacuation at the earliest possible moment of the Northern Zone, without which security, in the present political and economic circumstances of Germany and Europe, would not be possible. With regard to the future execution of the London Agreement, the new government observed with satisfaction that co-operation with the foreign commissions set up under this agreement had so far worked without the slightest friction. It would be the special care of the Cabinet to watch over all questions connected with the London Agreement, and, while ensuring fulfilment of the obligations assumed under it, to pay equal attention to obtaining those modifications and improvements which had proved necessary.

The attitude of Germany towards the League of Nations had been laid down in the memorandum addressed by the late government to the Powers represented in the Council of the League, and furthermore in the letter directed to the Secretariat of the League in Geneva. The gov-

ernment was watching attentively the development of the ideas underlying the League and the views governing the putting of those ideas into practice, but for its own part it must adhere to the conditions which the late government has laid down for the entry of Germany into the League. Both in connection with the question of the League and independently of it, the new government would continue the efforts repeatedly made by successive German governments to clear Germany of the unjustified accusation contained in the Treaty of Versailles with regard to her responsibility for the war.

Questions of Trade and Finance

Herr Luther went on to refer to the new situation created on January 10 by the lapse of the one-sided most-favored-nation clauses in the Treaty of Versailles. The government, he said, would use the freedom thus gained for the purpose of reorganizing German's economic life and therewith creating adequate opportunities for employment at satisfactory rates. German trade must again become a branch of the world's trade, and German exports must be increased in order that Germany may contribute by her increased purchasing power to raising the world's consumption of goods. Only thus could the adverse trade balance be overcome and a balance be available for fulfilling international obligations.

It had not been possible to complete the negotiations for commercial treaties with all the nations by January 10, and temporary agreements had been necessary in a number of cases. In these cases the German government would do everything in its power to obtain relief for German trade, and would make every effort to reach settlements based upon a fair regard for mutual interests.

Turning to home affairs, the Chancellor said that one of the government's aims would be to raise the production of agriculture at home and to strengthen the purchasing power of the people. It would do its best to get rid of all unnecessary and usurious middle profits.

Herr Luther concluded with an appeal to the German people as a whole to lay aside its internal dissensions, to close its ranks, and to strive by hard work and re-

trenchment to pave the way to a peaceful future worthy of its past.

Reaction in France

The German Chancellor's presentation of the disarmament question called forth, ten days later, a significant reply from the French Premier. M. Herriot stated in his speech that according to trustworthy information in his possession, the German government is concealing arms and machinery for the manufacture of arms. He maintained that the Krupps have not as yet dismantled or reduced their equipment for the manufacture of heavy artillery; that the general staff is still maintained in defiance of the Allies; that the whole organization of the German army is adjusted for expansion into a much larger force when the right moment comes. He quoted from an order issued by General von Seeckt, reminding the German soldier that it is only by thinking of the weapons which have been taken from him that he can prepare himself for the battles of the future.

This speech, which caused a veritable outburst of enthusiasm in France, evoked a heated reply from the German Chancellor. He complained that Germany has been in this case tried and sentenced without being given a chance to defend herself, and charged the Allies with violations of the Treaty of Versailles.

In the meantime the report of the Allied Military Control Commission on the state of Germany's disarmament has been submitted to the Allied War Committee, presided over by Marshal Foch. It would appear from advanced notices of this report that there is ground for the Allies' determination to continue their occupation of Cologne and other portions of the Rhine. Dispatches indicate that the discussion over this matter will be long drawn out.

FRANCE AND THE VATICAN

ONE of the election promises made by the Left Bloc, which now governs France, was that to abolish the French embassy at the Vatican. This was one of the conditions on which the Socialist groups in the bloc had agreed to support the more conservative ones in their united bid for government made last year.

In accordance with this promise, the Herriot Government made, several weeks ago, a tentative proposal to withdraw the French ambassador from the Holy See at the beginning of March. The proposal was placed before the Chamber of Deputies and occasioned at the sessions of January 20 and 22 a bitter debate on the subject.

Position of the Herriot Government

The position of the government was presented to the Chamber by M. Henri Simon, *rapporteur* of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. M. Simon took the line that the French ambassador to the Vatican, since one had been appointed, soon after the termination of the war, had been constantly concerned with matters which were really questions of French domestic politics, the eternal doctrine of the church being that in a Roman Catholic country the State and religion ought necessarily to be bound up together. From 1906 onwards (that is, after the disestablishment of the Church) there had been a long period of religious peace in France, and religious questions had only become embittered when the question of the Vatican embassy arose.

M. Simon's report was interrupted several times by remarks from the floor. The most significant interruption was from M. Briand, whose position in the matter is of particular interest, since it was he, as Prime Minister, who was responsible soon after the war for the re-establishment of the French embassy at the Vatican. M. Briand took exception to the statement that in France it was only the Roman Catholics who were convinced supporters of the embassy. He pointed out that among these "ardent Catholics" were such leaders of advanced and even anti-clerical opinion as Waldeck-Rousseau and Emile Combes.

Herriot, who was present, intervened several times in the debate. He seemed especially anxious to defend himself against the supposition that he was opposing the embassy on sectarian grounds. He said that the Pope, when a temporal sovereign, had a right to have ambassadors accredited to the Vatican, but now he was solely a spiritual sovereign and had, in M. Herriot's opinion, gained by the change. To prevent the Pope

from being involved in the tangles of temporal diplomacy did not diminish his value.

Briand's Defense of the Embassy

The debate was resumed two days later, when M. Briand delivered a three-hour speech in favor of continuing the maintenance of the diplomatic post which he had established at the Vatican. His argument was, that whatever one's views or relations with regard to the Catholic Church, the Vatican was a center of influence which it would be folly to neglect. He called the church the most important of all internationals. France was proposing to break its relations with it at a moment when every other government, even the Soviet, were seeking to strengthen them. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, a violent anti-Papist, if ever there was one, had made a point of visiting the Pope when he was in Rome. The fact that diplomatic relations with a particular government or court were not productive of great results for the country amounted to nothing in itself. France had not always been able to get what she wanted from her friends of the Entente, there had been moments of great strain, but the main thing was that contact should be preserved. So it was with the Vatican.

M. Briand's speech seemed, at first sight, to have precipitated an important political crisis. His uncompromising attitude against the policy proposed by the government was serious enough in itself. The danger was enhanced by the fact that on the question of the relations with the Vatican the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine have been thoroughly dissatisfied with the position taken by the government. They have been living under a concordat concluded with the Holy See and have been anxious for the continuation of this arrangement, which would have been rendered impossible by a severance of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican.

Compromise Solution of the Problem

The solution of this difficult problem was found in a compromise devised by the Council of State through its decision declaring that Alsace-Lorraine continues to

live under the régime of the concordat. Thus, for the sake of the recovered provinces, it is necessary to retain a French diplomatic representative at the Vatican. That representative will not be an ambassador, but simply an official *ad hoc* for the purpose of fulfilling all the duties involved by the concordat, the nomination of bishops and the like, and generally the whole conduct of religious worship in Alsace-Lorraine.

From the point of view of the Left the Council of State's decision is something of a godsend and the solution is a peculiarly happy one politically. It has completely taken the wind out of the sails of clerical reaction, for it satisfies Alsace and Alsatian discontent on the religious issue, which had been worked up to danger point, and provided all their fighting strength. The only clerical resource now is to protest that M. Herriot's solution means a breach in the sacred unity of France; that there will henceforth be two Frances, both from a domestic and diplomatic point of view, one on the eastern frontier, living under the concordat and in diplomatic relations with Rome, and the other France proper, a completely lay State and more or less at war with the Vatican; and that in consequence the problem of the reassimilation of Alsace-Lorraine will be rendered almost insoluble. Their remedy is to put all France in the position now acquired by Alsace-Lorraine.

TROTSKY'S DOWNFALL

JANUARY 16 marked the downfall of Leon Trotsky, one of the most spectacular leaders of Russian Communism, only shortly before that the almost all-powerful "War Lord" of Russia. On that day the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, sitting in a plenary session, resolved to strip Trotsky of his powers and to take away from him the post of the Commissary for War and Navy, which he had held theretofore.

Trotsky's Letter of Defense

Trotsky himself was not present at his trial. Illness made his presence difficult;

so he, instead, addressed a lengthy communication to the Executive Committee. This letter of defense read as follows:

I have held and still hold that in the course of this discussion I could have furnished sufficiently weighty arguments, both in the nature of principle and of fact, to exonerate myself from the accusation of aiming at a "revision of Leninism" or of "minimizing" Lenin's rôle. I refused to do so, however, not only on account of my illness, but also because in the present conditions of the discussion any attempt on my part to deal with the subject, independently of the form, tenor, or contents of my refutations, would only serve further to render the polemic more acute and one-sided. And now, having thought over the whole trend of the discussion, and notwithstanding the multitude of false and absolutely monstrous accusations heaped up against me, I think that, from the point of view of the common interests of the party, my silence has been wiser.

I cannot, however, by any means accept the accusation of trying to pursue my own line of policy (Trotskyism) or of endeavoring to revise Leninism. The opinion attributed to me, that it was not I who embraced Bolshevism, but that Bolshevism recognized me, appears to me as simply monstrous. In my preface to "The Lessons of October" (p. 62) I state explicitly that Bolshevism had played its part in the revolution by a ruthless campaign against Menshevism, "People's Socialism," and "Conciliatory Socialism," to the latter of which I belonged. It has never entered my head during the last eight years to deal with any question from the point of view of so-called Trotskyism, which I have long since abandoned and consider as politically extinct. Whether I was right or wrong on any question raised by our party, I was always inspired in my decisions by the general theoretical and practical experience of the party. Not once in all these years did anyone ever tell me that any of my ideas or proposals indicated a new policy of "Trotskyism." To my surprise, this term suddenly appeared during the discussion on my book on the revolution of 1917.

Great political significance is attached to this term in relation to the peasant question. I repudiate emphatically the assumption that the formula of "permanent revolution" was used by me as denoting lack of care in han-

dling the peasant question. The attempt to use this question in order to demonstrate irreconcilable contradictions cannot, in my opinion, be justified either by the eight years of our revolutionary experiences acquired in common or by our future tasks.

No Recantation in the Defense

Trotsky's defense is by no means a recantation of his Communist views. On the contrary, he says:

I equally repudiate the references to my alleged "pessimism" with regard to the destinies of our Socialist structure, in view of the slowing down of the world's revolution in the West. In spite of difficulties arising from capitalist surroundings, the economic and political resources of the Soviet dictatorship are very great. I have frequently upheld and developed this idea, on behalf of the party at various international congresses, and consider that it remains in force at the present stage of historical development.

In so far as a formal pretext for the latest discussion was found in the foreword to my book on "1917," I consider it my duty, first of all, to refute the accusation that I had published the book without the knowledge of the Central Committee. In point of fact, this book was printed during my rest cure in the Caucasus, exactly in the same way as all the other books written by me or by any members of the Central Committee or of the party. Of course, it is the business of the Central Committee to establish some form of control over party publications, and I never had cause or inclination to avoid such control.

The foreword to "The Lessons of October" contains the development of those ideas which I have expressed before and especially during the past year. . . . It goes without saying that in analyzing the October Revolution in connection with the German events, I never dreamed of creating a separate "platform" or ever entertained the idea that my work could be interpreted in that sense.

I hold it necessary to establish that neither the Political Bureau as a body, nor any of the members of the Central Committee, ever pointed out to me that my books or articles could be suspected of a "revision" of Leninism. The book on "1905," which was published during the life of Vladimir Ilyitch [Lenin] had several editions, was warmly recommended by the party press, and was

translated into foreign languages by the Communist International. Yet it is now being produced as the chief documentary evidence against me.

Trotsky concludes with a declaration of his readiness to accept any party work and to place himself at the disposal of the Session to give, if necessary, a verbal explanation of his activities.

Indictment Against Trotsky

After a lengthy discussion of the whole matter, the session passed a resolution, which was in effect a severe indictment of the deposed leader. The resolution opens with the statement that "the essential factors which secured the successes of the Bolshevik Party were 'steel-like unity and iron discipline, a true unity of views on the principles of Leninism. . . . The continuous attacks of Comrade Trotsky on Bolshevism have placed the party face to face with the necessity either for repudiating these factors or for putting an end, once for all, to such attacks.'"

The resolution proceeds to state that Comrade Trotsky's attacks had been interpreted by the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats as a sign of a split within the Russian Communist Party and consequently as the disruption of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and within the country were regarded by vacillating and anti-proletarian elements as a signal to rally in opposition to the party policy. "In general, the whole trend of Trotsky's activities can now be determined as an impulse to transform the ideology of the Russian Communist Party into a sort of 'Bolshevism,' as modernized by Comrade Trotsky." It was, "an attempt to substitute for Lenin's theory and tactics of the international proletarian revolution a variety of Menshevism, in the spirit of 'European' social democracy. . . ."

Comrade Trotsky had, the resolution says, now declared open war against the very foundations of Bolshevik doctrine. He denied the whole teaching concerning the factors which provided the motive power of the Russian revolution as given by Leninism and established his own "theory" of a permanent revolution. He endeavored to persuade the party that before accepting the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Bolshevism had

been obliged to "change its armor"—i. e., to repudiate Leninism and embrace Trotskyism. "The personality of Comrade Trotsky himself is placed in the limelight according to the formula, 'the Hero and the Mob.' Lenin's own part in the revolution is represented as most ambiguous, especially in his relations with the then Central Committee of the party. The conduct of that body is described in such a way as to discredit it."

Trotsky is accused of a veiled attempt to pave the way for organizing a "right" wing within the party under cover of the new economic policy:

On all important questions he has lately not agreed with the party's opinions, but held opposite views. . . . All the leaders of the Second International, the most dangerous servants of the bourgeoisie, are endeavoring to utilize Trotsky's rebellion "on principle" for compromising Leninism, the Russian revolution, and the Communist International in the eyes of the labor masses of Europe, and thus to bind them more securely to the chariot of the bourgeoisie. . . . The peasants have become convinced that there exists no party unity on the peasant question. . . . The young generation is being drawn by its favorite leader into the conflict between the young and the old. . . . The Red army and fleet, which should see in their leader an example of party discipline, now witness an exactly contrary attitude. . . . The entire Communist International is now a witness of how one of its prominent members opposes the Bolshevization of its sections and actually supports the enemies of Bolshevism in the camp of the Second International. . . .

Trotsky's Successor

After so strong an indictment, Trotsky's dismissal from his high post followed in the natural course of events. On January 29, by a decree of the Soviet Government, the post of the Commissary for War and Navy was given to Trotsky's former assistant, Michael Frunze.

Trotsky's successor was born in 1885, in the town of Pishpek, in Turkestan. He was prosecuted by the Tsarist Government five times, was twice condemned to death, and finally sentenced to ten years' hard labor in Siberia, from which he escaped.

In 1915 Frunse began creating revolutionary organizations in the Tsarist army. He took a prominent part in the foundation of Soviet Russia, and was commander-in-chief of four armies on the southeastern front, which repulsed the advance of Admiral Kolchak, and subsequently headed the forces which overthrew General Wrangel. Last year he was appointed Trotsky's deputy.

CONFLICT BETWEEN POLAND AND DANZIG

UNDER the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, the Polish Government has the right to maintain in the Free City of Danzig a Polish post, telegraph, and telephone office for international communication, with the local post remaining in the hands of the Danzig authorities. These provisions of the treaty were carried out by Poland on January 5, when the office was formally opened and letter-boxes with the insignia of the Polish State were placed in the streets of the city.

Danzig's Violent Protest

The government of Danzig took the view that the action of Poland in instituting its postal authorities in the Free City at this time is derogatory to the sovereignty of Danzig. The local German newspapers began a violent campaign against Poland, urging the population to prevent by violent means the functioning of the Polish postal service. During the night of January 5-6 some "unknown persons," among whom, it is stated, were certain officials of the Danzig Senate, covered the Polish letter-boxes with black-white-red signs, the colors of the German Empire.

Various communications then followed between the Commissioner General for Poland and the Danzig Senate with a view to the prosecution of the editors of the *Dantziger Zeitung* and the other journals which recommended violence. After receiving an unsatisfactory reply from the Danzig Senate, the Commissioner General presented a further note, while meanwhile the letter-boxes changed their colors from Polish to German several times.

Finally, on January 9, the Commissioner General received the following communication from the Danzig Senate:

The High Commissioner of the League of Nations has just had an interview with the President of the Senate concerning the exchanged notes. The Senate has learned from the mouth of the High Commissioner that the Polish Government considers the interference with the letter-boxes, even those without the emblems of the State, as an outrage on the Polish State and nation. Up till now the Senate has not interpreted in this sense the notes sent by the diplomatic representative of Poland.

In view of this situation the Senate of Danzig, following the advice of the High Commissioner of the League of Nations, declares to the Polish Government its regrets in regard to the interference with the property of the Polish State on the territory of the city of Danzig, such interference being considered, on account of its particular character, by the Polish Government as an offense against the Polish State and nation.

This communication averted a further aggravation of the crisis, though it has not, of course, solved the problem.

Poland Threatens Reprisals

The Polish Government has announced itself as determined to resort to reprisals if the Senate of the Free City attempt to settle the dispute to the detriment of Poland. The government has also called the attention of the British ambassador at Warsaw to the fact that Poland will be obliged to object to Mr. McDonnell continuing to occupy the post of High Commissioner at Danzig.

Poland designs to make a thorough revision of her relations with Danzig. Among the changes, Poland will bring to an end all her existing treaties and conventions with Danzig. Future agreements with Danzig will be concluded upon a totally different basis. Poland justifies this decision by the fact that the Danzig Senate is under the influence of the German Nationalists and exercises pressure on the Danzig population in this direction.

The final and definitive solution of the post problem is in the hands of the League of Nations. Surely this offers no insurmountable difficulty.

CONFERENCE OF THE BALTIC STATES

ON January 18 the conference of the foreign ministers of the four Baltic States of Poland, Finland, Latvia, and Esthonia was concluded in Helsingfors, Finland. This was the latest of a series of conferences of these States held in various cities during the past five years. The conference immediately preceding this one was held in Warsaw in June, 1924.

Scope of the Conference

The official program of the conference covered two days, after which there were several days of unofficial conversations.

The agenda included the general political situation, the question of arbitration, the attitude of the Baltic States and Poland towards the questions settled at the meetings of the League of Nations, and finally the mutual relations among the different countries represented at the conference. An arbitration scheme had been drafted for presentation to the conference. According to its terms, all questions which cannot be settled by diplomatic means are to be settled by arbitration, with the exception of those of territorial questions which have already been adjusted by treaty.

The question of creating a common front against Bolshevism was not on the agenda of the Helsingfors Conference, in spite of persistent rumors to the effect that it would be discussed there. This was due to the Polish policy of attempting to maintain friendly relations with Moscow.

Results of the Conference

The official report of the Baltic Conference states that agreement was arrived at in all questions. With regard to the efforts of the League of Nations to set up a system of courts of arbitration and to secure disarmament, it was declared at the conference that the four foreign ministers, as representatives of their respective governments, concurred in all fundamental points—that is, in a desire to secure a definitive guarantee which would be satisfactory to all the States—and approved of the proposal of the League to call a conference on disarmament. They proposed that their govern-

ments should maintain permanent and effective communication with one another for the purpose of further developing the activities of the League of Nations. The conference decided to call the attention of the four governments to the fact that it was very desirable to put into execution the resolutions of the Warsaw conference held on June 14 and 15 last, relating to cultural relations between the various Baltic States, and also to carry out different measures in the interests of improved communications, including customs facilities and abolition of certain passport formalities. The conference finally signed the proposal for an arbitration court.

In the course of the conference Esthonia and Latvia had suggested also a military pact among all the Baltic States, but this was opposed by Finland and Poland, and the proposition therefore fell through.

Count Skrzynski, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, in an interview with a correspondent of the *Messenger Polonais*, declared that Poland desired peace and that the Polish Government did not content itself with the mere wish, but was carrying out a real policy in the direction of peace. The convention concluded at Helsingfors relating to arbitration and the settling of all disputed questions by an arbitration court was, he said, no uncertain proof of the determination of Poland and the Baltic States to maintain peace. The convention would frustrate all conspiracies aiming at a disturbance of European peace.

The next Baltic Conference will be held in Reval, Esthonia.

THE JUGOSLAV ELECTIONS

ON FEBRUARY 8 Yugoslavia went to the polls to determine the composition of her new government. This long-expected parliamentary election was preceded by several months of turbulent events, in the course of which several governments came into power and went out again.

The last election in Yugoslavia was held in 1923. Its returns were such that no party in the Kupshtina (the Parliament) had the necessary majority to support a government. The largest party was that

of the Serbian Radicals, led by the veteran leader, Pashitch. But this party, together with the Independent Democrats, who supported it, controlled only 120 out of the 312 seats in the Kupshina. Nevertheless, this coalition was able to rule the country, because the Croatian Peasant party, led by Stephen Radich, and controlling 70 seats, refused to attend the Parliament.

Several months ago, however, the Croa- tians came into the Parliament and, by combining with the other parties opposed to the government of the Serbian Radicals, forced Pashitch to resign. An opposition- ary government, headed by Davidovich, the leaders of the Democratic Party, was then formed. This government was short- lived. The Parliament was prorogued and new elections ordered.

Results of the Last Elections

The following table shows the strength of the various parties in the Parliament, according to the official figures, compared with the previous Parliament elected in March, 1923:

Government	1923	1925
Serbian Radicals (Pashitch).....	107	141
Independent Democrats (Privit- chevich)	13	21
	120	162
Opposition		
Democrats (Davidovich).....	37	39
Croatian peasants (Radich).....	70	68
Slovene Catholics (Korosech)....	21	19
Bosnian Mohammedans (Spaho). 18	13	13
Macedonian Mohammedans.....	13	1
	159	140
Smaller parties.....	33	13
	312	315

The government coalition thus has at the present time a clear majority over all the other parties. The Serbian Radicals gained 34 seats, but it is interesting to note that their gains came not from the principal oppositionary parties, but through the disappearance of most of the smaller parties and groups.

The Croatian Party still controls 68 seats in the Parliament. This is a rather significant result, because shortly before

the elections Premier Pashitch began per- secutions against the party and particu- larly against its leader Radich.

Measures Against Radich

The Government measures against the Croatian Peasant Republican Party since its suppression and the arrest of its leader, Stephen Radich, have assumed very con- siderable dimensions. Both at Zagreb and other Croatian towns the homes of the leaders of the party were subjected to searches and many of these leaders ar- rested. In virtue of the government decree enabling the enactment for the defense of the realm to be put in force, the courts be- gan to declare the candidature of the Peasant Republican Party as invalid. Pro- ceedings, however, against the arrested members of the Radich Party were sus- pended. Only Radich himself, as he re- fused to plead, was left in jail. There was found in Radich's house a quantity of material proving that he had made certain plans against the State. Among other things, there was an extensive memoran- dum dealing with the entry of the Croatian Peasant Party into the III International, and with the relations of Yugoslavia to the neighboring States. The memoran- dum also dealt with an organized taking over of the power in the State and will form one of the gravest of the proofs against the Radich Party.

The position of the 68 Croatian deputies in the new Parliament is still uncertain. It is quite possible that the government's meager majority of 9 votes may be wiped out and Pashitch would be obliged again to face the possibility of a formidable op- position.

Economic Condition of the Country

In the meantime the economic condi- tion of the country has been arousing apprehensions in some circles. Shortly before the elections, the Minister of Fi- nance, Stoyadinovich, made an important statement on the financial position and policies of the country. He proclaimed his adhesion to a policy of deflation in order to stabilize the dinar, which was an- nually recovering its value to an extent justifying belief in the possible return to a gold standard much earlier than could have been anticipated. The stabilization

of the dinar depended, however, on the country's international liabilities, more especially on an "unknown item"—namely, the debts to the Allied Powers. He laid stress on the fact that France was demanding a more favorable settlement of her indebtedness to America than Great Britain had obtained, and the phrase "I think a final settlement of this question must take into account the economic and financial situation of each debtor nation as well as the sacrifices it incurred in the Great War" suggests the inference that the government is disposed to imitate the French policy and plead for at least a reduction of Allied claims on account of financial assistance during the war.

In the second part of the speech the Minister said his journey to France was not connected with a new loan; indeed, the calls on French capital for reconstruction made it impossible to obtain a loan in Paris at an early date. He had, however, established contact in Paris with new as well as old financial friends. The Blair Bank was preparing a new issue of a railway loan in the coming spring. It was very probable that some British or American house would associate itself with this bank, and the Minister would be glad to see a larger British participation in this loan. Foreign capital was absolutely necessary for the construction of ports and railways and to combat the financial difficulties under which the country was laboring.

The Government wished to begin the construction of the Adriatic broad-gauge railway as soon as possible. The railway would be built to link both Spalato and Cattaro with Belgrade; also it was necessary to construct new branch lines, and thus complete the present railway system in Macedonia, Bosnia, the Vojvodina, and elsewhere.

The construction of a through railway from the Adriatic to Belgrade would undoubtedly help to tranquillize Dalmatia, which under the Austro-Hungarian régime had been systematically debarred from direct communication with the rich Danube and Save basin by Magyar jealousy of the Yugoslavs. It would also remove some of the economic grievances—inevitable, doubtless, but still grievances—of Bosnia and Montenegro.

EXPULSION OF THE CONSTANTINOPLE PATRIARCH

ON January 30 the Turkish authorities at Constantinople, acting under orders received from Angora, expelled from that city the Œcumenical Patriarch, Mgr. Constantine VI. The Patriarch was aroused early in the morning by the local police, taken to the passport department, and then forcibly deported from the city. This action on the part of Turkey has aroused a storm of protest in Greece, whither the Patriarch had proceeded after leaving Constantinople.

Reasons Given by Turkey

The expulsion of the Patriarch did not come unexpectedly, for the day before he was elected to that high post, on December 17, 1924, Mgr. Constantine Araboglou, who was then Metropolitan of Derkos, was warned by the Constantinople chief of police that he was an "exchangeable subject" under Turkey's Convention with Greece for the Exchange of Populations. The newly elected Patriarch refused to accept this view, and the question went to the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations for its ruling.

The commission decided that in his personal capacity, because of the place of his birth, the Patriarch was subject to exchange. It ruled, however, that it was outside its competence to pass on the question as to whether or not he was so subject as Metropolitan.

The Turkish Government has taken the view that his position in the church does not render the new Patriarch immune from the exchange arrangements. It has issued the following explanation of the incident through the Turkish embassy in London:

In view of the fact that the Patriarch, as an individual, is not exempt from the operations of the Convention for the Exchange of Populations, the subcommittee appointed by the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations decided in its report to the Government of the Vilayet of Constantinople that Mgr. Constantine Araboglou was an exchangeable Greek subject. Out of consideration for Mgr. Constantine Araboglou's official position as Œcumenical Patriarch, the Government of Angora referred his case to the Mixed Commission for further consideration.

The Mixed Commission, which, like the sub-committee, consists of an equal number of Turkish and Greek members, under the presidency of neutral members, confirmed the decision that the Patriarch was exchangeable.

The decision of the Mixed Commission, signed by the four Turkish members and the three neutral members, but refused by the three Greek members, was worded as follows:

"Mgr. Constantine Araboglou is considered subject to be exchanged, in view of his birth certificate and the date of his arrival at Constantinople. The Commission of Exchange does, however, consider that the examination of his qualification as Metropolitan is outside the competence of the commission."

The second paragraph of this resolution was inserted owing to the fact that the convention does not recognize any preferential treatment in regard to rank or quality concerning exchangeable persons. It is therefore quite unjust to qualify the exchange of Mgr. Constantine VI as a desire on the part of the Turkish Government to abolish the Patriarchate.

Before Mgr. Constantine's nomination in 1924, the Patriarchate was aware that the Patriarch was an exchangeable person. The Patriarchate is a Turkish institution, and its constitution carries the obligation of nominating a Turkish citizen as patriarch. There are still between 150,000 and 200,000 Greeks remaining in Constantinople and not exchangeable. It is presumed that these Greeks will elect a new Patriarch, who will be a Turkish citizen.

Position Taken by Greece

The Greek Government has taken the view that the action of Turkey constitutes a breach of the latter's treaty obligations toward Greece and is a violation of the Treaty of Lausanne. It has dispatched a note to the Turkish Government, demanding that the whole question be referred to the Court at The Hague.

The position taken by the Greek Government is explained in the following statement issued by Mr. A. A. Pallis, a former Greek member of the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations:

The criterion laid down in the Lausanne Convention for the exchange of populations as determining whether an individual is exchangeable is not his "birthplace," but his

"establishment." In the case of Greeks established in any other part of Turkey except Constantinople, they are exchangeable, whatever the date of their establishment. The Greeks of Constantinople, on the other hand, are exchangeable only if their establishment in that city dates from after October 30, 1918, date of the Armistice of Mudros. The Greek contention in the present case is that the Patriarch Constantine is not exchangeable, because his establishment at Constantinople dates from the year 1902, when he was appointed a Metropolitan, thus having his permanent headquarters in that city, all metropolitans being members of the Monastery of the Phanar at Constantinople. The Turks presumably affect to regard his temporary residence at Cyzicus at the date of the armistice as Metropolitan of that See as equivalent to establishment at Cyzicus.

The Patriarch has established his headquarters in Salonika. He contemplates the convocation of an Ecumenical Congress and an appeal to the powers who are cosignatories of the Treaty of Lausanne.

SPAIN IN MOROCCO

THE last week of January witnessed an important change in the military situation existing in the Spanish zone in Morocco. The native chieftain Raisuli, who has been fighting on the side of Spain against the insurgent forces led by Abdel Krim, was surrounded by the latter's troops in his last stronghold, Tazrut, and surrendered. Not only did Raisuli surrender to the native chief against whom he had turned some time ago, but he has pledged himself to fight once more on Abdel Krim's side.

The struggle between the Spanish protectorate in Morocco and the Rifian natives has been going on for years. The present phase has been one of almost continuous fighting for nearly two years. The last official attempt at a peaceful settlement was made in the summer of 1923, when letters were exchanged between Señor Saavedra, Secretary-General of the Spanish Protectorate, and Abdel Krim, the Rifian leader. These letters present clearly the issues involved in the struggle and their translation is therefore given below.

Position Taken by Spain

Under the date of July 15, 1923, Señor Saavedra sent the following letter to Abdel Krim, proposing negotiations and setting for the conditions under which Spain would be willing to negotiate:

It is necessary to establish the points on which we shall negotiate. They must be as follows: There will be no negotiation or discussion that takes into consideration the independence of the Rifian State or any mention of the treaty of 1912.

(NOTE.—The Franco-Spanish convention of 1912 defined the boundaries of the French Protectorate and the Spanish sphere of influence in Morocco and the régime to be introduced in the latter.)

It is possible to grant a kind of independence, economical and administrative, to the Rifian tribes, and also to confirm the position and rank which Si Mohammed ben Abdel Krim el-Khtabe [Abdel Krim] enjoys at present; also that of the governors of the tribes who rule under the supervision of the Maghzen [Sultan's Government] and under the protection of the Spanish Government.

The negotiations shall be confined specially to the means of developing commerce, industry, and agriculture amongst the Rifian tribes and to the granting to them of material and moral assistance by the Maghzen and the protecting power.

If you agree to these conditions, I beg you to send me a document signed by your chief (Abel Krim) and the final negotiations will take place.

Finally, I beg you to consider me as being very desirous of bringing about a lasting peace and of removing all your doubts that we are trying to deceive you. We desire to act with you in good faith and to prevent bloodshed. It is our hope and wish that the Rif should progress in wealth and in enlightenment, not in the interests of Spain alone, but also in those of the Rifians themselves.

Above all, I must inform you, by orders of the Spanish Government, that your reply to our terms must be in our hands *within forty-eight hours* from the time that you receive this letter. I shall regret if you turn a deaf ear to propositions that are all to your benefit and if you refuse what is to your advantage, taking instead a road which will bring calamity upon you. If you continue in error, Spain will adopt every means to put down

this rebellion in a way that is less her choice than her duty to the civilized Powers that entrusted her with this mission. If you are sincere in your expressed desire for peace, choose without hesitating the road that leads to rectitude and progress.

When you have duly considered these words, and when all suspicion is removed from your minds, send your reply, and may peace be upon all.

Rifian Demand for Independence

In reply to this communication, Abdel Krim dispatched to Señor Saavedra the following letter under the date of July 24:

Your letter resembles a final ultimatum, and as such its contents have caused us much surprise.

Being, as I am, the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Rifian Government [Republic], I feel bound to inform you that our terms are as follows:

That the Rifian Government, established upon modern ideas and on the principles of civilization, considers itself independent politically and economically—privileged to enjoy our freedom as we have enjoyed it for centuries and to live as other people live. We consider that we have the right to enjoy the possession of our territory in preference to any other nation, and we consider that the Spanish Colonial Party have transgressed and violated our rights, and that they have no justification for their pretense of a right to make a protectorate of our Rifian State. We have never recognized this Protectorate, and we never shall recognize it. We refuse it once and for all. We desire to be our own rulers and to maintain and preserve our legal and indisputable rights.

We shall defend our independence by every means in our power, and we protest to the Spanish nation and its intelligent people, who, we believe, do not dispute the legality of our demands.

We state—before the Spanish Colonial Party sheds the blood of more of the children of Spain in order to promote their private ambitions and their imaginary pretensions—that if only they will take count with their consciences they will realize that they are greatly at fault, and that they have caused their country great losses through their colonial ambitions, [a policy] that is contrary to Spanish interests. Let them remedy

their error before it becomes still more entangled. We protest against the wicked actions of the Colonial Party. We protest to the civilized world and to humanity. We are in no way responsible for the blood that has been shed nor for the money that has been wasted.

We are surprised that you ignore the interests of Spain herself in not making peace with the Rif by recognizing its independence, and thus keeping up neighborly relations and strengthening the bonds of union with our Rifian people, instead of infringing our rights, of humiliating our people, and ignoring all the humane and legal doctrines of universal law such as are contained in the Treaty of Versailles, which was drawn up after the Great War.

This war taught mankind the penalty of ill-doing, of violation and of pride, and by it the world has learned also that no man is to be despised, and that it is a natural duty to leave every people to manage its own affairs. Power and force fail before right. The Treaty [of Versailles] was drawn up by the chief men of great nations who had taken part in the war and experienced its terrible consequences. In the end they could not fail to recognize the truth, and they gave to all nations, even the smallest, the rights of self-government. Yet politicians have said that treaties are only ink upon paper and that power rests with the sword. But truth is truth; otherwise the world would remain always in trouble and in perplexity. Peace will not come till every nation is at liberty to defend its rights. It would be no disgrace to Spain if she were to live in peace with the Rifian after recognizing our government and its independence, and thus increasing the common interests of the two countries. On the contrary, it would be a noble action and an honor to her. It would form a magnificent record in her history, and we Rifian people are prepared to welcome a change [of policy] in the Spanish Colonial Party, for their present attitude is unjust. We sincerely hope that the misunderstanding will be removed. The cause of it is due to the wrong methods that they adopt, to their violence and to their failure to look ahead or to appreciate the consequences that must ensue.

The Rifian Government will be truly sorry if the Colonial Party persists in its trans-

gression and in its tyranny. Imagine yourselves to be the party that is being invaded, your homes in the hands of foreigners intent upon the possession of your property. Would you submit to the invaders because they merely claimed certain rights and asserted their pretensions? I think that you, and even your womenkind, would defend yourselves and refuse to accept the humiliation of submission. Your history in this respect testifies for you that this is so. Know that the Rif and all its people are ready to die and, believe me, they will die in the cause of truth. They will defend their honor to the last, and nothing will shake their determination unless the Spanish Colonial Party will abandon its wicked motives—otherwise the Rifians will die to a man.

I must declare once and for all that the Rif will not change its attitude, nor give up the principles upon which we act—that is to say, we will not reopen negotiations for peace except upon the condition of the recognition by Spain of the independence of the Rif.

Danger Presented by Raisuli's Defeat

The position of the two sides has remained unchanged since this exchange of communications. Abdel Krim always refers to his letter of July 24, 1923, as a definite statement of terms, and various indirect attempts to find a basis for negotiations made since then have not proved successful.

Another attempt may be made in the near future to reach a solution, though Spain's position has definitely changed for the worse with the defeat and defection of Raisuli. The line now held by Primo de Rivera is not strongly organized, and once the native forces unite for joint action against it, certain portions of it may find themselves in real danger.

This turn of military events in Morocco may also have serious consequences within Spain. In some military circles there has been strong opposition to co-operation with Raisuli and his faction in the Rif. The position of these circles will now be considerably strengthened; and this will be another attack to meet on the part of the directory, which is already under considerable fire because of its unconstitutional delays in the convocation of the parliament.

INDIA IN 1924

ON January 20, in opening the session of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, summarized the significant developments in the life of India during the year 1924. He dwelt particularly on the economic problems confronting the country and the subversive movements which have been gaining headway in some portions of the vast territory.

General Economic Improvement

The Viceroy gave the following picture of the salient economic features of the situation:

It is satisfactory also to record a marked improvement in economic conditions and trade prospects in the first six months of the present financial year. Indian imports and exports in sea-borne trade reached a total of 292 crores of rupees (£196,666,472), an advance of 18 crores (£11,888,888) on the corresponding period last year and of 39 crores (£25,999,974) on the figures for the same period in 1922. There are likewise clear signs of returning prosperity in internal trade, and a marked increase in the gross railway receipts places beyond doubt the general revival and growth of internal trade activity.

Despite damage in some localities, owing to floods in the last monsoon, agricultural prospects generally are good. The cotton crop is above the average and the outlook for wheat and other spring crops is at present eminently satisfactory.

During the past year my government have placed before you proposals based on two of the reports of the tariff board. The most important of these resulted in the passing of the Steel Industry (Protection) Act, which imposed heavy protective duties on a wide range of steel products, covering most of those in ordinary consumption. The rates embodied in that act were the result of careful investigation by the tariff board, but since they were brought into force the steel industry has represented that further protection is required, largely owing to the rapid and marked fall in the prices of continental steel. This question was referred to the tariff board for inquiry, and during the session a resolution based on their report will be brought forward for consideration by the

legislature. The fall in prices of continental steel has been so heavy that an attempt to deal with the position by means of increased import duties would have resulted in practically doubling the existing duties, with the consequence that from 50 to 70 per cent of the landed cost of imported steel would have been represented by the duties charged.

The tariff board is now engaged in investigating applications for protection from certain other industries—notably cement and paper. The principle has been maintained that it is right and proper that any industry which appeals to the State for assistance must prove its case in public before an impartial board.

Currency and Exchange

Lord Reading next explained the policy of the government on currency and exchange. Though internal prices in India have, on the whole, remained steady, the sterling value of the rupee has risen considerably and there has been an even more marked rise in its gold value, owing to a simultaneous improvement in the gold value of sterling. There had not been a repetition of the exceptional stringency in the money market which characterized this period a year ago, and he was hopeful that the assistance given by the government by the provision of additional currency would enable all legitimate demands to be met without undue strain during the remainder of the season. Lord Reading continued:

My government proposes, in the first place, to amend the Indian Paper Currency Act so as to increase the permissible investment of securities in the paper currency reserve from the present limit of 85 crores of rupees (£55,555,600) to 100 crores (£66,666,600). The object of this proposal is to give the government increased powers to insure the supply of currency upon an adequate scale to meet the requirements of trade and in particular to prevent an undue monetary stringency in the busy season. We began the present busy season with a margin of 13½ crores of permissible investment and we have up to date increased the currency by six crores, British securities to the amount of £6,000,000 having been placed in reserve in England. There is still, therefore, a margin of 7½ crores, but it is considered desirable

to ask the legislature for increased powers to meet possible contingencies. These provisions for increased discretion to meet the demands for currency are a healthy development and offer no indications of a morbid tendency. The need is an outcome of the improvement in trade, which is now definitely recovering from post-war depressions, and it is natural that increased trade should require increased currency facilities.

It should also be noted that this increase of currency represents an addition made by the government quite independent of the amount which the Imperial Bank is entitled to ask as a loan from the paper currency reserve against the security of internal trade bills.

The Viceroy announced that the government intended to appoint an authoritative committee to consider the rupee exchange question as soon as world economic factors appear sufficiently stable to justify the formulation of a new policy, and said that if the present movement toward more stable conditions continued, the appointment of such a committee should be possible not later than 12 months hence. The government had also decided to appoint a small committee to consider the feasibility of holding an inquiry into the economic conditions of the Indian people, the material available, and the method of procedure. Meanwhile the Taxation Committee have begun their labors.

Measures Taken Against Terrorism

Lord Reading said that the government might find it necessary to introduce a measure defining the powers of the high court in relation to the tribunals and proceedings under the special Bengal criminal legislation. The Governor of Bengal's action in exercising his powers under the Government of India Act and signing the bill had his full approval and he would support him to the extent of his powers in meeting a serious emergency. As the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act was being reserved for the consideration of the King in council, he would not discuss its detailed provisions or the bill which may be introduced should the King approve in council the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act. But as this legislation has its origin in the ordinance which he had promulgated,

he referred to certain aspects affecting the issue of the ordinance.

As a result of public discussion, it is now admitted on all sides, even by the most convinced opponents of the special measures and special legislation, that a terrorist movement exists in Bengal, and that the existence of widespread conspiracies for violent crimes has been established. The objects which these conspiracies have in view as the result of their crimes are also not disputed. It has been proved by sad experience that the ordinary law, even when reinforced by the use of Regulation III in cases to which it can be applied, is ineffective to stop the movement or even check its growth, and that the progress of the movement involves loss of life not only among officials, but among innocent citizens unconnected with the government or with the activities of any political party. Yet, in spite of this knowledge of these facts, there has been bitter criticism of the measures adopted to check and cure the evil. I find it hard to believe that those who indulge so freely in criticism have ever seriously attempted to think out the eventual implications of the movement or earnestly endeavored to consider the responsibilities of the government or of the Governor-General in the case. It is hardly conceivable that any thinking man can approve the spread of activities which seek to terrorize the population by breaking down established authority through a campaign of murder of officials and do not hesitate to destroy innocent victims who cross their path, or exact reprisals in the form of the lives of those who give evidence or information of contemplated outrages. It is obvious that those activities can only end—if unchecked—in the paralysis of government and law and order, and may place the lives and properties of helpless citizens at the mercy of a pitiless criminal organization.

It is essential to remember that we were not dealing with criminals who could be arrested and tried for crimes on evidence freely given by persons with nothing to fear from their action in giving testimony; we were not dealing with violent and open insurrection of the mob, which could be fought with its own weapons; we were, on the contrary, dealing with widespread secret societies with many ramifications, which had taken the greatest care to conceal their insidious organizations and nefarious plans and were prepared to exact swiftly and secretly terrible reprisals

upon members of their own society or members of the public giving information as to their actions.

Every effort was made to cope with danger by the ordinary law, reinforced by such special action as lay within our power. Regulation III was used. These measures, however, proved ineffective; and finally, after exhausting all weapons in their armoury, the government of Bengal made a request to my government. The members of the government—Europeans and Indians—after careful consideration of the evidence and with full knowledge of the history and character of the local situation, were unanimous in applying to me to issue an ordinance giving special powers to deal with this dangerous emergency.

The Secretary of State, Lord Olivier, and His Majesty's Government, as then constituted, agreed with the course suggested as the only possible method of dealing with the dangers facing peace in Bengal.

In my judgment, it was neither in the circumstances desirable that the legislature should be consulted nor, indeed, was it possible, if the means devised were to prove effective. The responsibility was of a nature that could not be shared with you. Consultation with the legislature would have meant publicity. If discussions in this legislature had taken place, the ordinance would have proved futile as a remedy for the disease.

Finally, the Viceroy expressed satisfaction at the agreement reached by the Hindus and Moslems of Kohat, and he trusted that the high tension between the two communities in different parts of India would be relieved.

A YEAR OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE WORLD

THE present year has begun with the economic structure of the world upon more solid foundations than at any time since the war, according to the annual survey of the Department of Commerce. All trade areas, with but few exceptions, and those of secondary importance, have recorded substantial progress during the past year. Generally trade has been brisker, production levels higher, financial and political conditions more stable, and a

higher degree of confidence has characterized business.

Europe Returning to Normal

Factors of distinct improvement characterized the general European situation during 1924. The coming year will be able to record the improvement which the adoption of the Dawes plan has brought about in the adjustment of post-war problems and will afford ample opportunity for showing the lasting effects of the improved business psychology of the continent. With a business-like approach to economic problems, trade and industry have picked up immediately, confidence has been restored, and government financial accounts based on economic grounds have returned surpluses in certain countries where before deficits had been faced in the past.

Great Britain

During 1924 Great Britain made encouraging progress toward the economic levels of 1913. Foreign trade for the first eleven months of 1924 expanded more than 11 per cent, an increase of over £200,000,000 over the corresponding period of 1923; the gain in imports was three and three-quarters times that of exports. This condition has been reflected in the volume of shipping traffic; inbound cargo tonnage showed an increase over last year, while outbound cargo tonnage declined.

Unemployment, which decreased slightly after the beginning of the year, is again back up to its former figure. The recovery of individual industries has been uneven, although for the most part the leading industries have earned a fair return on capital invested. Coal production showed a decided falling off from the high output of last year, due to the opening of the Ruhr. Iron and steel production was below the 1923 total. Exports of cotton and wool textiles indicated favorable progress in those industries. Shipbuilding is still depressed, although vessel construction and launchings have been larger than in 1923. Financial and industrial circles are approaching the New Year with greater optimism and a feeling of confidence.

Germany

Aside from a short-lived domestic boom at the beginning of the year and a slow re-

covery period during the last quarter, the year was one of financial stringency, general liquidation, and severe unemployment. Price levels were above world levels, restricting foreign trade to a considerable extent and reducing domestic consumption.

The agricultural situation was also severely affected by credit stringency. Efforts of the government to raise price levels of foodstuffs during the latter part of the year alleviated the situation somewhat. In spite of unfavorable weather, grain crops compared satisfactorily with previous years, except for the unusually good year of 1923. Potatoes, beet sugar, and sugar-cane crops showed increases, exceeding the yields of 1923. The situation of the Rhineland wine industry is, however, very serious, as a series of unsuccessful years have been experienced.

The foreign trade of Germany shows a huge import surplus, amounting to around 2,000 million gold marks.

The plan embodied in the report of the Dawes Committee has already had important reaction in Germany. The 800,000,000 gold-mark loan made it possible for Germany to be assured of sufficient gold to acquire the reserve necessary for a gold currency and to meet immediate reparation payments without the dislocation of the financial and fiscal equilibrium so recently recovered. Reunification of the Rhenish Westphalian basic industries with the manufacturing industries of unoccupied Germany was attained by the abolition of the Franco-Belgian customs line drawn between them. Restoration of control over customs and taxation, in the occupied territory, increased revenues considerably. The Dawes plan has immeasurably improved the present economic position of Germany.

France

General trade and economic conditions in France during the year 1924 have shown a considerable improvement, as compared with other post-war years. There has been a revival in all lines of industry, and production has increased in practically all branches with the exception of natural silk. For the first time in history, there has been shown a favorable balance in French trade, the value of exports exceed-

ing that of imports by over one billion francs.

The agricultural situation has not been quite so favorable as the industrial. Owing to crop failures, France was obliged to import considerable quantities of wheat as well as other grains. On the other hand, there has been a distinct improvement in the production of sugar. Textile plants have been working almost to full capacity during the year, with the exception of those which produce silk and flax products. The current industrial progress has the appearance of becoming stronger from year to year.

By a reduction in expenses and increased taxes, the 1924 deficit was considerably reduced and the government has consistently made strenuous endeavors to balance revenues and expenses. In July it was estimated that approximately 80 per cent of the work of reconstruction had been completed, and it was then anticipated that this work will be concluded by the end of next year.

To sum up, the industrial and commercial situation in the country is on the surface favorable and improving. Outwardly it is far better than during other post-war years, and in many cases shows to advantage when even compared with pre-war years. As in the past year, the principal difficulty in the French situation lies in the financial weakness of the country and in the huge debt, both internal and external.

Italy

Italian business is now enjoying a greater degree of genuine prosperity than at any time since the war and unemployment has steadily diminished.

The textile industries have developed a considerable degree of activity. Cotton mills have benefited by the lower cost of cotton and both domestic and foreign markets have improved. Woolen mills have been busy and have a satisfactory volume of orders on hand.

Domestic consumption of iron and steel has been increasing steadily. The engineering trades have attained considerable prosperity and manufacturers of railway material, who had complained of dullness for some time, have now been aided by receiving orders for cars from the State railways.

The amount of traffic in Italian ports and on the railways steadily increased as compared with 1923 and in many instances was greater than before the war. Deficits on the State railways have been reduced to a low level, partly as a result of better management and partly owing to increased traffic.

General agricultural conditions were moderately favorable and markets have been fairly good for Italian fruits. Cereal crops suffered considerably from dry weather during the summer of 1924 and the nut yield was likewise reduced. The lower wheat yield is already resulting in increased importation and a considerable rise in prices.

The fluctuation of the Italian lira in 1924 was much less than in previous years. The feeling of security and confidence gendered by the steadiness of exchange has had a stimulating effect on Italian foreign trade. Italian export trade has been considerably strengthened in the past year and new markets are continually being developed.

Belgium

During the year 1924 the situation in Belgium has changed only slightly from that of the preceding year. Industries have been carried on in most cases to full capacity and business conditions are, in the main, favorable. Export trade has shown an increase during the year, as given in the statistics of the Belgian-Luxemburg Union. Unemployment has decreased considerably during the year and strikes have been negligible, excepting in the earlier part of the year.

Belgian finances are in a much more favorable condition than they were during any of the post-war years, and the attempts to balance the budget have, in the main, met with considerable success. Taxation has been increased and large cuts have been made in government expenditures.

The agricultural situation of the country has been favorable, notwithstanding the fact that there have been large importations of foodstuffs, particularly in the earlier part of the year. Taken as a whole, conditions in Belgium are favorable and the country is forging ahead in its recovery from the effects of the war.

Spain

The business situation in Spain during 1924 has been steadily less promising. In the early months of the year business was dull, but not notably inactive. During the summer and autumn months, however a severe depression set in.

The most active industry in Spain during 1924 was iron and steel. During the greater portion of the year, manufacturing was almost at capacity and even in the later months there was very little slackening. The iron-ore situation in northern Spain has been less favorable. Until the closing months of the year, the Spanish coal-mining industry was fairly active and production for the year will probably show up well.

Transportation activity, especially on the principal railroad lines, increased during 1924 and the revenues of the roads were much more satisfactory than in 1923. Shipping activity also improved slightly. As a result of unfavorable weather conditions during the summer, the wheat crop was considerably reduced as compared with 1923, and other cereals also suffered. Weather conditions as affecting other crops were more favorable; yields of fruits and vegetables were satisfactory, and the export demand for oranges and grapes improved in the fall of 1924.

Financially, 1924 was a bad year. Stock exchanges showed little activity, especially during the summer, and bank clearings were reduced in the latter months of the year. The government, in spite of economies effected, has not been able to eliminate the deficit.

Switzerland

Switzerland at the end of 1924 was in a considerably better position than at the close of the previous year. No sudden improvement in Swiss industries occurred, but a gradual and steady development continued throughout the year, practically all industries sharing in a greater or less degree. Unemployment was steadily reduced during 1924, until it no longer constitutes a serious problem, and government subsidies are being withdrawn.

The industries which have occupied the most favorable situation during the past year are watch manufacturing and the

tourist trade. Exports of watches have steadily increased and activity in the industry is satisfactory. Textile exports have also improved in some degree. The number of tourists in Switzerland during the past summer greatly exceeded those of previous years, but was still somewhat lower than during 1913.

The hotel industry has naturally been favored by the influx of tourists and is now in a more satisfactory condition than at any time since the war.

Traffic on the Swiss railways has improved in 1924 and a considerable surplus of receipts over operating expenses was obtained. Postal, telegraph, and telephone receipts have likewise been better than in previous years.

The excess of government expenditures over receipts is gradually being reduced and the deficit for 1924 is likely to be lower. Subsidies to depressed industries have been cut down during 1924 and revenues have been higher than in previous years.

Netherlands

The general industrial depression noted at the opening of the year began to improve almost immediately. This improvement continued steadily up to the present time. Owing to credit stringency and other developments in the German situation, the ports of Rotterdam and Amsterdam during 1924 took over a considerable portion of the carrying trade which formerly had gone to German ports.

On the whole, the financial situation in the Netherlands is good. Efforts are now being made to present a nearly balanced budget and drastic cuts have been made in government expenditures. While there have been many protests regarding increased taxation, the government is going ahead with plans to raise more revenues during the coming year.

The agricultural situation of the Netherlands has been favorable throughout the year, and the same condition prevails in the industries, most of which have been working to full capacity. Unemployment has remained almost at the same level as in 1923, but there have been slight increases during the latter months.

Austria

When compared with the conditions which prevailed in Austria before the beginning of the reform instituted by the League of Nations, the year 1924 showed very gratifying improvement in certain phases of the Austrian economic situation.

Commissioner General Zimmerman, of the League of Nations, reports that there is reason for satisfaction with the condition of the Austrian 1925 budget. During the past year it became evident that Austria could not, in view of changes in the basis of estimation, keep within the deficit allowed in the agreement with the League of Nations. The problem of steadily increasing price levels has proven highly disturbing to government estimates of expenditures and has necessitated from time to time considerable rearrangement of budget figures. Receipts, on the other hand, have been well sustained, but it has been felt that certain taxes were onerous for Austrian industry and hampered Austrian competition. In November of this year steps were taken to lighten the more burdensome of these taxes for the benefit of Austrian industry.

In the early part of 1924 a crash in security prices brought a severe crisis upon Austrian private finance generally. During this panic two large Vienna banks went under and a large number of small "mushroom" institutions closed their doors. By the end of the summer the stock market had recovered its equilibrium and the crisis was passed.

Austrian trade has in the post-war period suffered severely from competition and from the nationalistic tendencies of neighboring States with regard to tariff policies, and the visible trade balance continues heavily adverse.

Generally speaking, it may be said that, with the aid of the international loan, Austria has made the expected progress with regard to government finance, but there has been hardly any material improvement in her position as an exporting country or in the industrial situation of the country.

Hungary

Considerable improvement is noted in the Hungarian situation during 1924.

There was a reform in government finance, currency stabilized, and a new national bank was created. Progress is being made with regard to the balancing of the budget.

Hungarian industry has been affected by the shortage of credit which prevailed in other Central European countries. Especially noticeable, however, during the past year has been the fact that a certain note of uncertainty on the part of consumers has led to considerable stagnation of business. After the Hungarian crown was stabilized, there followed a period of hesitancy on the part of buyers. At the same time, Hungarian agricultural sales abroad have been strong and the policy of the government of entering into negotiations looking to the facilitation of trade with other countries has injected a confidence in the situation. The agricultural industries, forming the major occupation of the Hungarian population, have, with the exception of milling, been on a satisfactory basis.

Poland

The zloty has remained practically at par and bank reserves have been well maintained, never having gone below 60 per cent of the outstanding note issue. The retirement of the old Polish mark is progressing satisfactorily. The transition from the mark to the zloty basis has been the cause of increased price levels, high wages, increased production costs, and extreme difficulty in the collection of taxes. Interest rates have ruled very high, in some instances as much as 18 per cent per month, and efforts on the part of the government to fix interest rates resulted only in further credit shortage. Foreign capital is showing a marked interest in Polish investments. Italian interests have extended large credits to the textile industry, and British credits to the sugar industries now total two and one-half million pounds sterling.

Strikes have been frequent and have greatly impeded progress. Bandit raids on the Russian border have caused considerable concern. Crop estimates for the year are distinctly disappointing, especially as to the bread grains.

Czechoslovakia

Stability was the predominant note in the Czechoslovak industrial situation dur-

ing 1924. The position of government finance showed a strengthening tendency, currency remained relatively stable, and the trade volume was well maintained all through the year.

During the last two years Czechoslovakia has negotiated a number of trade treaties and now has even more important agreements under way looking to the facilitation of trade with the countries in her immediate vicinity.

The volume of export trade was fairly well maintained throughout the year, but efforts are being put forth to increase these shipments. Industrial production continues to be normal, aside from the iron and steel industries, which have been adversely affected by revived German competition.

Sweden

Economic conditions during the year have not been as favorable as was anticipated at the time the gold standard was reintroduced. Lumber shipments did not come up to original estimates, industrial prosperity has only been fair, and the outcome of the harvest was under average yield. Industries generally are handicapped by high production costs, and the industries manufacturing for home consumption have been exposed to severe foreign competition. In spite of these circumstances, industrial activity has been relatively high, and as a result imports of raw and semi-finished materials have been very heavy.

In order to maintain the parity of the crown, large shipments of gold have been made to the United States and Germany, and gold purchases have been made in England. The metallic reserve of the Bank of Issue has declined about 32,000,000 crowns during the year and foreign exchange holdings have been appreciably diminished.

Unemployment has been curtailed to a considerable extent during the year and the cost of unemployment doles to the government has been reduced from 25,000,000 crowns during the first nine months of 1923 to 4,000,000 crowns during the 1924 period. Industries have been active, especially in the engineering, electrical, wood pulp and paper, and mining lines, while the lumber and iron and steel industries have labored under unfavorable conditions. Export shipments have been

higher than those of a year ago, but prices obtained have not been very profitable. Harvest yields were generally below normal and the larger imports of grains and flour, which have characterized the current year, will therefore continue.

Norway

Handicapped by the after-effects of the banking crisis in 1923 and the labor conflicts during the early part of 1924, Norway encountered numerous difficulties in effecting any permanent recovery. In consequence of these retarding influences, Norwegian currency depreciated throughout the first half of the year and foreign trade took an adverse trend during the first months of the year and registered a very unfavorable balance, which has only partially been counteracted by the subsequent heavy exports. Agricultural production was quite satisfactory.

As a result of record export shipments and partially on account of a \$25,000,000 foreign loan, the crown has of late made good gains and now stands at a higher level than a year ago.

The banking situation has shown a considerable improvement over a year ago. There was only one major bank suspension, while a few minor provincial banks were placed under public administration.

Industrial operations were greatly accelerated after the strikes were ended and output has been considerably increased. Prices have remained very good. Industries working for the home market have benefited from the protection afforded by the import duties. Greatest prosperity has obtained in the fish-canning industry. Fishing catches have on the whole been very favorable. The metals, mining and cement industries have also been very busy. Crops gave quite satisfactory yields, both as regards quantity and quality. The quantity yield, however, was slightly below average.

Denmark

Danish business has enjoyed considerable prosperity during 1924. Foreign trade has assumed record proportions throughout the year, particularly in the case of exports; prices on agricultural produce in foreign markets have increased, most industries have maintained a fair

degree of activity, and domestic business has been brisk, but the disturbances in the financial and banking fields have rendered the situation somewhat uncertain. The scarcity and dearness of money have also had an unfavorable effect upon developments.

A comprehensive scheme for currency stabilization has been advanced by the government and is now being considered by parliament.

The dairying and meat-packing industries have experienced a very favorable year. Production has exceeded any previous figures and the prices obtained in foreign markets have been unusually high. The share contributed by agricultural produce in the Danish export trade has increased during 1924, and, as a consequence, the value of exports has been augmented appreciably. The unfavorable balance of trade has been greatly reduced in comparison with a year ago, due to the record export shipments during the latter months of the year.

Danish imports have been exceptionally high; in order to take care of the greater domestic demand for agricultural and industrial raw materials. With the exception of the textile industry, which has suffered from foreign competition, there has been a decided recovery in industrial output.

Canada

Trade and economic conditions in Canada during 1924 followed the same trends as in the United States. Benefit from the upward swing in the United States is already being foreshadowed in Canada and trade is gradually improving. Foreign trade showed encouraging results; for the twelve months ended October 31, 1924, the total was \$1,895,000,000, or an increase of \$160,000,000 over 1923. Imports amounted to \$819,000,000, a decline of 10 per cent from last year.

Crops in 1924 showed a considerable falling off from last year's high returns. Wheat production was placed at 272,000,000 bushels, a decrease of 202,000,000 bushels from the harvest of 1923. The 1924 crop is, however, a little better than the average crop for the 1918-22 period and considerably better than the average for the ten years 1913-22. A compensat-

ing factor for the diminished returns this year is the advance in the price of wheat from about \$1 a bushel to around \$1.65 a bushel.

During the year the Canadian dollar returned to par on the New York market. Current bank loans are \$100,000,000, or 9 per cent, less than a year ago. Savings deposits in the chartered banks increased by slightly over \$1,000,000. Bank clearings for the ten months ended October 31 declined \$287,000,000, or 2 per cent, from the total for the corresponding period of 1923. Due largely to the abundance of money and the consequent forced entry of the banks into the investment field, all classes of securities have tended to advance in price during the year. As compared with 1923, the net debt of the Dominion was decreased by over \$10,000,000. For the first time since 1915, the Dominion Government borrowed money on long-term securities at a lower cost than 5 per cent. Several government loans were floated in Canada. Canadian borrowings in the New York market were over \$200,000,000.

Far East Forging Ahead

In spite of civil war, earthquake, threatened famine, floods, and drouths in different parts of the Far Eastern area during the year just ended, considerable progress was made, and on the whole it may be said that the year was better than its predecessor. According to a survey made by the Far Eastern Division of the Department of Commerce, our exports to the Far East, including India and Oceania, for the first ten months of the year exceeded the corresponding period of 1923 by \$128,000,000—an increase of almost 25 per cent. Our imports from this area, however, declined about \$110,000,000 during the 10-month period.

All the countries of the Far East, with the exception of China, Japan, Siam, and Indo-China, registered a decided improvement over 1923. The countries named, however, suffered from a variety of causes, ranging from the effects of the earthquake in Japan and the civil war in China to the loss of markets and exchange difficulties. India, Australia, and New Zealand, on the other hand, finished the year with a good

record and are looking forward to greater activities during the present year.

The Far Eastern region will benefit greatly from the anticipated recovery of Europe, since it is to this region that much of its raw materials are shipped.

Japan

The opening of the new year finds Japan with few of her reconstruction problems solved and with little or no improvement in general economic conditions.

Temporary reconstruction in the area affected by the disaster of September, 1923, has almost been completed, but the permanent rebuilding of the cities of Tokyo and Yokohama has not commenced. Some of the major industries have replaced their earthquake losses and have succeeded in restoring their equipment, while others have shown slight progress.

The unfavorable features which have characterized trade and industry during the last four years are still in evidence. Foreign trade has continued to show a heavy excess of imports, financial conditions have shown no improvement, and industry still faces the handicap of high prices for materials and labor, inadequate financial resources, and growing competition in her leading export markets. Against these adverse factors must be placed the satisfactory result of the raw silk export season and progress in the cotton textile and yarn industries, the leading manufactures of the country.

China

During 1924 China's political condition was more disturbing than it has been for several years. Serious floods in the productive regions of North China laid waste large areas and famine was threatened for a time. During the latter part of August, civil warfare broke out in the Shanghai district and rail transportation was so disorganized that trade with the interior was at a standstill for several months.

In spite of these handicaps, however, the Chinese maritime customs returns for the year indicate that trade exceeded that of 1923. Chinese firms are gradually taking over an increased share of the business which has been in the hands of old-established foreign companies for decades.

The general political situation is still uncertain and no marked improvement can be expected until a stable government is established and the present numerous restrictions on trade and industry are abolished.

Australia

The year 1924 has been very satisfactory for Australia. Crops were bountiful, prices received for primary products in the overseas markets have in some instances set new records, the cost of living showed a tendency to decline somewhat, and labor disputes have been less troublesome. Adverse factors have been the extreme acuteness of the money market and the difficulty of selling meat products in the London market in competition with countries where the cost of production is lower than in Australia.

Several important legislative measures were passed, all of which are designed to assist the Commonwealth in its pioneer struggles.

Crops, especially of wool and wheat, according to Australian estimates, promise record yields, and as the year closed prospects were particularly bright in trading circles.

India

Although many things remain to be adjusted in India, notably the difficulties attending the constant rise of the rupee on the international exchange and the plight of the industrial community, nevertheless a great deal has been accomplished during 1924 toward putting the country on a better basis for carrying on during the present year.

Notable features of the 1924 period in India have been the gradual decline in political disturbances, the liquidation of import stocks, which have been overshadowing business for the past few years, and the carrying out of a legislative program which means much to the future progress of the country.

Philippine Islands

Improvement in prices of leading export products and advancement in total foreign trade marked the year just closed. Practically all the agricultural crops

brought good harvests and prices of export products soared, in some cases, to levels far in excess of any experienced since the war boom. The encouraging outlook which prevailed at the close of the year is believed to be more general and fundamental than at any time since 1920. Whether the accumulated funds resulting from rising export markets is applied to the liquidation of old debts, still due the banks from the country's many unfortunate experiences of 1920 and 1921, or whether this surplus leads to increased purchases of imported goods, the effect will be decidedly beneficial on the business and commercial life of the islands. It is evident, therefore, that the year rounds out a period of decided advancement in Philippine business activities.

New Zealand

From all indications, New Zealand received record return from its crops and pastoral products during 1924. All the principal primary products of the Dominion, except fresh beef, brought remunerative prices during the year, and as the year closed a determined effort was being made to put beef into the London market at competitive prices. Excellent rains fell throughout the Dominion during the closing months of the year, making the outlook for farming and grazing excellent. Spring wool sales brought unprecedented prices.

Dutch East Indies

Business was on a decidedly better basis in 1924 than the pre-war normal and the year registered advancement in the steady, although still slow, return to real prosperity. On the whole, excellent export profits were earned on sugar, rubber, tea, coffee, tin, and other investment produce, and while much of this profit must go to Europe, enough remained in the colony to materially increase consumer demands. In most instances the liquidation of old stocks of imported lines was completed.

Straits Settlements

British Malayan business was dull in the first half of the year, due mainly to falling rubber prices, but considerable improvement was experienced the latter half, with unusual advances in prices of both rubber

and tin, the principal products of the country. Trade figures showed increases over 1923, and on the whole the year witnessed slow but steady improvement, particularly toward the close.

Indo-China and Siam

Indo-China and Siam, both rice-producing countries, experienced general depression throughout the year. In Indo-China some little improvement was evidenced as the year closed. A good rice crop is expected, however, making the outlook decidedly better for both countries during 1925.

Latin-American Prospects Bright

The gradual improvement in Latin-American economic conditions which began something over two years ago has made marked progress during 1924, says a review released today by the Latin-American Division of the Department of Commerce. Reviving European markets, the survey states, have afforded good prices for the products of Latin America, such as coffee, sugar, cereals, nitrate, and metals. There has been a resultant improvement in the purchasing power and in the exchange of most of the countries of this region. This is reflected in our trade with Latin America, to which our sales in 1924 were about 10½ per cent greater than in 1923, while our purchases of her products have increased little, if any, due to the high prices offered for them by Europe.

Argentina

The general outlook for the River Plata region is good. Recent European buying has been very firm, with prices high enough for some commodities, such as wool, to discourage American buyers. The result of this European demand has been highly favorable to the Argentine producer, who has prospered, even in the face of an output somewhat reduced by drought and locusts. Argentina exchange has improved tremendously against practically all currencies, and the country has regained its favorable trade balance, exports for the first 9 months of the year amounting to 796,000,000 and imports to 620,000,000 gold pesos. Credit conditions are good,

commercial failures are averaging somewhat lower, and the labor situation is more favorable than a year ago.

Brazil

The Brazilian economic situation during 1924 was marked by a considerable increase in the value of foreign trade and an improvement in the rate of exchange, despite temporary political disturbances and serious port congestions at Santos and to a lesser degree at Rio de Janeiro.

It is expected that a favorable trade balance for the year will be had, second only to that of 1919, the largest in the history of the country.

At the end of the year it was believed that, with high coffee prices, firmer exchange, prospects for large crops (excepting coffee) for the coming year, greater political stability, partial adjustment of transportation difficulties in the north, and the coming to the country of additional foreign capital, the outlook for 1925 was very encouraging. Barring further political disturbances, trade should show marked improvement during the next year.

Chile

Chilean business and industries were generally active during the year, but for various reasons this activity did not bring as widespread prosperity as had been anticipated. The nitrate industry was in excellent condition; exports of copper and iron fell off somewhat, while those of grains increased materially. Crops in the central belt suffered from drought and pests, but better conditions prevailed farther south, and an extremely good year has been reported for the sheep industry in Magallanes Territory.

The clearing up in the European situation, with the consequent strengthening of continental markets for Chilean basic materials, has had a very salutary effect and business generally is looking forward to a well-balanced and prosperous year.

Peru

The 1924 foreign trade of Peru was generally satisfactory, both exports and imports showing material increases over 1923, which was regarded as a good year. Notwithstanding that the cotton and sugar

crops suffered from drought, both of these commodities were exported in large quantities. There was a tendency to reduce copper production, but mineral exports were more diversified and generally in larger volume than for some years. The exchange value of the Peruvian pound remained fairly steady through the year.

Colombia

Trade in the coastal regions of Colombia continued dull until late in the year, when it began to react to the improvement in the coffee-growing regions of the interior, which began in July. The national currency has been practically at par throughout the year. The government has spent considerable sums for railroad construction and equipment, and in November the city of Bogota obtained a loan in the United States of \$6,000,000, which is now available for public improvements. It is estimated that our 1924 imports from Colombia will approximate \$60,000,000, as compared with \$45,706,000 in 1923, and that our sales to her will be about \$27,000,000, as against \$22,297,000 in 1923. High coffee prices are largely responsible for our increased imports.

On the whole, the year 1924 may be considered as one of progress and gain for Colombia, and the outlook for 1925 is quite favorable.

Venezuela

General conditions in Venezuela during 1924 were satisfactory, and the outlook for 1925 is promising. Many old accounts have been liquidated and collections are good. Business was dull in the cattle country of the Orinoco until late in the year, when it showed improvement. Merchandise movement for the whole country was low until the last half of the year, when the import market became more active than it had been for some time. Venezuelan coffee and cacao found good foreign markets. Oil production increased, and the large petroleum companies spent considerable sums in the development of their properties in Venezuela.

Government finances are good, the treasury balance being greater than the entire foreign debt of the country.

Bolivia

Exports from Bolivia were active during 1924, and the partial statistics at hand indicate that imports have been larger than in 1923. The approaching completion of the transcontinental railroad via La Paz and the increasing activity in connection with petroleum developments are exerting a strengthening influence.

Ecuador

Business in general showed substantial improvement in Ecuador during 1924, and, while conditions there are not yet entirely satisfactory, the outlook is much better than it was a year ago. The government has abandoned control of exchange, and the sucre has not depreciated as much under free exchange as had been feared. Imports increased during the year, exports were fairly active, and it is thought that the total foreign trade for 1924 was greater than that of 1923.

Uruguay and Paraguay

Uruguay and Paraguay shared in the general prosperity of the River Plata region during the year 1924. The improvement in Paraguay was marked. More intensive cultivation, resulting in increased crops, coupled with good prices, brought a welcome relief from the civil strife and economic depression of 1923. Purchasing power has increased considerably and industries are healthy. During 1924 much interest was shown in cotton production, which has increased many fold since the European war.

Wool has been Uruguay's saving resource in 1924. It enjoyed an unusual demand at high prices and tended to offset the depression in the meat industry, which was largely due to a shortage, throughout the year, of fat cattle suitable for slaughter. The government has again achieved a balanced budget and its financial situation is good. In all, the outlook for 1925 may be considered as satisfactory.

Cuba

The year 1924 has been, in the main, a favorable one for Cuba, notwithstanding unfavorable factors at various times which were temporarily detrimental to business.

The 1923-24 sugar crop reached a record total of approximately 4,060,000 tons, and was marketed at a price which yielded a fair return. The price fell off after the first few months, but during the last half of the year has a strengthening tendency. At the beginning of the 1924-25 season the outlook is encouraging for a crop equal to that of last year and for satisfactory prices.

The improved financial situation of the Republic is reflected in increased revenues and in the transactions of the Habana Clearing House, which amounted to \$908,032,691 for the first ten months of the year, exceeding those of the corresponding period of 1923 by \$194,550,558. Importations, as reflected by customs receipts, have considerably exceeded those of last year.

The 1924 trade of the United States with Cuba is expected to approximate \$600,000,000, as compared with \$568,881,000 in 1923.

Mexico

Although it has shown little, if any, increase in the actual volume of trade, the year 1924 closes with much greater optimism in Mexican trade circles than there was at its beginning. A prime reason for this was the peaceful induction of the new President late in November. The policy of strict economy inaugurated by the Mexican Government also appears to be having good effects and business is looking forward to 1925 with hope. During the year the de la Huerta revolution, which threatened to become serious, was promptly quelled. The northern mining camps have been active and enjoying a measure of prosperity. Serious labor disputes arose frequently, but none of great magnitude are pending as the year closes. The import trade of Mexico has been, naturally, limited generally to necessities. Nevertheless, it shows indications of a slight increase over that of 1923, and the present indications are that the 1925 figures will show a decided increase. Farm production has fallen below previous levels and various districts report greatly reduced acreage of corn, wheat, and cotton.

Central America

The year 1924 was a banner one for Central America, excepting Honduras. The 1923-24 coffee crops were, as a whole, large and disposed of at good prices. The crops now being gathered, though smaller than those of last year, are being sold at much higher prices, with the result that a marked degree of prosperity is evident. Decided improvement is noted in Costa Rica and Salvador, and to a lesser degree in Nicaragua. Guatemala, because of her serious financial situation, has been less favorably affected. However, a complete reorganization of her finances, announced in December, is expected to have a beneficial effect on the economic situation of the country. Honduras, because of continued internal strife, has not shared in the general prosperity of the region, but the close of the year finds her in a state of comparative calm. In general, the outlook in Central America is decidedly favorable.

Haiti

Due largely to a short coffee crop, Haitian business was slow during the first 9 months of 1924. However, a decidedly favorable outlook for the 1924-25 crop, together with enhanced coffee prices, have brought about a feeling of optimism and tended to stimulate business toward the end of the year. The logwood market continues in a state of depression, but the prospect for all crops is generally good.

Figures on foreign trade for the year ended September 30 show little change from those of 1923, the totals being \$28,872,450 and \$28,748,975 respectively. The distribution, however, was less satisfactory, the favorable trade balance of \$433,049 for 1923 being reversed to an unfavorable one of \$519,805 for 1924.

Dominican Republic

Business in the Dominican Republic suffered somewhat by the withdrawal of the American occupation forces in July and August, but on the whole it is felt that 1924 was a better business year than was 1923. The returns from crops have been approximately 20 per cent above those of

last year, and the increased purchasing power of a large part of the population has been reflected in increased imports. It has been felt in some quarters that imports were excessive, but the present encouraging outlook for the principal crops tends to dispel fears on this point.

Porto Rico

The year 1924 has not been as prosperous a one for Porto Rico as it was expected to be. However, the present outlook is encouraging, and a feeling of optimism is prevalent, due largely to favor-

able crop reports and an acceleration of retail trade.

Lesser West Indies

In most of the islands 1924 did not bring any improvement and in most cases the situation has been less favorable. The islands have been adversely affected by droughts, hurricanes, lower prices for important products, such as cacao and bananas, and, in the case of the British possessions, by the reduction on imperial preference on sugar.

OUR RELATIONS WITH LATIN-AMERICA

By CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Secretary of State

OUR historic friendship with our sister republics of this hemisphere was born of the sympathy and satisfaction with which we witnessed the struggle of their peoples for independence—a struggle which culminated in the battle on the heights of Ayacucho one hundred years ago. The patriots of our own Revolution and the statesmen who fashioned our institutions were the exemplars of the leaders in South America, and in the ardor, sacrifices, and persistence of Bolivar and San Martin, of Miranda and O'Higgins, of Marino, Sucre, and other heroes, we saw the devotion to the cause of liberty which had consecrated the name of Washington. This generous sentiment found eloquent expression in the impassioned speeches of Henry Clay, which were as familiar to the men in arms in the Southern continent as in our own land. Clay was fascinated by what he called "the glorious spectacle of eighteen millions of people struggling to burst their chains and be free." Impatient of a cautious diplomacy, he demanded early recognition of the new States. But, as John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, explained, "while Spain maintained a doubtful contest with arms to recover her dominion, it was regarded as a civil war." When

the time was ripe and independence had been achieved, the United States "frankly and unreservedly recognized the fact without making their acknowledgment the price of any favor to themselves," and in this measure took "the lead of the whole civilized world." Our interest in the progress and prosperity of these republics has never abated, and in recent years that interest has been crowned most happily by the efforts at systematic co-operation which we describe as Pan Americanism.

This Pan American co-operation rests upon the conviction that there are primary and mutual interests which are peculiar to the republics of this hemisphere, and that these can best be conserved by taking counsel together and by devising appropriate means of collaboration. This implies no antagonism to any other people or part of the world, no menace to the prosperity of others, but in itself constitutes a most important contribution to world peace. Some of our people may think of Pan American endeavor as of especial concern to the interests of the Latin American republics rather than to our own. But this is a serious mistake. We have the inescapable relations created by propinquity. We have the privileges and obligations of neighborhood; our ac-

tivities are destined to be more and more interlaced; resistless economic forces draw us together. What could be more shortsighted than to ignore our mutual interests?

The essential basis of Pan American co-operation is peace, and hence we lose no opportunity to promote the amicable settlement of all differences that could be the cause of strife. One of the happiest auguries of the future is that there are now no controversies between the nations in Latin America which cannot be peaceably adjusted or which in fact are not in course of peaceful adjustment. The difficulties which our sister republics face are caused by internal dissensions rather than by any external aggression. The old boundary disputes are being settled and no new differences of a serious character between States are arising.

At the last Pan American Conference at Santiago a treaty was signed by the representatives of sixteen American States providing that all controversies which may arise between two or more of the contracting powers and which it has been impossible to settle through diplomatic channels, or to submit to arbitration in accordance with existing treaties, shall be submitted for investigation and report to a commission of inquiry. The contracting parties undertook not to begin mobilization or to engage in any hostile acts or preparation for hostilities until the commission has rendered its report. Any one of the governments directly interested in the investigation of the facts giving rise to the controversy may apply for the convocation of the commission. The representatives of the American republics have thus sought in an entirely practicable way by a general agreement to assure the maintenance of peace in this hemisphere. And to this important treaty the Senate of the United States gave prompt approval. Apart from the specific application of this treaty, it is our high privilege, through our good offices, to aid in the amicable disposition of such disputes as may still exist in Latin America, and it is manifest that our contribution to this end must depend upon the confidence of other peoples in our sense of justice and integrity of purpose.

There are those among us who constantly assail our motives in relation to the countries of Latin America. What a pity it is that among our fellow-citizens are those who cannot be fair to their own government! And, of course, there are those in other countries who ever seek to create a feeling of animosity toward us. But I am happy to say that those efforts, however persistent, are of diminishing effect. The number is constantly increasing of those who know the truth. Our Latin American friends who live among us, who know our purposes and ideals, who intelligently observe our activities, taking into account both preponderant sentiment and governmental action, are our best friends.

What a hopeless twist there is in the minds of those who accuse us of cherishing an imperialistic policy! Anyone who really understands our people must realize that the last thing in the world we desire is to assume responsibility as to other peoples. We wish to have prosperous and independent neighbors, with whom we can deal in peace to our mutual advantage. We harbor no thought of aggression upon anyone. Instead of encouraging the exploitation of other peoples, we are constantly, by word and deed, diminishing the opportunities for it and throwing the weight of governmental influence against it.

Our historic policy, which we call the Monroe Doctrine, is itself designed to thwart measures of aggression. This doctrine, as I have elsewhere said, may be summarized in the statement that it is opposed (1) to any non-American action encroaching upon the political independence of American States under any guise, and (2) to the acquisition in any manner of the control of additional territory in this hemisphere by any non-American power. Deemed to be necessary for our own security, this policy has none the less safeguarded the independence of American States. But it involves no assertion of any overlordship on our part. It was not intended "to give cover to any aggression by any new world power at the expense of any other."

While this doctrine was set forth and must be maintained as the policy of the

United States, there is no reason whatever why every one of our sister republics should not have and formulate a similar principle as a part of its own foreign policy. We have always welcomed declarations by other American States to that effect. In this way, without sacrifice by any American State of its particular interests, the doctrine would have the support of all the American republics.

I have pointed out that the chief danger of strife between our neighbors to the south lies in internal dissensions and in the tendency to have revolutions instead of fair elections. The influence of our government is directed to the support of peaceful and constitutional methods. Recurrent revolutions are a poor sort of educational process; the greatest menace to progress and prosperity lies in political instability.

We have no desire to take advantage of this regrettable condition in neighboring countries, either to acquire territory or to assume political control. Nothing could demonstrate this attitude more completely than our recent withdrawal from Santo Domingo. Of course, we could have remained in control had we desired; but instead of doing so we have been solicitous to aid in the establishment of an independent government, so that we could withdraw; and, such a government having been established through our efforts, we have withdrawn. We had made our plans to withdraw our small contingent from Nicaragua at the end of this month, but the newly elected President has besought us, in the interest of peace and order, to permit it to remain until a constabulary or local police can be provided; and we have agreed to do so, but with the distinct understanding that this local police must be established, and that we shall withdraw entirely before next September. In Haiti we are only waiting to see a reasonable promise of internal peace and stability to effect our withdrawal; and meanwhile we are doing our utmost to promote the interest of the people of Haiti without selfish considerations. Nowhere else in Latin America have we any forces, and everywhere we are seeking to encourage consti-

tutional government, to use our friendly offices in the interest of peace, and to assure our neighbors of our respect for them as independent States.

The Pan American Union is based on the principle of the equality of the American States. In Pan American co-operation the idea of force and of economic pressure is eliminated. It is sought to obtain results through the processes of reason, by discussion and mutual accommodation. Cultural contacts are, therefore, of the greatest value and fortunately are increasing. They are multiplied by the ever-developing facilities of communication. They are aided by the formal methods of conference. We have not only the general Pan American Conferences, which meet at intervals of five years, but also special conferences, which deal with specific and often technical problems, and as a result of which each of the republics of this hemisphere is able to profit by the experiences of others. Thus I may refer to the Pan American Conference on Electrical Communication, held at Mexico City in May last; the Pan American Child Welfare Congress, held at Santiago in October last; the Pan American Sanitary Conference, which has recently closed its sessions at Havana; the Pan American Scientific Conference, which has just finished its labors at Lima; the Pan American Highway Conference, which is to be held in Buenos Aires in May next, and the Pan American Educational Conference, which is to be held at Santiago, Chile, next September. Through these conferences the positive results which have been achieved in one part of this hemisphere are made available to all, and through them a spirit of Pan American helpfulness in the solution of educational, social, and industrial problems is fostered.

Our economic relations are of constantly increasing importance. I am advised that, taking the South American countries and leaving out our enormous trade with Cuba and Mexico, and after making deductions corresponding to the change in the general level of prices, the increase in our exports to South America in 1923 over 1913 was 35 per cent and in our imports 41 per cent. The economic opportunities which

lie at our door are almost boundless, and the advantages are mutual; but of chief consequence is the realization that we are all coworkers, each struggling to attain the democratic ideal. Each has much to learn from the others, but all have a permanent interest in a friendly co-operation, the fundamental principle of which should be the international application of the

Golden Rule. If anywhere in the world men can dwell together in peace and secure the benefits of peace, it is in the western hemisphere; and here the United States has its greatest opportunity to exhibit a wise practicality without departure from the liberal ideals upon which its prestige and moral influence must ultimately depend.

"LAW OBSERVANCE AND ENFORCEMENT"

By JUDGE ELBERT H. GARY

Chairman United States Steel Corporation

THE prosperity and welfare of all the people depend upon the enactment, the administration, and the enforcement of law. It furnishes the fundamental distinction between human beings of today and the cave-dwellers of the past.

Declarations by any one in favor of the enforcement of laws duly enacted should not be necessary, but they are. At least it will be conceded by every one they are always appropriate.

The effect of the late stupendous, cruel, and destructive wars upon the minds of large numbers of the inhabitants of this nation and others has been demoralizing, degrading, and dangerous. Witness the daily reports of crime in various localities, cities, villages, and communities as published. Crime is rampant. Murders, robberies, burglaries, assaults, criminal defalcations, unlawful conversions, and other crimes and misdemeanors are numerous.

When the thunderbolt of war struck in the summer of 1914, the world stood aghast. A similar feeling of consternation now envelops all right-minded persons because of the effects of war; they reach beyond the list of violent attack and even outside the limits of offenses involving moral turpitude.

It is not surprising that the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, so called, has been formed to collectively sound a public warning and to search for defensive and remedial measures. The movement should enlist the sympathy and support of every intelligent person. Indeed, all of us should search our hearts in order to

ascertain if we are in any respect guilty of offense or of indifference concerning this vital feature of our society.

Only with the existence and enforcement of sound and reasonable laws is civilization assured, or the protection of person or property guaranteed. To the extent that the application of law is neglected or inefficient, in the same proportion the tendency is toward disorder, degeneration, and destruction; and the further this proceeds, the greater the momentum.

One of the reasons, possibly the principal reason, why crime is so prevalent at the present time is found in the fact that large numbers of well-intentioned persons seek to discriminate between different laws when considering their observance or enforcement. This thought should not, it cannot be, brushed to one side. It is vital. It should be considered by every living soul. It is natural for the average man, perhaps the majority, to feel that all laws should be applied to every person except himself. Let us think of this assertion and ascertain, if we can, whether or not it involves us. We properly may be specific as to subjects, if not as to persons.

The man who is in the habit of using alcoholic stimulants is naturally disposed to believe the prohibition laws are too stringent and should be modified if not repealed, notwithstanding the present enactments were regularly adopted and in spite of the fiercest opposition by a minority.

The one who buys in foreign countries

what is desired for use here asserts the tariff laws are wrong.

Those who are compelled to pay income or inheritance taxes or other assessments advocate decreases in the rates. And, by way of parenthesis, I must admit this is my belief; but I would pay in full while the law is in existence.

The labor unions insist the laws in force should not be obeyed or administered by the courts in any case affecting the unions. Some defy even the Constitution itself.

Some capitalists think the Sherman law against monopoly and restraint of trade is wrong, and that combinations should be permitted in the interest of economic progress and prosperity.

The man of sporting proclivities urges that every regulation which inhibits Sunday performances, or betting, or child service in the theaters, interferes with personal freedom and should be abrogated.

The same disposition relates to the use of narcotics, and to the importation or immigration of foreigners. These illustrations might be multiplied.

The wrong is not principally found in the belief of individuals as to what the laws should or should not provide. It is in the fact that the opinion is often attempted to be carried into practice by the secret violation or evasion of the law and the resulting effect upon the general situation.

If one man shall secure an exemption of punishment or prosecution for the violation of the law which affects him, then another will insist he is entitled to the same privilege for himself as to another law, in which he is especially interested. And if the demands should be successful, then, if the idea is carried to its logical sequence, in the course of time all the laws would in effect be disregarded and the whole population would be relegated to the conditions which existed in olden times, when the stronger man forcibly took whatever he desired from other weaker men, whether it was property or even wife and child.

Without the rules of law and their enforcement, mere might would be substituted for absolute right, and man would be descended to a condition worse than wild animals.

Unless laws are indiscriminate in their

application, the tendency is toward the position of the lowest brute.

In this country at this time are many respectable and respected persons who are approving or consenting to or evading or wantonly violating some of the laws of the land. Possibly some of us should be included.

If this be true, what is the effect? What is our responsibility? What is our offense?

If we, directly or indirectly, are guilty of violating any of the punitive laws, why may not our neighbor violate another, and so on until the influence reaches down to a Loeb, or a Lowenthal, or a Hight? Of course, we shudder at the thought. We believe many offenses committed are less in moral turpitude than others, and that the punishment for their violation should not be so severe; but the laws *per se* provide for grades of crime and corresponding degrees of punishment; and it is for the courts to determine the degree. This belief has nothing to do with the question of recognizing and observing all laws while they remain unrepealed. The principle is the same. The influence and general effect are similar. The wrong may be just as great, just as wicked concerning the lesser offense, depending upon the intelligence of the perpetrator.

We are all creatures of mercy. We should be kind, even Christian, in considering the offenses or alleged offenses of others. But in taking a position in favor of the enforcement of all laws we should be firm, unyielding, and uncompromising.

If any law, in our opinion, is not wise, or just, or desirable, we properly may devote our time and attention in trying to bring about a change in a regular way.

In the great debate between Lincoln and Douglas concerning the subject of slavery and the decision of Taney in the Dred Scott case, the former said in substance that he would not defy or ignore or disregard either while they were unchanged, but he would use every ounce of strength to secure in a proper way the annulment of both, because he believed they were morally and fundamentally wrong; and the people of the United States approved his decision. Here was an expression of the true spirit.

We should openly and fearlessly discuss

the merits of any law or all laws when the occasion demands. But no man has the right to violate or evade any law while it is in force, unless his honest, deliberate conscience compels him to do so on what he believes to be reasonable and moral grounds; and then he must take his chances on the final decision of the regularly constituted authorities. If it turns out he was wrong in his opinion, he must subject himself to the penalty provided for violation.

In comparison, the nations that conform to their duly enacted laws will prosper accordingly. Those who ignore or defy them will correspondingly shrink in worthy achievement.

The Creator of all things has bestowed upon the United States advantages equal, if not superior, all in all, to any other nation. In climate, in productivity, in natural resources, in everything essential to life and health and human happiness,

this nation compares favorably with all others.

Opportunities for progress and general prosperity in this country were never before so pronounced as they are at present. Socially, politically, and economically, they are the best of all places in the world.

But the present disregard of law, or indifference to it, or failure to enforce it, constitutes a blot upon our escutcheon.

President Coolidge publicly said during the years 1919 and 1920:

Where the law goes, there civilization goes and stays. When the law fails, barbarism flourishes. Whoever scouts the law, whoever brings it into disrespect, whoever connives at its evasion, is an enemy to civilization.

The observance of the law is the greatest solvent of public ills. Men speak of natural rights, but I challenge any one to show where in nature any rights ever existed or were recognized until there was established for their declaration and protection a duly promulgated body of corresponding laws.

EQUALIZING JUSTICE

Fabre-Luce's Sensational Book*

By DR. HEINRICH KANNER, Vienna

WHEN reading the new literature of the Western States of Europe on the question of the guilt for the World War, we are often reminded of the saying about good people who are bad musicians. There are people who, like Cato, only approve of causes that are lost. There are people who fight against their own government, perhaps rightfully, and who in their fight seek to deprive their government of the "glory" of victory, or at least to reduce it as much as they can. There are absolute pacifists who hate even defensive wars. All these people are unable to endure the thought that the Central Powers are guilty for the outbreak of the war; they seek by old tricks of interpretation to reduce the guilt, to let all the belligerents share equally in the guilt, or to hold either all the Entente Powers, or sometimes a single one of

them—preferably czarist Russia—responsible for the war.

Certain circumstances assist all these people in their efforts. The most convincing proofs of the war guilt of the Central Powers are found in the collections of their own official documents, the extent of which and the fact that these papers are in the German language make it hard for non-Germans to understand them, while making it easy for well-meaning people to fall into error.

The German innocence propaganda, working with the most powerful means, increases artificially and systematically the already existing confusion. The result is that a whole literature of misinformation on the war-guilt question has been published in France, Britain, and the United States, which is the more injurious the less the erring authors are aware of the sources of their errors.

What we have said applies, to an extra-

* "La Victoire," by Alfred Fabre-Luce. Paris, 1924.

ordinary extent, to the book written by a Frenchman, Alfred Fabre-Luce, because the prominent social position of the author strengthens the effect of what he says. A 25-year-old member of the highest financial circles of France, the son of one of the directors of the *Crédit Lyonnais*, and grandson of one of its founders, launches, in the form of a learned, historic, political treatise, a virulent attack on the most successful political representative of the social class to which he belongs, Monsieur Poincaré.

That is a Parisian literary sensation. The young man has not tried to accomplish his task as easily as possible. No; with the greatest diligence he has made use of the immense material relating to war guilt, which is found in the French, English, and German languages, in his book, "The Victory," the dryness and the lack of clarity of which testify to the strenuous efforts of the author.

He has rightly chosen the origin of the World War as the starting point of his study.

He does not seek it, as most of the other war authors, particularly those of the Western European States do, in the Franco-German or Anglo-German friction concerning navy policies, Morocco, etc., but principally in the policy relating to nationalities and that relating to the Balkans of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

In that view M. Fabre-Luce agrees with mine, as I expressed it in my book, "Imperial Catastrophic Policy," in which I showed that a World War could only be the outcome of a Balkan conflict, because Austria, as long ago as 1911, by a stipulation of Count Aehrenthal's, refused to pledge military assistance to Germany in case of a north European war arising from a French or an English complication. The pledge had not only been refused by Aehrenthal in unmistakable terms, but the Austro-German Alliance had been made a one-sided affair in favor of Austria in case of a Balkan conflict.

The French author does not content himself with the adoption of my view in this matter (page 186); he goes much further. In order to divide the responsibility for the war, in a supposedly just manner, among all belligerents, he tries to construct a parallelism by maintaining

that, under Poincaré and by his fault, the Franco-Russian Alliance also became a one-sided affair in favor of Russia in case of a Balkan conflict (page 179).

An impartial examination of the interview, in August, 1912, between Sasonoff and Poincaré, bearing on this matter, will show no such one-sidedness. On the contrary, Sasonoff pledged, clearly and distinctly, the military assistance of Russia to France in any war to defend her existence as a nation; and a war with Germany would surely be such a war, because in it the existence of France as a Great Power would be at stake; and the maintenance of France as a Great Power was of quite as great interest to Russia as the preservation of Austria-Hungary as a Great Power was to Germany.

His hatred of Poincaré drives our French author even beyond this false parallelism. While he is quite willing to consider the Austro-German Alliance as only defensive, he maintains that the Franco-Russian Alliance gave Russia the right to the military assistance of France in case of an offensive war of Russia against Austria (page 147). A man able to read political documents knows that the very opposite is true. The memoirs of Conrad, the Austrian field marshal, have revealed that in 1909 Germany had extended the *casus fœderis* of her alliance with Austria to the case of her attacking Serbia, or, in other words, to an offensive war by Austria. On the other hand, according to the report of Isvolsky, dated September 12, 1912, France had restricted the *casus fœderis* of her alliance with Russia to a similar case of an attack by Austria on Serbia, resulting in a war between Russia on the one side and Austria and Germany, as allies, on the other—that is to say, to a defensive war by Russia.

Now let us quote one example out of many to show in what a reckless way M. Fabre-Luce juggles with facts in order to make them fit in with his tendencies. He says that Italy, on July 27, 1914, proposed that Serbia should declare herself willing to agree to all the demands of the Austrian ultimatum, provided, in order to save her from humiliation, the four Great Powers that were not involved—Italy, France, Britain, and Germany—should advise her to do so. Our author holds that

Austria would "probably" have agreed to the proposed course of action, but that Russia would neither approve the plan herself nor advise her allies to do so (page 234).

But the truth is that, when the Italian proposal reached Berlin, William II, who happened still to be at that moment in a bellicose humor, wrote on the margin of the document "Quatsch" (rubbish), which ended everything. The document was not even sent on to Vienna.

When, on July 29, Serbia herself repeated the proposal, Berlin happened to be in a peaceful humor and sent the Serbian document to Vienna with words of approval. But Count Berchtold then declared that the proposal came too late, and that he must now make new demands. The Italo-Serbian proposals had thus been made in vain.

Russia had nothing whatever to do with this episode, for she was not one of the four Great Powers concerned; but Russia did, when asked for her opinion on the subject by England, express approval of the plan, and it was Russia's ally, Britain, that transmitted the Serbian proposal of July 29 to Berlin with London's endorsement.

M. Fabre-Luce takes advantage, in an unjustifiable manner, of the inability of his readers to criticize. He points out that the Austrian army was not ready to begin operations against Serbia before August 12, and therefore blames the Entente Powers for having conducted their diplomatic negotiations in too great a hurry (page 236).

But the Entente Powers were absolutely unaware at that time of the unpreparedness of the Austrian army; and when the Austrian Government confidentially informed Germany of the situation, Berlin was amazed. From the 48 hours' time limit set in the Austrian ultimatum and from the declaration of war against Serbia, made by Austria on July 28, the Entente Powers could only conclude that Austria had decided on rapid action, and that there was danger in delay. But did not the Entente Powers try to gain time for diplomatic negotiations? Did not Sazonoff, immediately on being informed of the Austrian ultimatum of July 24, beg Vienna for an extension of the time limit

for the purpose of diplomatic negotiations? None the less, both Vienna and Berlin, although they knew that the Austrian army would be unable to strike before August 12, brusquely refused to grant the Entente requests. If, therefore, it was blameworthy to allow insufficient time for diplomatic negotiations, the Entente Powers are innocent and the Central Powers are guilty.

There is another aspect of the war-guilt question: The Entente ultimatum of June 16, 1918, proclaims, as the war motive of the Central Powers, Germany's will to dominate the entire world. Most of the war authors of the Entente countries have since then written along the same lines. The German authors who assert Germany's innocence of war guilt have no trouble in refuting the Entente authors' statements as to world dominion, because those statements are false.

I have already quoted my book and I must do so again, the more so as M. Fabre-Luce refers to it (page 191). I had indicated another war motive which had arisen since the Balkan wars, under the impression of the diplomatic and military successes of the Entente Powers. The statesmen of the Central Powers felt an ever-growing fear of some ceaselessly threatening domestic and foreign political catastrophe, which they thought they could prevent only by some undertaking beyond their frontiers—that is to say, by a war.

Our French author adopts this view of mine concerning the catastrophic policy of the Central Powers, but in doing so unwittingly makes the Central Powers guilty of having caused the World War; for herein it is logically quite impossible to construct a parallelism between the two groups of allied nations. Our author does not attempt to construct one. But, in order to avoid clashing with his preconceived political tendencies, he invents, in contradiction to the catastrophic policy conception, a formula for war guilt which renders the two groups of nations equally guilty. His formula is: "Germany and Austria have done the things which made the World War possible; the Triple Entente has done the things which made the war certain" (page 232).

That sounds fine, but means nothing.

If I have dug a pit for my neighbor and he really falls into it and breaks his leg, I cannot afterwards, when the question of responsibility arises, escape by merely saying that I had only done that which made the fracture possible, but that my neighbor had done that which made the fracture certain. That would be mere sophistry.

Our author evidently found his first guilt formula insufficient, so he presents us with an even more unjust second guilt formula, with which he endeavors to support the first: "The excuse of the Central Powers is only that they left possibilities open for peace; the fault of the Entente Powers is that they made no use of those possibilities" (page 238).

How can one say anything like that? The truth is that William II, on July 5, 1914, on which date the Entente Powers had not yet the slightest idea of the coming disaster, approved Austria-Hungary's plan of a war against Serbia and promised his full military assistance, although the possibility of the war's developing into a World War was foreseen as possible. As he had given his word of honor, he did not dare to break his promise, even when he saw the prospects of victory vanish. Therefore the steps he took in the last days of July in favor of peace were bound to fail, because Vienna was determined to wage war and held William II to his promise.

The Central Powers, particularly Austria-Hungary, which was leading at this moment, practically excluded any possibility of the preservation of peace. The Entente Powers, by their various attempts at intervention, offered the Central Powers the possibility of the preservation of peace. The Central Powers, and particularly Austria-Hungary, did not take advantage of the possibility offered.

With his eyes continually turned on his adversary (in domestic politics), Poincaré, our author cannot recognize objective historical truth. He pretends that his book clarifies history and politics, but it is nothing but the partisan writing of a political agitator, who is not at all particular about his facts.

Whatever effect M. Fabre-Luce's book may have on the domestic politics of France, it is harmful to the solution of

European problems, the question of war guilt, and the promotion of concord among the nations.

The defenders of the Imperial Régime in Germany—the monarchists, militarists, and nationalists—point with great satisfaction to books of this sort, published in the Western States of Europe, which seem to support the reactionary German views. The friends of the old régime use such books in their fight against the German Republic and make its supporters unsafe.

But so long as Germany has not cut herself loose from the adherents of the Imperial Régime an understanding between the German people and the French nation is impossible, as Prime Minister Herriot has so correctly observed.

Such an understanding can only be arrived at on the basis of the relentless recognition of the truth about the World War and the final overthrow of the old régime in Germany.

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DATES

January 16–February 15, 1925

January 16—The Communist Executive of Russia dismiss Trotsky from the Revolutionary War Council.

January 17—The electoral bill proposed by the Fascist Government passes the Italian Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 216-19.

The German cabinet announces its unanimous decision to return, April 1, to the eight-hour day in the "heavy" industries, thus allaying the suspicions of the trade unions and Socialists.

January 18—Troops recruited from "white" Russia are reported to be driving back the garrisons of Chi Hsieh-yuan, thus endangering the railway connections with Shanghai.

January 19—The second opium conference reconvenes at Geneva after a recess which began December 16.

The Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Hughes, de-

- clares that the United States is as "free and unpledged" as before the signing of the Paris Agreement.
- January 20—Japan signs the treaty resuming diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government.
- January 22—Costa Rica resigns from the League of Nations, the resignation to take effect January, 1927.
- Chancellor Luther of Germany states in the Reichstag that the cabinet has unanimously adopted a decision not to alter the form of the State.
- January 23—The Government at Chile is deposed by the Military Council and their garrison at Santiago.
- January 25—An article in *Germania*, a German newspaper, advocates the formation of a Franco-German security pact directly between the two countries and without intermediaries.
- January 26—The army and navy of Chile, having been reconciled, a new government board is appointed, consisting of a general, an admiral, and a civilian.
- A collective note from the Allied governments concerning the continued occupation of the Cologne Zone is handed to Chancellor Luther.
- January 27—The German reply to the Allied note on the continued occupation of Cologne is handed to the diplomatic representative in Berlin.
- The Powers hand a note to the foreign office at Peking, demanding that measures be taken to protect foreign life and property in the Shanghai district.
- A radio message broadcast from Pittsburgh, U. S. A., is heard in Australia and British New Guinea.
- January 28—General Chi Hsieh-Yuan, defeated, flees from China to Japan. "White" Russian troops enter Shanghai, and the civil war is considered ended.
- January 30—The Œcumenical Patriarch is expelled from Constantinople and goes to Saloniki.
- February 1—Ahmed Bey Zogu is reported elected first president of the new republic of Albania, and Tirana is named the capital.
- The Chinese conference to readjust pressing financial and military affairs opens in Peking with 146 present.
- February 2—By a vote of 315 to 280, the French Chamber of Deputies approves the government's policy of suppressing the diplomatic embassy to the Vatican.
- February 3—The Committee of Foreign Affairs of the United States House of Representatives recommends a resolution endorsing the Permanent Court at The Hague, expressing the desire that the government adhere with the Harding and Coolidge reservations.
- February 6—The American delegation withdraws from the International Opium Conference at Geneva.
- The German Government denies charges of the French press that Germany is secretly developing a great air fleet.
- Great Britain announces that she will continue to enforce in China the arms embargo of 1919, which was intended to continue until some Chinese government is recognized as authoritative by the whole of China.
- February 7—The Chinese delegation withdraws from the Geneva Opium Conference.
- February 9—Japan destroys the last battleship doomed by the Washington treaty except the flagship of Admiral Togo, which is preserved by consent of the Powers.
- February 10—The United States Senate ratifies the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Consular Rights

between the United States and Germany.

February 12—The Chancellor of the British Exchequer asserts that the government intends to "revert to

the gold standard at the earliest possible moment."

February 13—Leon Trotsky is relieved of his last post in the Soviet Government.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

OUR PEACE TREATIES WITH CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS

Convention for the Establishment of International Commissions of Inquiry

In executive session, January 28, 1925, the following convention was ratified, and, on motion of Mr. Borah, the injunction of secrecy was removed therefrom:

To the Senate:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit, with an accompanying report by the Secretary of State, a convention between the United States and the Republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, for the establishment of international commissions of inquiry, signed at Washington on February 7, 1923.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

WASHINGTON, December 13, 1924.

The President:

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate to receive the advice and consent of that body to ratification, if his judgment approve thereof, a convention between the United States and the Republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, for the establishment of international commission of inquiry, signed at Washington on February 7, 1923.

The convention provides that it shall take effect for the parties which ratify it immediately after the day on which at least three of the contracting governments deposit their ratifications with the Government of the United States. The convention has been ap-

proved by Costa Rica and Guatemala, and also by Nicaragua with the reservation that the ratification shall not take place until the approval of the convention by the Senate of the United States. A sufficient number of the Central American governments to give it effect having approved the convention, if approved by the Senate, the submission of the convention to the Senate is recommended.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, December 11, 1924.

Convention for the Establishment of International Commissions of Inquiry

The Government of the United States of America and the governments of the Republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, desiring to unify and recast in one single convention the conventions which the Government of the United States concluded with the Government of Guatemala on September 20, 1913, with the Government of El Salvador on August 7, 1913, with the Government of Honduras on November 3, 1913, with the Government of Nicaragua on December 17, 1913, and with the Government of Costa Rica on February 13, 1914, all relating to the establishment of International Commissions of Inquiry, have for that purpose named as their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America:

The Honorable Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State of the United States of America;

The Honorable Sumner Welles, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

The President of the Republic of Guatemala:

Señor Don Francico Sánchez Latour, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America;

The President of the Republic of El Salvador:

Señor Doctor Don Francisco Martínez Suárez, President of the Supreme Court;

Señor Doctor Don J. Gustavo, Guerrero, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Italy and Spain;

The President of the Republic of Honduras:

Señor Doctor Don Alberto Uclés, Ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs;

Señor Doctor Don Salvador Córdova, Ex-Minister Resident in El Salvador;

Señor Don Raúl Toledo López, Chargé d'Affaires in France;

The President of the Republic of Nicaragua:

Señor General Don Emiliano Chamorro, Ex-President of the Republic and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America;

Señor Don Adolfo Cárdenas, Minister of Finance;

Señor Doctor Don Maximo H. Zépeda, Ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs;

The President of the Republic of Costa Rica:

Señor Licenciado Don Alfredo González Flores, Ex-President of the Republic;

Señor Licenciado Don J. Rafael Oreámuno, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America,

Who, after having exhibited to one another their respective full powers, which were found to be in good and proper form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I

When two or more of the contracting parties shall have failed to adjust satisfactorily through diplomatic channels a controversy originating in some divergence or difference of opinion regarding questions of fact, relative to failure to comply with the provisions of any of the treaties or conventions existing between them and which affect neither the sovereign and independent existence of any of the signatory republics, nor their honor or vital interests, the parties bind themselves to institute a commission of inquiry with the object of facilitating the settlement of the dispute by means of an impartial inquiry into the facts.

This obligation ceases if the parties in dispute should agree by common accord to submit the question to arbitration or to the decision of another tribunal.

A commission of inquiry shall not be formed except at the request of one of the parties directly interested in the investigation of the facts which it is sought to elucidate.

Article II

Once the case contemplated in the preceding article has arisen, the parties shall by common accord draw up a protocol in which shall be stated the question or questions of fact which it is desired to elucidate.

When, in the judgment of one of the interested governments, it has been impossible to reach an agreement upon the terms of the protocol, the commission will proceed with the investigation, taking as a basis the diplomatic correspondence upon the matter, which has passed between the parties.

Article III

Within the period of thirty days subsequent to the date on which the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty has been completed, each of the parties which have ratified it shall proceed to nominate five of its nationals, to form a permanent list of commissioners. The governments shall have the right to change their respective nominations whenever they should deem it advisable, notifying the other contracting parties.

Article IV

When the formation of a commission of inquiry may be in order, each of the parties directly interested in the dispute shall be represented on the commission by one of its nationals, selected from the permanent list. The commissioners selected by the parties shall, by common accord, choose a president, who shall be one of the persons included in the permanent list by any of the governments which has no interest in the dispute.

In default of said common agreement the president shall be designated by lot, but in this case each of the parties shall have the right to challenge no more than two of the persons selected in the drawing.

Whenever there shall be more than two governments directly interested in a dispute, and the interests of two or more of them be identical, the government or governments which may be parties to the dispute shall

have the right to increase the number of their commissioners from among the members of the permanent list nominated by said government or governments, as far as it may be necessary, so that both sides in the dispute may always have equal representation on the commission.

In case of a tie the president of the commission shall have two votes.

If for any reason any one of the members appointed to form the commission should fail to appear, the procedure for his replacement shall be the same as that followed for his appointment. While they may be members of a commission of inquiry, the commissioners shall enjoy the immunities which the laws of the country, where the commission meets, may confer on members of the National Congress.

The diplomatic representatives of any of the contracting parties accredited to any of the governments which may have an interest in the questions which it is desired to elucidate shall not be members of a commission.

Article V

The commission shall be empowered to examine all the facts, antecedents, and circumstances relating to the question or questions which may be the object of the investigation, and when it renders its report it shall elucidate said facts, antecedents, and circumstances, and shall have the right to recommend any solutions or adjustments which, in its opinion, may be pertinent, just, and advisable.

Article VI

The findings of the commission will be considered as reports upon the disputes which were the objects of the investigation, but will not have the value or force of judicial decisions or arbitral awards.

Article VII

In the case of arbitration or complaint before the tribunal created by a convention signed by the five republics of Central America, on the same date as this convention, the reports of the commission of inquiry may be presented as evidence by any of the litigant parties.

Article VIII

The commission of inquiry shall meet on the day and in the place designated in the respective protocol, and failing this, in the

place to be determined by the same commission, and once installed it shall have the right to go to any localities which it shall deem proper for the discharge of its duties. The contracting parties pledge themselves to place at the disposal of the commission, or of its agents, all the means and facilities necessary for the fulfillment of its mission.

Article IX

The signatory governments grant to all the commissions which may be constituted the power to summon and swear in witnesses and to receive evidence and testimony.

Article X

During the investigation the parties shall be heard and may have the right to be represented by one or more agents and counsel.

Article XI

All members of the commission shall take oath before the highest judicial authority of the place where it may meet duly and faithfully to discharge their duties.

Article XII

The inquiry shall be conducted so that both parties must be heard. Consequently the commission shall notify each party of the statements of fact submitted by the other and shall fix periods of time in which to receive evidence.

Once the parties are notified, the commission shall proceed to the investigation, even though they fail to appear.

Article XIII

As soon as the commission of inquiry is organized, it shall, at the request of any of the parties to the dispute, have the right to fix the status in which the parties must remain, in order that the conditions may not be aggravated and matters may remain in the same state pending the rendering of the report by the commission.

Article XIV

The report of the commission shall be published within three months, to be reckoned from the date of its inauguration, unless the parties directly interested decrease or increase the time by mutual consent.

The report shall be signed by all the members of the commission. Should one or more

of them refuse to sign it, note shall be taken of the fact, and the report shall always be valid provided it obtains a majority vote.

In every case the vote of the minority, if any, shall be published with the report of the commission.

One copy of the report of the commission and of the vote of the minority, if any, shall be sent to each of the ministers of foreign affairs of the contracting parties.

Article XV

Each party shall bear its own expenses and a proportionate share of the general expenses of the commission.

The president of the commission shall receive a monthly compensation of not less than 500 dollars, American gold, in addition to his traveling expenses.

Article XVI

The present convention, signed in one original, shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which government shall furnish to each of the other signatory governments an authenticated copy thereof. It shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the executive and legislative powers of the Republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, in conformity with their constitutions and laws.

The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which will furnish to each of the other governments an authenticated copy of the procès verbal of the deposit of ratification. It shall take effect for the parties which ratify it immediately after the day on which at least three of the contracting governments deposit their ratifications with the Government of the United States of America. It will continue in force for a period of ten years, and shall remain in force thereafter for a period of twelve months from the date on which any one of the contracting governments shall have given notification to the others, in proper form, of its desire to denounce it.

The denunciation of this convention by one or more of the said contracting parties shall leave it in force for the parties which have ratified it but have not denounced it, provided that these be no less than three in

number. Should any Central American States bound by this convention form a single political entity, this convention shall be considered in force as between the new entity and the contracting republics which may have remained separate, provided that these be no less than two in number. Any of the signatory republics which should fail to ratify this convention shall have the right to adhere to it while it is in force.

In witness whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention and affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done at the city of Washington, the seventh day of February, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three.

CHARLES E. HUGHES.	[SEAL.]
SUMNER WELLES.	[SEAL.]
FRANCISCO SÁNCHEZ LATOUR.	[SEAL.]
F. MARTINEZ SUÁREZ.	[SEAL.]
J. GUSTAVO GUERRERO.	[SEAL.]
ALBERTO UCLES.	[SEAL.]
SALVADOR CÓRDOVA.	[SEAL.]
RAÚL TOLEDO LÓPEZ.	[SEAL.]
EMILIANO CHAMORRO.	[SEAL.]
ADOLFO CÁRDENAS.	[SEAL.]
MAXIMO H. ZEPEDA.	[SEAL.]
ALFREDO GONZÁLEZ.	[SEAL.]
J. RAFAEL OREAMUNO.	[SEAL.]

TREATY BETWEEN SWITZER- LAND AND ITALY

For the Settlement of Differences by the Process of Conciliation and of Justice

The Swiss Federal Council and His Majesty the King of Italy, guided by the wish to strengthen the friendly and neighborly ties existing between Switzerland and Italy, impelled by the spirit of hearty confidence which characterizes their mutual relations, have agreed to conclude a treaty for the peaceful settlement of any differences that might arise between the two nations, and for this purpose have appointed as their plenipotentiaries the Swiss Federal Council: Mr. George Wagnière, ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Swiss Confederation in Italy; His Majesty the King of Italy: Signor Benito Mussolini, president of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who, after having communicated to each other their plenary powers and having found them in good and proper form, have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The contracting parties pledge themselves, in consideration of the friendly and confidential relations existing between them, to submit to a process of conciliation all differences of whatever nature that might arise between them and that could not be settled in the usual diplomatic procedure within a reasonable time.

Should the conciliatory process fail, a judicial decision will be sought in accordance with Article 15 and the following ones of the present treaty.

Excluded are those differences the solution of which must be sought according to the procedures already established by the mutual agreements of the two contracting parties.

Article 2

In case of a difference coming, under the laws of one of the contracting parties, within the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of law, that party can decline to submit the difference in question to a conciliatory process or to an international court of justice until the court of law having jurisdiction has rendered a decision.

In this case the request for a conciliatory process must be presented within a year of the date of the rendering of the decision by the court having jurisdiction.

Article 3

The contracting parties appoint a permanent Conciliatory Commission having five members.

Each party names, in independent choice, one member; the other three members are chosen by the mutual agreement of the contracting parties. These three members must be neither Swiss nor Italian, must live neither in Switzerland nor in Italy, and must not be in the service of either contracting party.

From among the members thus appointed the president of the commission will be named by mutual agreement.

At any time when no case is before the commission either contracting party has the right to withdraw the member it had named and to appoint his successor, as well as to revoke its approval of any of the three members named by mutual consent. In this case steps must be immediately taken to fill the places of the members leaving.

The selection of the new members will take place in the manner prescribed for the appointment of the original members.

Article 4

The commission shall be appointed within six months of the ratification of the present treaty.

Should the members, who must be appointed by mutual agreement, not be selected within the six months, or should such a member, to take the place of a member leaving, not be appointed within three months, such nominations shall be made as prescribed in Article 45 of The Hague Agreement for the peaceful settlement of international differences, of October 18, 1907.

Article 5

It will be the duty of the commission to facilitate the settlement of differences by impartial and conscientious examination of the circumstances and by making proposals for the ending of the difficulties.

The commission will act on receipt of a request to do so, addressed by one of the contracting parties to the president of the commission.

This request shall be simultaneously notified to the other party.

Article 6

Unless otherwise agreed upon, the commission will meet in a locality selected by its president.

Article 7

The procedure before the commission is contradictory.

The commission itself determines its method of procedure in accordance with the rules laid down under Title III of The Hague Agreement for the Peaceful Settlement of International Differences, of October 18, 1907, unless the commission decides unanimously upon another method of procedure.

Article 8

The proceedings before the commission are secret unless it decides otherwise in agreement with the parties.

Article 9

The contracting parties may appoint special representatives before the commission to serve as intermediaries between them and the commission.

Article 10

Unless otherwise agreed upon in the present treaty, the commission will reach its conclusions by simple majority vote.

Article 11

The contracting parties pledge themselves to promote the labors of the commission as much as possible, and particularly to set in motion all the means which their laws afford to enable the commission to summon witnesses and experts in their territories as well as to make personal inspections.

Article 12

The commission shall present its findings within six months after having been requested to act, unless the contracting parties mutually agree upon a prolongation of time.

Each party shall receive a copy of the findings.

The findings of the commission have, neither as to the facts nor as to the legal considerations, the significance of an arbitral decision.

Article 13

The Conciliatory Commission shall fix a time limit within which the parties must express themselves as to its findings.

The time limit, however, may not exceed a period of three months.

Article 14

For the actual duration of the procedure before it, the members of the commission will receive a remuneration to be agreed upon by the contracting parties.

Each party will bear its own costs in a case; the expense of the commission will be shared equally by the contracting parties.

Article 15

Should one of the contracting parties not agree to the findings of the Permanent Conciliatory Commission, or should that party not express agreement within the time limit set by the commission, either party can demand that the matter shall be brought before the Permanent International Court of Justice.

Should that court decide that the matter is not of a legal nature, the parties agree that it shall be decided *ex æquo et bono*.

Article 16

The contracting parties make rules in each individual case, clearly stating the matter in dispute, the points to be submitted to the Permanent International Court, and all the other particular details agreed upon by the parties.

These rules will be drawn upon the basis of an exchange of notes between the governments of the contracting parties.

The International Court has the power to interpret these rules in every respect.

Should the rules not be laid down within three months of the date when a proposal to commence legal proceedings has been made by one of the parties, each party can, by means of a simple request, call upon the court to intervene.

Article 17

Should the Permanent International Court decide that a decision rendered by a court of justice or any other authority of one of the contracting parties is in opposition to international law, either as a whole or in part, and should the constitution of this party prevent, either wholly or in part, remedial measures by administrative action, the injured party shall receive appropriate compensation in some other way.

Article 18

The verdict pronounced by the Permanent International Court shall be faithfully obeyed by the contracting parties.

In case of any difficulty in interpreting the verdict, the Permanent Court will explain. Either party to a case can call upon the court for such an interpretation by means of a simple request.

Article 19

During the conciliatory procedure or during the trial of a case by the Permanent International Court, the contracting parties will abstain from taking any measures that might tend to prevent acceptance of the findings of the Conciliatory Commission or submission to the verdict of the International Court.

Article 20

Any conflict as to the interpretation or execution of the present treaty shall, unless otherwise agreed upon, be directly submitted, by means of a simple request, to the Permanent International Court of Justice.

Article 21

The present treaty shall be ratified.

The ratification shall take place as soon as possible at Rome.

The treaty will be in force as soon as it is ratified. It is for the duration of ten years from the date of ratification. Unless notice to end the treaty is given not less than six months before its termination, it will be automatically prolonged for five more years, and thereafter for further similar periods of five years, unless notice to end is given.

Should a conciliatory procedure or a case before the International Court of Justice be carried on at the moment of the expiration of the present treaty, such procedure or case shall continue in accordance with the terms of this treaty or of some other agreement that the contracting parties may make, in mutual understanding, to take the place of this treaty.

In witness whereof the plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done, in duplicate, at Rome, on September 20, 1924.

For Switzerland:

[L. S.] WAGNIÈRE.

For Italy:

[L. S.] MUSSOLINI.

News in Brief

THE MAHARAJAH OF NEPAL, an independent State in north India, has issued a decree for the abolition of slavery in his country. There are 51,419 slaves in Nepal. The Maharajah proposes a policy of compensation to slave-owners and temporary apprenticeship of freemen to their former owners as a means of making the transition period easy.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL AIR-MAIL SERVICE in South America was opened in January between Brazil and Argentina.

THE SUM OF FOUR THOUSAND POUNDS is to be divided among architects submitting the best plans for an assembly hall for the League

of Nations. The competition is open to nationals of States members of the League.

M. KERENSKY PUBLISHED IN A JANUARY edition of the Socialist newspaper, *Le Peuple*, Brussels, an article showing that famine is again appearing in Russia. He affirms that in the Province of Kieff alone, which has been reported up to now as having a good harvest, there is a shortage of about nine million poods of wheat. "It is not to be wondered at," he adds, "that in the provinces where the harvest is officially recognized as insufficient the peasants are pillaging the trains loaded with wheat and eating a mixture of the bark of trees and horse refuse. The new famine, un pitying and inexorable, is drawing ever nearer in the country districts of Russia. This time the American Relief Association will not come. The Bolshevik policy has closed the door to it. They well know this in the Russian countryside."

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE to consider the distribution of raw materials and the conservation of national resources of the world was proposed by William Smith Culbertson, vice-chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, in a speech on the connection between raw materials, markets, and war.

Expansion of the commercial and financial activities of the United States overseas is likely to plunge the United States into some of the difficulties which European nations have faced, he said, and now is the opportune time to revive the proposal of Theodore Roosevelt for a world conservation congress, for which America sent out invitations in 1909, but which never was held.

THE NATIONAL KINDERGARTEN ASSOCIATION, 8 West 40th Street, New York, issues weekly articles of about five hundred words each on home education, prepared by experts for the guidance of parents. In the interest of international good will, it offers to send these articles free of cost to any paper or magazine in any part of the world that desires to print them for the benefit of its readers. The articles are now being printed in forty-three countries.

THE REPARATIONS COMMISSION HEARD ON January 20 its first report from the agent general for reparations payments from Ger-

many. Though a confidential report, its tenor showed that the Dawes scheme is, so far, working smoothly, and that the German Government has fulfilled its part of the agreement punctually and to the letter.

COSTA RICA RESIGNED FROM THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS on January 22, at the same time paying her back dues. As the covenant require two years' notice of withdrawal, the resignation will not go into effect until January, 1927.

THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT made its first financial contribution toward the expenses of the League of Nations when Representative Stephen G. Porter, on February 4, sent in a check for \$1,954 as the pro rata share of the United States of the expenses of the opium conference during the period of 1924. The United States contributed on the same basis as Great Britain, which pays the highest subscription to the upkeep of the League.

THE CAPITAL OF NORWAY, known for three hundred years as Christiania, reverted to its ancient name of Oslo on January 1. The name of this interesting city was changed to Christiania after Christian IV of Denmark, Norway having united with Denmark at the close of the fourteenth century. The object of the change is reported to be a general desire for a return to a purely national title for the national capital of a deeply patriotic people.

PAPERS ON PAN-AMERICANISM, both from the cultural and the commercial viewpoint, written by students of Latin-American universities, will be given substantial prizes during the coming year. These prizes are offered by a group of forty prominent North American men and women. The news was cabled by the chairman of the international Pan-American committee to the president of the Pan-American Scientific Congress, while in session in Lima, Peru.

"PEACE CONFERENCES AT HOME AND ABROAD" is the title of a pamphlet written by Mrs. Septimus Harwood, assistant president of the New South Wales Peace Society, Australia. It enumerates the recent peace meetings and the peace societies of the world, adding many miscellaneous bits of news regarding the peace movement.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON CHILD WELFARE will be held at Geneva, August 24-28, 1925, under the patronage of the Swiss Federal Government. The program is not yet definitely settled, but it has already been decided that medical, hygienic, sociological, legislative, educational, and propaganda questions will be dealt with.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN during the winter will give a course of lectures on "The United States and Canada: Their Position in World Economy and World Politics."

THE GOVERNMENT OF PANAMA is planning to observe next year the centenary of the first Pan-American Congress, convoked in Panama by Bolivar in 1826. Legislation has been passed appropriating \$150,000 for the purpose and directing the President to invite all the nations participating in the first congress, among them the United States.

A GREAT TROPICAL AIR LINE, over 1,100 miles in length, connecting Kushasha, the capital of the Belgian Congo, and Katanga, in the interior, which is to be operated by huge air liners of British design, driven by British Rolls-Royce engines, is now ready for opening. No fewer than 25 aërodromes and landing grounds have been built in the swamps and jungles, providing a continuous chain of alighting grounds evenly spaced over the whole route. The main traffic on the air route will consist of diamonds, gold, and ivory, which will be taken from the interior to the capital in a single day, instead of over a week, as by the present transport methods.

IN MOST RESPECTS THE GERMAN RAILWAY SYSTEM is back to prewar standards, according to a statement made January 3 by Rudolph Oeser, Director-General of the system. This is true despite the fact that 300,000 railway employees were dismissed when the stabilization process began. The railways, he pointed out, contribute 600,000,000 marks annually to reparations, besides 290,000,000 marks to the Federal Treasury, which sum also is devoted exclusively to reparations. Herr Oeser asserted that the German railways were the largest single undertaking in the world, employing nearly 800,000 men and administering 33,000 miles of roads. They have now been taken out of politics and are run on business principles, as an undertaking belonging to the nation, but operated as a private corporation under the Dawes plan.

MANUFACTURERS OF SILK FABRICS in the United States have lately given about \$50,000 to establish a school of seri-culture at Canton Christian College, China. This is an American-Chinese non-sectarian institution of primary and higher education which has been in existence thirty years. It is supported co-operatively by Americans, Chinese, and the Chinese Government. The region about Canton, in Southern China, is ideally located for the raising of silk worms, but, owing to diseases of the worms, and also of the mulberry leaves upon which they feed, as well as to antiquated methods of manufacture and marketing, the industry had reached a low level of production. It is hoped that scientific methods may not only greatly increase silk production in its original home, but that by this means many of China's struggling people can find profitable livelihood.

A GERMAN PEDAGOGIC MISSION was received in Bogotá last September, with the view of introducing into Colombia the latest methods of teaching employed in the public schools of Germany. The three members of this mission are working with a committee of four appointed by the Colombian President for this purpose.

BOOK REVIEWS

THOSE EUROPEANS. By *Sisley Huddleston*. Pp. 297. G. P. Putnam Sons, New York, 1924.

ENCHANTED AISLES. By *Alexander Woolcott*. Pp. 260. G. P. Putnam Sons, New York, 1924.

The production of sharply drawn portraits of prominent persons is quite a prevalent custom of late. The two books here considered are examples of widely different methods, both excellent of their kind.

In the first book Mr. Huddleston's use of the word "those" implies a certain remoteness from Europe in the attitude of the reader. This may be justified by fact, but the author proceeds to make the persons sketched more familiar. He has been for some years a newspaper correspondent, has a remarkably keen sense of political currents

and under-currents; he understands the tactics of the lobby. Combined with this, his experience in post-war Europe qualifies him to give excellent pictures of political leaders.

His chapters on Clemenceau, Masaryk, Mussolini, and others are, therefore, graphic and sometimes powerful. When it comes to subjects like Anatole France, however, the jumpiness of the journalistic style becomes irritating. There is here a call for analysis and appreciation of a deeper, more subtle character than that required to interpret men of action. The literary sketches are, therefore, unsatisfying.

Quite opposite in manner and content are the expressive portraits by Alexander Woolcott. Where Huddleston is strictly informational, Woolcott is individual and literary. His special interest is dramatic criticism, but one feels that, whatever his subject, and though he wrote but a page or two upon it, he would always portray the unique thing in it, the flavor of a personality, the fragrance of a genius. Though the salient feature of each person be subtly evanescent, Mr. Woolcott would, without effort, find the one phrase in which to capture and convey it. Never, for him, is the "whole world painted gray on gray." In the chapters on Bernhard, de Pachmann, Mr. Tarkington, or the Paris taxi driver, charm, amusement, homage, all play vital parts. Mr. Woolcott writes with the appreciation of an artist, the imagination of an understanding mind. The result is literature.

THE LITTLE FRENCH GIRL. By *Anne Douglas Sedgwick*. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924. Pp. 508. Price, \$2.00.

The reality and fascination to be found in this quiet book seem to be due to two factors: First, the theme, which is an international love story. It is a subject frequently handled, especially of late; but seldom indeed is it done with such thorough understanding, combined with so much skill in interpretation.

This brings us to the second factor contributing to the book's appeal—its beauty merely as a work of art. The reticence and simplicity of the tale, as we read, prevents, at first, any thought as to the telling of it. Continual delight is the best attestation, however, of perfection of craftsmanship. In this case such a pleasure is easily accounted for by further study.

Though quiet in tone, the book is far from colorless. The shadows are those vibrant shades cast by golden sunshine. But the adventure, with its purple dawn, its white noon and silver evening, are not in the outer action. It is in the inner life of her characters that Miss Sedgwick has made masterly use of plot development, suspense, and crisis.

Allegory is never insisted upon, yet not for a moment has she lost her main pattern in weaving the fabric. International differences and likenesses form its outline, with their high lights and shadows.

Alix may be assumed to represent some of the finer traits in French culture, and Giles, the upright, the straightforward, may stand for some of the best in British mentality. On many occasions the contrast between the thought of the two countries is sharply emphasized.

"Maman," whose indiscretions have made it advisable for her to send her daughter to England, is in one instance talking to Giles about Alix's future. "If Alix came back to us," said Giles, "marriage would be only by chance, for her as for my sisters."

"Dieu! You are a strange people!" said Madam Vervier, "to leave to chance what is of the most vital importance in a woman's life. . . . Life must be less difficult a thing with you, since it is possible to face it so lightly."

Again, it was French Alix, and not her Anglo-Saxon friends, who felt the attraction of cosmopolitanism in Lady Mary Hamble. Alix felt at once that "she was one of those people who could see and blow and catch the soap bubbles, the beautiful, impalpable things of human intercourse."

In character development there is nothing redundant, nothing needful omitted. The characters are individual, distinct, and credible. Even the negative person in several character combinations, the English "Toppie," is saved from priggishness and made vivid by her own genuine emotion, no less than by the real emotions she kindles in others.

A unique element of the book is the strangely strong impression made by the young English officer, Captain Owen, who has died before the opening of the story. His complicity in the chief character tangles gives to his personality an astonishingly live effect.

The book will inevitably contribute to a

better understanding of French and English nature and thought, not by ignoring unlikenesses, but, as with the French heroine and the British hero, by emphasizing likeness. They could unite on love, loyalty, reverence, generosity, and to these each might add those other good things peculiar to the two civilizations.

MEMOIRS OF THE HARVARD DEAD IN THE WAR AGAINST GERMANY. Volume V. By A. M. De Wolfe Howe and others. Harvard University Press, 1924.

This is the last in the set of books begun in 1920, giving brief biographies of Harvard's 373 men who died in or because of the war. The pathos of the very title brings home again the old ache at thought of the many young lives of promise lost to their generation—unnecessarily lost, if all the world were wise enough to see it.

Yet the spirit which animated these boys who died was shared also by those who have returned. And the men of Harvard who returned outnumber the dead 30 to one. So, though war may never be ended by war, yet it may be ended by the patient, steady, constructive efforts of the many who learned to hate it during those war years.

The volumes containing these simple narratives are artistically produced, in dark-red covers, with smooth-calendared paper suitable to carry the portraits heading the articles. The biographical sketches contain many quotations from letters, thus adding vivacity to the portraits. Of so many is it true, as a college chum wrote of Roger Goss, "The only thing to regret in his record is its brevity."

THE SPIRIT OF THE REVOLUTION. By John C. Fitzpatrick, A. M. Pp. 300. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924. Price, \$4.00.

The documents under the care of Mr. Fitzpatrick, assistant chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, have yielded up to him many interesting and little-known facts touching our early history.

He has written a series of informing papers suggested by these findings, and the papers, originally separately published, have been gathered together in a well-printed and illustrated volume. We may well be grateful that the human interest in these documents has been discovered by so pleasing a writer.

Bread for the Continental army furnishes the topic of one chapter. The story is enlivened with some thrilling personal touches. For instance, how the heart warms when one reads the reply of Christopher Ludwick, superintendent of bakers for the army. When it was suggested, according to tradition, in a committee of Congress, that Ludwick be granted, in addition to his pay, the perquisite of furnishing only eighty pounds of bread for every hundred pounds of flour, the old man replied with scorn, "Is it that I should grow rich by such ways? I will bake one hundred and thirty-five pounds of bread for every hundred pounds of flour, and it will be good bread and all the flour will be used, and if there is any flour left over, it will also be made into bread."

The bands in the Continental army, the uniforms, the "invalid regiment," the expense account of the camp at Valley Forge, the Liberty Loan of 1781, are all topics of interesting chapters.

In all the narratives it is gratifying to note that the character of George Washington shines out with undimmed nobility. The devotion and enthusiasm of the aides who lived on daily intimate terms with him give the best evidence on this score.

The last chapter, "The Words of Washington," is largely quotations, not all very well known, of the thoughts of Washington on matters which seem to Mr. Fitzpatrick similar to many affairs today. It is full of implicit comparisons with utterances of these days and is, in any case, well worth careful reading.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES—
YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW. By
James M. Beck, LL. D. Pp. 362. Doran,
New York, 1925. Price, \$2.50.

From many points of view, one of the best of the many recent books on the Constitution is this by the Solicitor-General of the United States. The author is a thorough student of constitutional history; more than this, he has an alert appreciation of the various tendencies in American life of the present. He is somewhat troubled by the spirit of revolt, so rife today; by the dearth of great leaders; but most of all by the prevailing ignorance of the Constitution and the part it plays in our present as well as our past.

He is not one of the proponents of a stronger central government. The amount of centralization which we do have, he says, was wrung from the framers by hard necessity.

It is probably true that most of us approach more easily any study of a philosophical theory through an interest in the persons who developed it. Dr. Beck has utilized this altogether human foible, and, after a strong and informing chapter on the disorganization of the Colonies after the war of the Revolution, he sketches most graphically the chief men who assembled in Philadelphia in 1787 to lay the foundation of our government.

First, there was Washington, traveling over rough roads on horseback, with his rheumatic arm in a sling, despondent over his personal affairs, fearful for the future of his country, nevertheless straining every nerve to reach Philadelphia punctually, only to find that others living nearer had not arrived.

There was Franklin, 81 years of age, who gave a dinner to the delegates before the convention began; Franklin, in his home that contained his library, with its automatic arm and hand for taking down books from high shelves; his armchair with its foot-power fan; his famous laboratory; Franklin, with his age, experience, and perennial wisdom.

It was a convention, however, largely composed of young men. The average age was only a bit over forty. "Above all, they were a group of gentlemen of substance and honor, who could debate for four months, during the depressing weather of a hot summer, without losing their tempers except momentarily. . . . All apparently were inspired by a fine spirit of self-effacement. Selfish ambition was conspicuously absent. They differed, at times heatedly, but always as gentlemen of candor and honor."

The crucial places in the discussions of the convention are traced; at many points the narrative is enriched with excerpts from letters, diaries, and from the Madison notes. "Mr. Madison," says Dr. Beck, "was the Edmund Burke of America, and it is strange that this country has never fittingly honored him as England has honored Edmund Burke."

Hamilton, who appears in the convention as hot-headed, conceited and apparently in error, is given his just due in a later ap-

praisal. "His contributions to the *Federalist*," says Mr. Beck, "form one of the most acute studies of the science of government in the literature of any country."

Interesting as is the narrative, the chapters which follow are particularly notable. In them the author ably deals with the political theory under the Constitution, showing the pivotal nature of the Supreme Court, which he calls a "continuous constitutional convention," and makes a refreshingly clear analysis of the foreign relations of the United States as dominated by the Constitution.

There is a bright freshness running all through the book which redeems the subject from any taint of dryness. It is instead a charming book on a vital subject by a learned author, who, it is said, "has never learned how to be dull."

NEW GOVERNMENTS OF CENTRAL EUROPE. By *Malbone W. Graham*. Pp. 683. Henry Holt Co., 1924.

In this admirable work Mr. Graham, assistant professor of government in the University of Texas, was helped by Robert C. Buckley, of the Hoover War Library, in Stanford University. The resulting book is not only accurate, but it is a much-needed tool in the study of comparative government in that part of the world of which it treats.

Mr. Graham's method is objective and detached. He deals with pre-war history only enough to make intelligible the forces recently at work in the succession States of Germany and Austro-Hungary. The Baltic States, Poland, the Ukraine, and the Caucasus are another story. Let us hope that this, too, will soon be written. Modern Turkey is another distinct theme, one which has just been treated in a similarly objective manner by Eliot Grinnell Mears.

In the volume before us the apparent confusion of the past five years is astonishingly well organized and analyzed. Germany, the republic, is clearly spread before us—Germany, with its numerous parties and factions. The Austrian revolution and reconstruction; Hungary under Karolyi, under the Soviet, and under its more recent restoration and reaction; Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, with all their main currents of political thought, are carefully analyzed. There are clear summaries and numerous charts to make the whole matter graphic.

The author is continually conscious of par-

allels and contrasts among the several countries. He calls attention, for example, to the policy of Poland, which made a general its first chief of state, in contrast to that of Czechoslovakia, which chose a philosopher for the same task.

The second part of the book, comprising more than a third of the volume, is made up of valuable documents from the five countries for the period considered. There are manifestoes, speeches, decrees, declarations, and constitutions. There is the act of abdication of the German Emperor; there is the Anti-Hapsburg law of Austria, and there are many official programs of policy. Altogether, part 2 is a collection of sources it would be difficult to find duplicated in one volume.

An unusually full index adds the last word to the usefulness of the work.

PRISONERS OF WAR. By *Major Herbert C. Fooks*. Pp. 456. J. W. Stowell Publishing Co., Fredericksburg, 1924. Price, \$6.00.

Without any particular claim to literary qualities, this work on the history and law relating to prisoners of war is a careful and authoritative textbook. Topics are suitably arranged, with a brief at the head of each chapter.

The special concern of Major Fooks is the treatment of war prisoners. His legal training, his experience in the army, together with his historical studies in this field, enable him to consider the subject from many angles. The book is of interest, therefore, to any student of the history of war.

A HISTORY OF CURRENCY IN THE UNITED STATES. By *A. Barton Hepburn*. Pp. 573. Macmillan, 1924. Price, \$3.00.

At the time of his death, Mr. Hepburn was at work on the revision of this book. It was nearly completed and brought up to date, however, although the critical revision and the preparation of new statistical tables had to be done by others.

As it stands, it is a well-organized and complete book of reference on its topic. Its statements are well buttressed with tables, quotations, and bibliographies.

Mr. Hepburn's long connection with banking institutions, his special study of financial legislation, and his membership in the advisory board of the Federal Reserve Board during the war give authority to his utterances.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

Edited by ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

1815-1828

Suite 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

(Cable address, "Ampax, Washington.")

PUBLISHED MONTHLY EXCEPT SEPTEMBER

Sent free to all members of the American Peace Society. Separate subscription price, \$2.00 a year. Single copies, 20 cents each.

Entered as second-class matter, June 1, 1911, at the Post-Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917; authorized August 10, 1918.

It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

CONTENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD..... 187

EDITORIALS

"A Definite Step in the Progress of Civilization"—Interparliamentary Union in October—Chile and Peru—Welcome to Ambassador Baron Ago Maltzan—A Statue in the Tier Garten—Editorial Notes.. 189-195

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

European Security—Ebert and Branting—Poland—Hungary—Communist Split in Czechoslovakia—Revoit in Kurdistan—Hughes on the Codification of International Law—The Tacna-Arica Award—Annual Meeting American Group, Interparliamentary Union—Important International Dates (February 16 to March 15, 1925). 196-219

GENERAL ARTICLES

Historical Textbooks as Provocative of War..... 220
By Professor Donald R. Taft

The Isle of Pines and the Solidarity of Pan America..... 228
By James Brown Scott

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Treaty of Commerce between the United States and Germany..... 233
British Imperial Economic Committee..... 242

NEWS IN BRIEF..... 243

BOOK REVIEWS..... 246

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.

Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.

It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.

Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State city, or nation.

It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.

FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is two dollars;

Sustaining Membership, five dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of ADVOCATE OF PEACE, Washington, D. C.

Hon. P. P. CLAXTON, Ex-United States Commissioner of Education, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Senator from Illinois, Washington, D. C.

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN, 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, Esq., Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

HENRY C. MORRIS, Esq., 1155 Hyde Park Boulevard Chicago, Ill.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, California.

Prof. ARTHUR RAMSAY, Ex-President Fairmont Seminary, Southern Pines, North Carolina.

THEODORE STANFIELD, 126 W. 74th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Hon. HENRY TEMPLE, Representative from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS

HENRY C. MORRIS

THEODORE STANFIELD

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D.

Hon. HENRY W. TEMPLE

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE

OFFICERS

President:

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

GEORGE W. WHITE, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Washington, D. C.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

A. T. BELL, Esq., Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.

GILBERT BOWLES, Esq., Richmond, Indiana.

Dean CHARLES R. BROWN, New Haven, Conn.

Pres. E. E. BROWN, New York University, New York.

GEORGE BURNHAM, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston, Mass.

Rt. Rev. Bishop J. DARLINGTON, Harrisburg, Pa.

Dr. W. H. P. FAUNCE, Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.

GEORGE A. FINCH, Washington, D. C.

EVERETT O. FISK, Esq., Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM P. GEST, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hon. CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Washington, D. C.

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D. D., New York, N. Y.

Dr. DAVID STARR JORDAN, Stanford University, Calif.

GEO. H. JUDD, Washington, D. C.

Bishop WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Mass.

JOSEPH LEE, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM H. LUDEN, Reading, Pa.

L. H. PILLSBURY, Derry, N. H.

Judge HENRY WADE ROGERS, New York, N. Y.

Hon. ELIHU ROOT, New York, N. Y.

Mrs. FREDERIC SCHOFF, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. RUTH H. SPRAY, Salida, Colo.

Senator THOMAS STERLING, Washington, D. C.

EDWARD STEVENS, Columbia, Mo.

*Pres. M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

*Pres. C. F. THWING, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pres. MARY E. WOOLLEY, South Hadley, Mass.

*Emeritus.

Suggestions for a Governed World

(Adopted by the American Peace Society, May 27, 1921)

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference

for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council in the performance of their respective duties whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment whenever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council

of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that.

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for and, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States; and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instructions in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
87

APRIL, 1925

NUMBER
4

EDITORIALS

"A DEFINITE STEP IN THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION"

"IT IS a subject of transcendent importance, as it relates to the establishment among the nations of the reign of law and the endeavor of the American republics to hasten the fulfillment of this purpose by a more definite formulation of the rules of international law." These words are taken from the address of Charles Evans Hughes at a special meeting of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, held in the city of Washington, March 2, 1925. They are arresting words.

Every person interested to promote the cause of international peace will wish to acquaint himself with the circumstances under which these words were uttered. When the American Institute of International Law was asked by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to submit proposals looking toward the codification of international law for the American republics, the Institute not only accepted the invitation; it went about the business. At its meeting in Peru during the last days of December, 1924, it drew up thirty-one conventions, adopted them, and submitted them to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union.

While these conventions have not been made public, Mr. Hughes' speech clearly shows that they relate not to the laws of war, but to the laws of peace, those prin-

ciples of justice expressed in rules of law which govern these twenty-one American republics in their mutual and pacific intercourse.

Thus the republics of America are in possession of a program with a series of projects. Mr. Hughes has studied these projects. They have appealed to his judicial mind. The enthusiasm with which he has laid these thirty-one projects, setting forth the rights and duties of nations, the fundamental bases of international law, the rules with respect to jurisdiction, the pacific settlement of international disputes, before the Governing Board of the Pan American Union must lead any thoughtful person to believe that here is an international fact of the greatest importance. What Mr. Hughes said upon this matter will be found on page 208 of this magazine.

One has to examine but a small sector of the ocean of words poured out through a century by the anxious workers for peace to realize with a heavy heart how much of them all has been weak and inconsequential. But here is evidently a man's job being done in a manly way. Since any desirable and hopeful peace between nations must depend upon that security which only justice can vouchsafe, and since justice can be defined and meted out to nations only in terms of mutually accepted laws, Mr. Hughes was well within the confines of a measured statement when he said: "I believe that this

day, with the submission of concrete proposals which take the question of the development of international law out of mere amiable aspiration, marks a definite step in the progress of civilization and the promotion of peace, and for that reason will long be remembered."

INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION IN OCTOBER

IT WOULD be difficult to overestimate the importance of the Twenty-third Conference of the Interparliamentary Union to be held in our Capitol Building, at Washington, October 1 to 6 next. There is every probability that it will turn out to be one of the most important international gatherings of recent years.

This conference, meeting upon the invitation of the President of the United States and pursuant to a special act of Congress, will be made up of delegates from practically thirty parliaments, including the governments of the large as well as the small powers. These delegates will be the guests of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, which includes the majority of the members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives.

Of course, the meaning of this conference of legislators lies deeper than mere entertainment. The main question is, What can such a conference accomplish, particularly for the peace of the world? The answer to this inquiry will be found in the deliberations of the conference. It already appears that these deliberations will be over matters of vital concern. For example, the Honorable M. H. Micheli, of the Swiss Parliament, will submit a report on the parliamentary system, its methods, its evolution, and its future. There will be a report from the Union's committee on the reduction of armament, relating to the continuation of the work

of the Washington and Geneva conferences, and to demilitarized zones. There is a possibility that the committee on social questions may submit a report on dangerous drugs, and that the committee on ethnic and colonial questions may report on the conditions affecting minority populations. It is probable that the committee on economic and financial questions will offer a report on the possibilities of a European customs union. But perhaps more important, at least from the point of view of our Western World, there will be discussions relating to the development of Pan Americanism, its history and its future; and to the possibilities of continuing the work begun at The Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907, with special regard to the advancement of international law.

Some of the details for the entertainment of these distinguished guests are already settled. The members of the Council, which is the governing board of the Interparliamentary Union, will be invited to be the guests of the American Group beginning Monday, September 28, in New York City. The preliminary meetings of the Council and of the Executive Committee will probably be held in that city on Monday, the 28th, and Tuesday, the 29th. The other delegates to the conference will be invited to become the guests of the American Group beginning Wednesday, September 30th, at 9:30 a. m. On or about that hour of that date all the delegates will assemble at the special train, Pennsylvania Station, New York City, en route for Washington. There is a possibility that the party may stop over for a few hours in the city of Philadelphia. The delegates will be the guests of the American Group at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, and remain guests until their arrival by special train at Niagara Falls, Friday, October 9. Following this date the delegates will be the

guests of the Canadian Group of the Interparliamentary Union under such conditions as the members of that group may propose. It is understood that the delegates are to be entertained by the Canadian members of Parliament at Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Quebec. It should be added that friends in New York City have already signified their desire to entertain these distinguished persons at a reception and dinner to be given especially in their honor.

The officers of our State Department and of our Pan American Union are co-operating in every possible way with the officers of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union to make the coming conference a success. Some twenty-six columns of the *Congressional Record* for February 20, 1925, dealt with the Interparliamentary Union; and in the *Congressional Record* for March 10, under the extension of remarks of the Honorable Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, is a stenographic report of the twenty-second annual meeting of the American Group. This report appears elsewhere in these columns. In it appears the following:

"Your officers look to you, members of the American Group, to aid them in every way possible and to offer any suggestions that may occur to you as helpful, to the end that the coming conference of the Interparliamentary Union may be worthy of the dignity of our United States Congress, of the hospitality of our American people, and of the high purposes for which the Interparliamentary Union exists."

These were the closing words of Senator William B. McKinley, President of the American Group, addressing its recent annual meeting. These words by Senator McKinley indicate the importance of the October conference. They appeal not only to members of our Congress, but to all the people of our United States.

CHILE vs. PERU AND THE COOLIDGE AWARD

IT IS reasonable to suppose that Chile and Peru will abide by the terms of the Coolidge award, set forth elsewhere in these columns. This award is in the nature of an arbitration; and, under the terms of international law, not to mention morals, an award settles the dispute definitely and without appeal. The President of Chile and the President of Peru have thanked President Coolidge for his services in this case, and in terms which clearly indicate the desire of both governments to carry out the terms of the award. We assume that the opposition reported of certain classes in Lima must spring from an inadequate understanding of the nature of the award.

In its larger aspects, the case is quite clear. In May, 1922, accredited representatives of the two countries met in the city of Washington. After conferences lasting over two months, the delegates agreed to submit the dispute to the arbitration of the President of the United States. The matter has been before the White House, therefore, for nearly three years. It has received the carefulest consideration of President Harding, of our State Department under Secretary Hughes, and of President Coolidge. A way out of a most difficult situation of long standing is indicated by the President's award.

The controversy leading to this award may be said to have grown out of the very geography and earliest history of these countries. Prior to 1842 the northern boundary of Chile was the desert of Atacama, which extends from about 27 degrees to 23 degrees south latitude. This desert, lying between Chile and Peru, together with Antofagasta, immediately to the north, was acknowledged to be a part of Bolivia. North of this portion of Bolivia lay Tarapacá, a province

of Peru. Immediately north of Tarapacá were two other Peruvian provinces, known as Tacna and Arica. Up to 1842, these geographical facts were generally accepted. In 1842, however, Chile declared sovereignty over the Bolivian territory bordering on Chile. This gave rise to a controversy culminating in 1879, when Chile declared war on Bolivia and upon her ally, Peru, a conflict known as the "War of the Pacific." Chile was victorious from the first, and under an armistice, the United States, through its ministers in Lima and Santiago, endeavored to effect peace by mediation. This mediation failed, hostilities were resumed, and the Chilians occupied nearly the entire coast of Peru. In a second attempt to mediate, the United States sent a special agent. Negotiations were going on, but with little success, when a change of administration in Washington caused the agent's recall, and no further mediation was attempted. On October 20, 1883, the Treaty of Ancón was signed, under the terms of which the Provinces of Tacna and Arica were to remain in the possession of Chile for ten years, at the expiration of which time a plebiscite should decide whether they should remain a part of Peru or become Chilean territory. This plebiscite should have been held in 1894. Negotiations were begun by the two governments in 1892 looking to mutually satisfactory arrangements for the plebiscite, but many difficulties rendered this impossible. Negotiations and difficulties have continued ever since. Attempts have even been made to have the controversy settled by the League of Nations, but in vain.

The Government at Washington has naturally watched the long-drawn-out controversy. There is an extended correspondence in the archives of our State Department relating to the matter. It was on January 17, 1922, that our govern-

ment announced that the President of the United States would be pleased to welcome in Washington the representatives "which the governments of Chile and Peru may see fit to appoint, to the end that such representatives may settle, if happily it may be, the existing difficulties, or may arrange for the settlement of them by arbitration." The Republics of Chile and Peru accepted this invitation and sent their duly accredited representatives to Washington. It was these representatives who agreed to refer the unfulfilled provisions of the Treaty of Ancón to the arbitration of the President of the United States for final decision. Under the terms of this decision it was the duty of the President to determine whether or not a plebiscite should be held, and, if so, to determine the conditions for holding the plebiscite. This President Coolidge has done. A careful reading of the terms of the award clearly shows the earnest desire on the part of the President to conserve the rights of both parties in interest. At the least we have here a step toward the solution of this long-drawn-out problem. The press of Rio de Janeiro expresses the hope that the award will be satisfactory to both nations. *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires considers the Tacna-Arica decision as a great victory for civilization, putting a definite end to the probability of future war. Some of the South American papers fear that the plebiscite will be put off. The German language *Zeitung* at Buenos Aires declares that the award is a bitter disappointment to Peru and Bolivia. Alessandri, the returning President of Chile, granted an interview in Rio de Janeiro in which he declared that the Tacna-Arica award is completely in accord with Chile's desire for a fair plebiscite, and that it is an efficient step toward continental peace, "permitting the restoration of Chile's traditionally peaceful relations with Peru, a nation that

was Chile's friend and comrade in the unforgettable days." The major opinion of South America seems to agree with the old adage, that "any settlement of a bad suit is better than a long litigation." The Spanish paper *La Prensa*, published in New York, says editorially: "Chile and Peru will each lose something of what they had claimed as their rights, but at the same time they will gain something beyond what they would have obtained if justice and equity had not worked together for the good of each in weighing the pros and cons of their demands. . . . Whatever may be the final opinion of the Washington award, whatever may arise in regard to its fulfillment, the two sister peoples and all Hispanic America are to be congratulated." This would seem to be a fair appraisal of the situation.

WELCOME TO AMBASSADOR BARON AGO MALTZAN

WE ARE glad to join in the general welcome to Germany's new Ambassador to this country, Baron Ago Maltzan, whose Christian name is Adolf Georg Otto and whose family name is von Maltzan Freiherr zu Wartenberg und Penzlin. The Ambassador was born July 31, 1877, at Klein Varchov, Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Having finished his law examinations in 1906, he entered that year the diplomatic service at the Foreign Office in Berlin. Two years later he became secretary of the legation at the German Embassy in Rio de Janeiro. In 1909 he was secretary of the German Legation in Christiania. In 1909-10 he was assistant to Secretary of State von Kiderlen at the Foreign Office in Berlin. In 1911 he was secretary to the German Ambassador in Saint Petersburg. In 1912 he was counsellor of legation at the embassy in Peking, China. In 1919, after serving as counsellor of legation at the Foreign Office in Berlin, he

represented his country in Estland and Letland. In 1921 he was ministerial director at the Foreign Office in Berlin. In 1922 he was Secretary of State at the German Foreign Office. In 1925 he was appointed Ambassador in Washington.

Ambassador Baron Ago Maltzan has already created a most favorable impression upon the representatives of the press and upon our American people generally. His first interviews have been of an optimistic and wholesome character, calculated to promote nothing but goodwill between Wilhemstrasse and Washington. The German Republic is to carry on. The Dawes plan is to be carried out in letter and in spirit. Germany purposes to pursue a definite policy of peace. American newspaper men are a lively lot. These are some of his views, early and frankly expressed. They are goodly views. They ring well, and we like them. Welcome, Ambassador Baron Ago Maltzan.

IN THE TIER-GARTEN OF BERLIN

(October, 1925)

THAT is a powerful bronze group by Wolff in this "Central Park" of Berlin. Elevated on the ample pedestal, in life size, lies a lioness wounded unto death by an arrow. There are two most lifelike cubs, one frantically, desperately trying in vain to nurse its dying mother, the other with raised head wondering what it is all about. Above them the male lion, powerful, angry, resentful beyond words, stands astride the three and looks and growls threateningly in the direction from which the arrow came, masterful and dangerous to the uttermost, breathing forth desperation, defiance, revenge.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S inaugural address of March 4 was in the main an international document. The

main points of this important utterance may be summarized as follows:

Our country represents nothing but peaceful intentions toward all the earth.

America is more determined than ever to promote peace through friendliness and good will, through mutual understanding and mutual forbearance.

A display of reason rather than a threat of force should be the determining factor in the intercourse among nations.

The weight of our enormous influence must be cast upon the side not of force but of law and trial, not by battle but by reason.

Much may be hoped for from the earnest studies of those who advocate the outlawing of aggressive war.

Our program is never to oppress but always to assist.

But while we do justice to others, we must require that justice be done to us.

With us a treaty of peace means peace, and a treaty of amity means amity.

We can only help those who help themselves.

There is no salvation in a narrow and bigoted partisanship.

The resources of this country are almost beyond computation.

No matter what others may want, these people (Americans) want a drastic economy.

I favor the policy of economy, not because I wish to save money, but because I wish to save people.

We do not any longer need war-time revenues.

The collection of any taxes which are not absolutely required, which do not beyond reasonable doubt contribute to the public welfare, is only a species of legalized larceny.

The only constitutional tax is the tax which ministers to public necessity.

The property of the country belongs to the people. Their title is absolute.

The past and present show faith and hope and courage fully justified.

America seeks no earthly empire built on blood and force. The legions which she sends forth are armed, not with the sword, but with the cross.

The higher state to which America seeks the allegiance of all mankind is not of human, but of divine origin.

America cherishes no purpose save to merit the favor of Almighty God.

In a republic the first rule for the guidance of the citizen is obedience to law.

Our most important problem is not to secure new advantages, but to maintain those which we already possess.

The rewards of industry belong to those who earn them.

Economy is idealism in its most practical form.

A NATIONAL interracial conference has just been held in Cincinnati, Ohio, March 25-27. The meeting was held under the joint auspices of the Federal Council of Churches, with headquarters in New York, and the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, with headquarters in Atlanta. The Cincinnati Council of Social Agencies, through its Negro Civil Welfare Association, aided in the work of the conference. It was a conference of white and negro representatives from the North and the South. These delegates mainly represented organizations concerned with interracial activities. While the report of the conference is not yet available, we understand that problems of organization, methods, and programs for improvement of interracial relations and for community welfare which involve white and colored people were openly and freely discussed.

No thoughtful American can doubt that the two races must come to a closer meeting of minds upon such fundamental problems as health, housing, industry, education, moving pictures, the press, and others equally important. The welfare of us all is involved. Here, too, as with the problem of world peace, of which it is a part, the need is for science and justice rather than mere words and mush.

THE Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University proposes to put scientific inquiry and research at the business of learning how the nations and the peoples of the world may better live together in prosperity and peace. Mr. Owen D. Young, in his address at the recent celebration at Johns Hopkins pointed out that we have a desire of peace, but that we have not established an agency whose exclusive duty it is to study how to get it. Mr. Young said:

"It is not enough to have government departments of administration. It is not enough to have an institute of foreign relations. We must supply a science, a *systematic body of things known*, if we desire to make our aspirations for peace effective. But again, Mr. President, some one will inquire whether research or science, in the sense in which I am using them, can be advantageously applied to this field. My answer is that facts can be applied in any field. Our curse is ignorance. Facts, Mr. President, are our scarcest raw material. This is shown by the economy with which we use them. One has to dig deep for them, because they are as difficult to get as they are precious to have. . . . The Page School will, therefore, achieve three things: First, it will develop a science of international relations; second, it will ascertain the facts, so far as they can be found, on any particular problem, and, third, it will produce a continually growing body of men trained in that science and available for service in the fields of education, government, and business. Our contacts with the world at every point should show more conductivity and less useless sparking."

BOLIVIA may be counted upon to continue her struggle to regain her port on the Pacific. Since Bolivia bases her claim partially on legal grounds, she may see fit to present her case to the International Court of Justice without prejudice, of course, to taking other steps to achieve the revision of her treaty with Chile of

1895, as interpreted in 1904. This matter has been discussed at Washington, at Geneva, and at Santiago.

THEODORE E. BURTON, President of the American Peace Society and member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, submitted a report to accompany House resolution 426, which resolution expressed the desire of the House of Representatives that the United States adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice. This report, known as Number 1569 of the Sixty-eighth Congress, second session, is a valuable summary of the whole question of our adherence to this court. Mr. Burton's report, however, is also a distinct contribution to the history of the relation of the House of Representatives to the ratification of treaties and the conduct of our foreign affairs.

THE program of the Academy of International Law, the sessions of which will be held from July 13 to September 4 in the Palace of Peace, at The Hague, is now available. It can be had by application to this office.

THE "Protocol for the outlawry of war," proposed by the League of Nations, has been scrapped by the refusal of the British Empire to accept it. The grounds upon which Britain has refused are of the good solid earth. It is a curious fact that such students of history as Benes, of Czechoslovakia, and Politis, of Greece, could have considered seriously the English Commonwealth of Nations agreeing in any sense to put its fleets in the control of a group of men sitting in Geneva, or to fare forth to war at the behest of such a group. English statesmen know, as well as we, that no such scheme can establish an enduring peace.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY

THE paramount problem again confronting European statesmen at the present time is the question of security, so far as the peace of the continent is concerned. A great impetus to the problem was given by the refusal on the part of the Allied Powers to evacuate Cologne on the ground that Germany is not disarmed. Another important factor in the situation has been the German proposal for a mutual security pact embracing Germany and the principal Allied Powers.

Report of the Inter-Allied Military Commission

The Conference of Ambassadors met on March 3 to consider the Report of the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control on German armaments, together with the explanatory comments which have been made on it by Marshal Foch and the Allied Military Committee. Previously M. Herriot had had an interview with Marshal Foch and had then seen Lord Crewe, in order to compare with him the attitude of the French and British governments with regard to the Marshal's comments.

The meeting of the conference did not last very long; it was decided to ask the Military Committee for further advice on several points connected with the report. The committee has been asked to consider more closely the respective importance of certain of the German delinquencies, as, for instance, the reconstitution of the general staff, the failure to adapt munition factories for peace industries, the militarization of the police force, and other points. It has also been asked what measures it considers necessary to ensure the disarmament of Germany as laid down in the peace treaty. It is expected that it will be at least a week before the Conference of Ambassadors is in possession of the answers to these questions.

It seems as though some considerable time must inevitably elapse before the

ground is sufficiently clear for a discussion of the date and conditions of the evacuation of Cologne. The French seem anxious to put it off as long as possible, in order to see what is going to come out of all the discussions about security. It is worthy of note that the newspapers generally take it for granted that a guarantee pact of some sort will be signed. The prospect of the presidential election in Germany provides another reason for delay, since the election will be a very good test of whether the tide of public opinion in Germany is setting towards peace or towards revenge. Further, even if the German Government agrees to carry out, within a reasonably short time, the measures considered necessary by the Allied Military Committee for the fulfilment of the disarmament clauses of the treaty, it is held by military experts that Germany's determination to preserve the essentials of her military system intact will nevertheless still be apparent.

The evasion of the terms of the treaty has gone on so long that, even if they are now duly executed, there is little doubt that Germany will renew her military preparations again as soon as the Commission of Control is withdrawn. There is a tendency in France to enlarge upon points connected with this aspect of the question which are not covered by the peace treaty. It is alleged, for instance, that the strategic railways which lead towards the Rhine are still being kept up in a way not warranted by normal traffic. This is a point on which the treaty says nothing.

Difficulties After the Evacuation

The more the evacuation of Cologne is considered the clearer it becomes how hard it is to treat it as an entirely separate question. When Cologne is eventually evacuated it will mean that the disarmament of Germany is considered to be satisfactorily completed. Part of the disarmament consists in the demilitarization

of the Rhineland after its evacuation by Allied troops, as laid down in Articles 42-44 of the Treaty of Versailles. How are the disarmament of Germany and the demilitarization of the Rhineland to be guaranteed when the Commission of Control has left Berlin and the Allied troops leave the Rhine?

According to Article 213 of the treaty, Germany undertakes to permit any investigation which the Council of the League of Nations, by a majority vote, may decide to be necessary. It has not yet been settled how this article is to be applied. This will be one of the chief questions to be discussed at Geneva next week, and, so far as control in the Rhineland is concerned, the French and British governments do not see eye to eye. At present nobody knows what will be done to ensure that the Cologne zone remain unfortified and ungarrisoned by Germany when the British troops leave it.

German Proposals for Security

In the meantime Germany has laid before the Allies a proposal for a security pact. In this proposal Germany recognizes the paramount importance to France, Belgium, and Great Britain of the maintenance of the *status quo* on the Rhine. But no Rhine settlement could be considered stable if Germany were excluded from it. As a proof of its sincere desire for lasting peace, the German Government would therefore be ready to discuss the possibility of a guarantee pact covering the Rhine, in which all the nations interested should be invited to take part. As corollaries to such a pact, there would have to be treaties providing for the submission to arbitration of all disputes between Germany and Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The German Government's idea in making this last suggestion was to meet the main objection of the French Government, made at the time of Dr. Cuno's original pact proposal in 1923 and maintained ever since, that France could not accept any guarantee pact which did not cover the security of her ally, Poland. The German representatives declared that it was the intention of their government to promise that under no pretext whatsoever would Germany have recourse to military action to obtain any alteration of

her frontiers as laid down in the Treaty of Versailles. The German Government would try to achieve this end by direct negotiations with Poland, but if these failed it would reserve its right to obtain such an alteration by every peaceful means in its power, and especially by taking advantage of the opportunities afforded by the Covenant of the League of Nations.

French Suspicions and Anxieties

The German proposals have aroused suspicions and anxieties in France, which can be understood only in the light of the general state of feeling in France. Probably few people in other countries believe that Germany would, in any circumstances, contemplate a war of revenge in less than 10 or 15 years. It is otherwise in France. The success of the German Nationalists at the last general election; the evidence (understood to be revealed in the Report of the Control Mission) of Germany's determination to keep her military system alive; the inviolate position enjoyed by General von Seeckt and Herr Gessler, the Minister of Defense; the personalities of some other members of the German Cabinet, and the general trend of thought in Germany are all taken exceedingly seriously in France as proof that Germany intends to break down the Treaty of Versailles at the first opportunity, and that this opportunity will be taken as soon as the Allies are seen to be disunited.

There are plenty of well-informed and responsible Frenchmen who believe that Germany will open the ball again within five years. They do not mean that Germany will attack France directly, but that she will take advantage of a dispute with Poland to reannex the Danzig corridor or Upper Silesia. Such an episode would serve, from the German point of view, to test the strength of the system established by the Versailles Treaty, and in particular to show what Great Britain would do. In this connection the definite British refusal to guarantee the western frontiers of Poland and Czechoslovakia is not very reassuring to the French. Having made a breach in the Treaty of Versailles with impunity, Germany would then become a greater danger than ever. The French have not the slightest doubt that

when eventually she does take the great step of attacking France again, Great Britain will be bound to join France; but they do not want to have to wait for the horror of a gas attack on Paris from the air to make the British nation join them.

THE DEATH OF TWO OUTSTANDING EUROPEAN STATESMEN

THE last few weeks witnessed the death of two outstanding statesmen of post-war Europe—President Ebert of Germany and Premier Branting of Sweden. Both of the late leaders were Socialists, and each was the first Socialist in his country to hold so exalted a position.

1. PRESIDENT EBERT OF GERMANY

President Ebert will always be remembered as the first Socialist President of the German Republic, and hardly less, perhaps, as the man who steered his country through the turmoil of the revolution at a time when it was more than a chance that the extremists who followed the doctrines of Lenin might sway it into the paths of the Bolsheviks. He will be further remembered as the leading exponent in Germany of the moderate revisionist Socialism that, among the majority of the party, has superseded the principles of Karl Marx and Engels.

Man of Humble Birth

Friedrich Ebert was born of humble parents, in Heidelberg, on February 4, 1871, and received his early education at the local elementary school. Like most people in the district, his family were Catholics, and, although his career as a Socialist led him throughout his life into association with free thought and agnosticism, he retained some links with the faith of his childhood. He was apprenticed to a saddler in Heidelberg at the age of 14 and went through his term. He has often been twitted by the more narrow of his political opponents with his trade, it being a favorite jest of the Nationalist press to call him a Saddler-President. His own remark on one occasion was that it was about as sensible as calling a general a lieutenant because he had once been one. But for the most part he was content to leave such gibes unanswered.

After he had served his apprenticeship he became a journeyman saddler, and, as was the custom with skilled workers in Germany at the period, he traveled from end to end of the country, practicing his trade. His *Wanderjahre* brought him to Bremen. He had become a member of the Socialist Party in 1899, and had already had some trade-union experience as one of the men who organized the Saddlers' Union. In Bremen he married, and there he became one of the local party organizers.

Made His Mark as Editor

In 1894 he was placed in charge of the Bremen *Bürgerzeitung*, the local Socialist newspaper, a post he held for some six years. He vacated his editorship to become secretary of the Bremen branch of the party. At this time he kept a restaurant, which was much frequented by the members of the party.

In 1905 the German Socialist Party, which was rapidly increasing in numbers and activity, decided to increase its staff of secretaries, and Ebert was appointed to the vacant post of secretary of the Berlin center. At this time the Socialist Party was meeting with indifferent success in Reichstag elections. Ebert himself contested the Hanover district, and was beaten—a fact which induced him to overhaul the party election machinery. In 1912 he was elected to the Reichstag for the first time, being returned with a handsome majority by the district of Elberfeld-Barmen, which had been lost to the Socialists since 1907.

In 1913 the party lost the services of both Singer and Bebel. Ebert was nominated as successor to Singer at the Party Congress in Jena, but was beaten in the poll by Haase, then a rising Socialist lawyer of Königsberg, afterwards to be the leader of the Secessionist wing that became the Independent Socialist Party. Ebert, however, was elected president of the party as successor to Bebel, and this post he held when the war broke out. The struggle on the war credits split the party, and Haase, with his handful of dissentients, broke away to continue in opposition, while the majority of the party, under the leadership of Ebert, continued to support the government in the prosecution of the war on the ground that it was

a war of defense, and as such deserving of all the support they could give it.

Whatever may have been the case with regard to some of his associates, the epithet of "Kaiser's Socialist" was hardly true in his case. His services in the war have often been the theme of bitter discussion in Germany, his opponents accusing him of trimming his sails to the wind, now leaning to the Left and now veering to the Right, as the fortunes of the war dictated.

Believed in German Victory

But it must be said for him that his own course in one respect never changed. He believed in the necessity of ultimate victory for Germany, and he did his utmost to compass it. Even after he had lost one son in the war he advised his second son to return to the line. He was opposed to all strikes in the war. The part he played in the munitions strike of 1918 was the subject of a recent trial in the Magdeburg court. On technical grounds it went against Ebert, but the evidence showed that his one concern in joining the strike committee was to bring the movement out of revolutionary channels into trade-union orderliness and to end the strike as soon as possible.

Of his other war activities it may be said that he was in favor of a peace by negotiation, but that, like so many of his countrymen, he misjudged the moment for seeking it and the price it must cost. Throughout the war he never abandoned the hope that the two wings of his party would reunite. They ultimately did, but not before he had himself been placed above party. And by then Communism had been evolved from the Spartacus Union, itself an offshoot of the Socialist Party and representative of the old revolutionary ideas of Marx.

Prince Max of Baden, when he took over the reins of government from Count Hertling, realized that the exclusion of the Socialists from power was no longer possible, and the first Socialist he called upon for inclusion in his cabinet was Ebert. The latter refused, but put forward Herr Scheidemann and others. But when the end of the war came, with defeat for Germany without and the prospect of Bolshevism within, he could no longer stand aloof. The tactics he had suc-

cessfully applied in the munitions strike were applied once more, and he entered into a covenant with the revolutionaries for the purpose of steering their movement into more constitutional channels.

Displayed Moderation During the Revolution

It has often been said of Ebert by critics of his actions at this time that he would have been content with something very much less than the form of State which was ultimately evolved from the revolution, something much more after the pattern of the limited monarchy of the British Commonwealth than of the pattern of Republican France. It was this sense of moderation that guided his actions in the dangerous time when it seemed uncertain whether the extreme revolutionaries of the pattern of Liebknecht, Ledebour, and Robert Schmidt would make good their threats of causing civil war and building up a Bolshevik State on the ruins. The controlling influence of the Majority Socialists was evident from the moment when Ebert joined the earliest Workmen's and Soldiers' Council as leader, with Braun, Wels, Eugen Ernst, and twelve representatives of the Berlin factories. In the negotiations that followed between the two competing camps for the leadership, it was clear that the skill and experience rested with the Majority Socialists—Ebert, Scheidemann, and David—but it was by no means clear that the physical force was not drifting to the control of the revolutionaries under Ledebour, Vogtherr, and Dittmann.

Ebert as the Reichskanzler

There followed a series of difficult days for the future president. After Scheidemann had proclaimed the republic from a window of the Reichstag there was a pause in the rush of events. In the afternoon of that day Ebert, accompanied by Braun and others of the moderates, went to Prince Max, and informed him that it was essential to form a Socialist Government if the extremists were to be prevented from securing control with the support of the army and navy. Thereupon Prince Max asked Ebert to form a government himself, and to take the office of chancellor. He assented, and the same

day he issued his first manifesto to the citizens and officials, informing them that the new government had been formed. He signed it "Der Reichskanzler Ebert." With Haase he formed the Council of the People's Commissaries, consisting of three Majority Socialists and three Independent Socialists, and one of his first tasks was to create an army of volunteers, the embryo of the Reichswehr.

The joint control by Majority and Independent Socialists soon showed signs of breaking down. It is possible that in this it did no more than Ebert meant it to: The Independents left the council and Ebert filled their places with men of his own party. To Scheidemann and Landsberg, who remained, he added as additional commissaries Noske and Wissel. He attempted to secure also Herr Loebe, subsequently President of the Reichstag, but Loebe declined, and the sixth commissariat remained vacant.

The Struggle for Power

Meanwhile the position was becoming more dangerous, owing to the pretensions of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, who, under the leadership of the revolutionaries, were determined not to let the power of the State lapse into bourgeois or semi-bourgeois hands. The workmen and soldiers held a congress representing some 220 divisions, and they passed a vote of confidence in Ebert. At their next meeting Ebert addressed them. He declared boldly that he would not in any circumstances tolerate rule by force, and that the future State must be founded on constitutional lines. The councils violently attacked him, and after the proceedings had lasted for some days, he realized that the moment had come for a decision. He and his associates in the government left the council, determined to end it, and to resist by force any attempt at dictation by the Independents or terror on the part of the Spartacists.

The struggle for power took place in the early days of January, and on it Ebert staked all the fortunes of Germany. Noske was the guiding power in his determination. A display of strength was decided upon, and Noske marched 3,000 men with guns through the streets of Berlin. By January 12 the movement

had been broken, and Ebert decided upon his next task, the disarmament of the people. It proved—within limits—less formidable than he had anticipated.

At the Weimar Assembly

Meanwhile preparations were made for the National Assembly at Weimar. The elections took place on January 19. The Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils protested to Ebert, as they perceived the power slipping completely from their grasp. They summoned a congress, and called upon the people's commissars to attend and answer to it. But Ebert replied that he was no longer answerable to local soviets, but only to the central council. That sealed their fate.

The National Assembly met at Weimar and was presided over by Ebert, whose first action was to deliver a protest against the terms of the armistice. On February 10 the law of the interim power was passed, by which the office of President was constituted. "This," said the President of the Republic, "is to be elected by the National Assembly with an absolute majority. His term lasts till the new Reichspräsident takes office, who will be elected on the basis of the new constitution." Out of the 379 votes cast Ebert received 277. Taking over his new duties, he delivered a declaration that he would be faithful to the constitution of the German Republic, and would act as representative of the entire German people and not as the leader of a single party. "But I declare also," he added, "that I am a son of the working classes, that I have grown up in the mental environment of Socialism, and that I am not disposed ever to conceal my origin or my convictions."

Régime of Firmness and Moderation

Though occasional outbreaks continued to disturb the peace of the new republic, the fight was really won by Ebert and his associates in the period when they adopted a firm line towards the extremists. Thereafter the only serious assault came from the ranks of the Nationalists, as when Dr. Kapp and General Lüttwitz tested the strength of the republic in March, 1920, and were forced to capitulate before a general strike. Immediately afterwards,

in June, 1920, President Ebert put forward a request to the Chancellor that his position as President should be regulated in accordance with the constitution, which required that the President should be elected by the whole people.

Both then and on the occasion of his second request in October, 1921, the objection was raised that an election would call out the forces of the republic against the monarchy. Finally, by a vote in the Reichstag, the constitution was altered to permit of his remaining in office until June 30, 1925. It was still uncertain whether he contemplated offering himself as a candidate of the Socialist Party for re-election. In the period of his office as President he was frequently called upon to exercise moderation, especially in the choice of chancellors. Amid the passion and clash of party strife he showed both firmness and moderation, and it is in no small degree due to him that the question of the future form of the state in Germany still remains open to a peaceful solution.

2. PREMIER BRANTING OF SWEDEN

M. Branting had been three times Prime Minister of Sweden, the only Socialist who ever held that office. His name had become well known beyond the limits of his own country for his courageous support of the Allied cause during the war and for his enthusiastic work for the League of Nations.

Origin and Education

Hjalmar Branting was born on November 23, 1860, the son of Lars Gabriel Branting, professor of gymnastics, a pupil of Ling and his successor as director of the Central Gymnastic Institute of Stockholm. He was a big, heavily built man, slow in speech and of transparent honesty. From his father he inherited his determined character, while to his mother, a singer of repute, he owed his beautiful elocution. He was educated at the Beskow School, the most exclusive college of Stockholm, where the four sons of King Oscar II were also receiving their education at the time, and it was said that the eldest of these, Prince Gustav (the present King), and Branting were leaders of opposite teams in all games and snowball

fights. He took his bachelor's degree in 1877 with the highest marks both in Latin and mathematics, and left with a considerable reputation for readiness in debate. He entered Upsala University at the early age of 17 and studied mathematics and natural science, but soon developed a passionate interest in astronomy. He left the university in 1882 to take service at the observatory in Stockholm and pursued his astronomical studies under Professor Gylден, its director, who made him his assistant in research.

Prominent in Politics and Journalism

But politics and journalism were his real bent. He became a fiery champion of the laboring classes, and may be said to have created the Social Democratic Party in Sweden, which has had no other leader. He first took the editorship of a small extreme Liberal paper, *Tiden* (*Time*), which he raised to a certain importance as a Socialist organ. Then he was made chief editor of *Social-demokraten*, which, from a minor weekly journal, he made into one of the leading daily newspapers of the capital. His elegant caustic style and powerful dialectic, his enthusiastic devotion to labor, and charm of his eloquence soon made him a real force in politics. In his articles and his books also he became the recognized exponent of Swedish Socialism, and, as he was a good linguist, he extended this propaganda abroad; he wrote, for instance, "Where Swedish Social Democracy Stands" for the *New York Evening Post*, and an introduction to Robert Blatchford's book, "Merrie England," in 1894.

His Socialism was of a sane and moderate type, based on no interpretation of Marxian dogmas, but presented as a practical theory of democratic development and the material betterment of the proletariat. He was entirely opposed to extremist Utopias, whether in the form of Communism or of Bolshevism. Of the latter he was especially critical, and at a popular meeting in 1918 he declared that it was the worst enemy of true democracy; that it was but an oligarchy capable of worse tyranny and oppression than any Russia had ever known before, and that the abolition of proprietary rights was bound to lead to national disaster. During the

war he showed himself a determined friend of the Allies, keenly desirous of peace, but not a fanatical pacifist pleading for peace at any price. He believed in the responsibility of Germany for the war, and in the retributive justice of the conditions of peace, but was in favor of allowing democratic Germany, in carrying out the Treaty of Versailles, a chance of accomplishing her recovery.

Work for the League of Nations

A fervent admirer of the League of Nations and one of the principal advocates in Parliament of Sweden's adherence to it, he took part, as Sweden's chief delegate, from the first in the assemblies at Geneva, and was elected, in 1922, a member of the Council. He fulfilled, besides, other special missions in this connection, such as Swedish delegate to the Paris Conference for the settlement of the Aaland and Spitsbergen questions, and at the International Congress at Genoa in 1922. In the Aaland question he pleaded earnestly for the right of the inhabitants to determine whether the islands should be joined to Sweden or remain under Finland, and he openly expressed his dissent from the decision of the League. Recently he acted as *rapporteur* on the Council in the Mosul dispute between Britain and Turkey.

In December, 1921, it was announced that the Nobel Peace Prize had been divided between M. Branting and M. Lange, Secretary-General of the Inter-parliamentary Bureau at Geneva.

First Socialist in Parliament

When Branting was elected a member of the Swedish Second Chamber in 1896, he was the first and only representative of his party, and his presence there was looked upon as a portent. And indeed he was not long without a party. In 1902, the Social Democrats numbered four; in 1905, 13; in 1908, 34; in 1911, 64; in 1914, 72; and in 1921, 110. Thus was created, thanks to Branting's leadership, the third party in the Swedish Parliament, which had the effect, as in England, of upsetting the time-honored system of two parties. No one of the three parties could command an absolute majority, or hope to be able to govern

without the support of one of the others. This led to the formation in 1917 of a Coalition Ministry of Liberals and Social Democrats, in which Branting became Minister of Finance. But a nervous collapse from overwork obliged him to resign a few months afterwards.

In 1920 the Coalition Cabinet fell, and Branting was then called upon to form a Labor Ministry, which, however, only lasted a year. Liberal support was becoming slack on important divisions, and as the law granting the suffrage to women had meanwhile been passed, Branting decided to dissolve. But the elections went against him without giving the other parties any marked increase of strength. The Branting Ministry resigned and a non-party government had to be formed under Baron de Geer.

At the general elections of 1921, however, the Social Democrats did much better, and Branting was called upon to form a government, in which he became both Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. It lasted till September, 1922, when, in consequence of a combination of Conservatives and Liberals, it had to give way to a Conservative Government under M. Trygger.

The elections of 1924 gave the Social Democrats a decided majority over the other two parties separately, though in a minority against them jointly. The Liberals had lost most in these elections, and the party had, moreover, been split into two sections under separate leaders. Counting on the eventual support of one of these sections, Branting formed last September his third ministry, which was much occupied with the question of national defense and the League schemes for preserving peace. Branting was entirely in favor of the Geneva Protocol, which he had some share in preparing and which he styled "The Magna Carta of Europe," but the other parties were much less favorable to it. In the middle of December, however, Branting was laid aside by illness and it was found necessary, on January 25 to relieve him of the burden of the office of Prime Minister, though he remained a member of the cabinet. His condition, however, precluded him from taking part in public affairs.

POLAND'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

THE question of Poland's foreign relations, brought into the limelight by the recent insistence on the part of France that Poland be included in any security pact signed with Germany, presents a number of very interesting aspects. The Polish Foreign Office has been very active in the course of the past few months, and its head has announced several important results of these various negotiations.

Count Skrzynski's Speech

In a recent speech before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliament, Count Skrzynski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, emphasized above all the peaceful character of his country's policy. Discussing the Geneva Protocol he declared it would be a living reality even at the end of ten years. The protocol could be amended and it need not be accepted, but it was clear that if all countries bound themselves to take a united step against anyone menacing peace, wars would cease.

He said:

We are supporters of international solidarity on the basis of arbitration, and even if this thesis cannot be accepted by the Great Powers, we nevertheless see no reason why we should throw it over and allow ourselves to be persuaded that only certain countries have the right to guarantees, while the rest are only States of limited importance and rights.

While supporting this conception, Poland does not sacrifice the actual guarantees she possesses. Alliances are, and will remain, the firm basis of her material security. It is said that in case the Geneva Protocol is not accepted, Great Britain would prefer to substitute for it a general formula guaranteeing the world's peace by making France and Belgium secure. A Franco-British guarantee pact could only be understood as a broad framework in which there would be also place for a Franco-Polish pact. It would, however, be decidedly better if there could be created a general security pact based upon the united action of all.

Turning to the question of Poland's relations with her neighbors, the minister said:

Our relations to Germany are likewise included in the sphere of our constructive and peaceful efforts. In some few days the delegates of the two countries will meet to negotiate for a commercial treaty. Dr. Luther has again broached the question of our frontiers on the right bank of the Vistula. The contention must be rejected that the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors regarding the approach of the population of East Prussia to the Vistula is not based upon the Treaty of Versailles. The utterances of the German Chancellor are not such as are likely to contribute to the creation of the atmosphere which we desire.

With Russia we are in negotiation for a commercial treaty, for a settlement of the frontier disputes and for the further execution of the treaty of peace.

We are making progress in our negotiations with Czechoslovakia and I believe we shall be able to announce definite results in a very short time.

Improvement of Relations with Czechoslovakia

Poland's relations with her Czechoslovak neighbor have been far from amicable since the very end of the war. There now appears, however, considerable improvement in the situation. Progress has recently been made in two directions: At Olomouc negotiations have just been successfully concluded for an adjustment of questions relating to railway communication and to frontier traffic between the two countries, while, secondly, an agreement has been signed at Warsaw in respect of transport and transit—an agreement which will constitute a substantial part of the commercial treaty to be concluded between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

These two measures represent a decided step towards closer economic relations, which have for some considerable time been called for by a large section of the public in both countries. For Czechoslovakia, Poland forms a bridge to the east, while Czechoslovakia constitutes practically the only outlet for Polish trade to the west and southwest of Europe.

According to a statement made in the *Gazetta Poniedzialkowa* by Count Lasocki, the Polish Minister at Prague, some twenty different agreements will be requisite in order to cover the whole complex

of questions arising between Czechoslovakia and Poland. Besides a commercial treaty, there are in preparation a juridical and extradition convention, a health and hygiene convention, a social welfare agreement, veterinary, postal, financial, and other treaties. Good will is manifested on both sides, says Count Lasocki, and there is every hope that in the near future relations between the two countries will be normal, and co-operation the order of the day.

Conclusion of a Concordat with the Vatican

The Polish delegate who negotiated the recently concluded concordat with Rome, Deputy St. Grabski, submitted details of the measure to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Polish Parliament on February 24. The life of the state, he said, was divided as completely as possible from that of the church. The concordat did not permit the church to interfere in any way in education. The only influence the church would have in the schools would be in the fact of imparting religious instruction. The President of the Republic would enjoy a veto in the matter of the nomination of bishops and parish clergy. The assent of the government would also be necessary in the fixing of the dioceses and appointments of prebendaries.

The concordat was approved of by the Cabinet Council on the 19th and will come immediately before Parliament for ratification. It has been well received by the press.

New Foreign Loans

After two months of negotiations, terms were recently arrived at with the American bankers, Dillon, Read & Co., for a loan of 50 million dollars to Poland. Of this amount 35 millions were offered for subscription on February 16, while the remainder of 15 millions will be placed on the market not later than August 1, 1925. The Polish Government issues bonds which will be paid off by means of half-yearly drawings within 25 years. The rate of interest is 8 per cent. The issue price at New York was 95, but the bonds were subsequently quoted on the Bourse at half a dollar premium.

For the Polish industries a loan of £2,000,000 has been secured from England. The first installment of £500,000 will be

paid out to the Polish sugar industry by the end of June. The loan bears 10 per cent interest.

The Mercantile Finance and Exchange Corporation of London have expressed their willingness to grant a loan of £6,000,000 to the Lodz industries for five to ten years at 9 per cent. Negotiations for an English loan for the extension of the Lodz water supply have been concluded. The London concern above mentioned has joined with an American group in granting the Corporation of Lodz a loan of \$18,000,000.

In addition to these loans, the Polish industries are negotiating for a \$10,000,000 credit for 15 to 20 years, to carry interest at the rate of 8 per cent.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HUNGARY

THE Government of Hungary has in contemplation a number of important political reforms concerned primarily with the internal situation. The most important of these reforms deal with changes in the existing electoral law and an important reconstruction of the country's Parliament.

The New Electoral Law

Under the proposed new electoral law, voting is to remain, as heretofore, public, except that in municipalities and in some industrial constituencies the secret ballot is to be introduced. An election can be declared null and void if the voters have been subjected to intimidation, or if disorders have been provoked with the result of preventing a portion of the electorate from recording their votes, or if any illegal influence has been brought to bear upon them. A deputy who, contrary to the rules, persists in remaining within the House of Parliament, and refuses to leave when requested by the proper authority to do so, may be punished by imprisonment up to a term of twelve months and deprived of his political rights. In such case of disobedience he loses his parliamentary immunity and may be arrested. The activities of members of Parliament must be absolutely independent of all outside influence. A deputy may not receive any orders from persons or factors outside Parliament and may not render any ac-

count of his activities to such persons, and in particular not to any foreign persons, authorities, or institutions.

Restoration of an Upper House

Simultaneously with the introduction of the franchise bill described above the government has brought forward a measure to restore the upper house of Parliament—the House of Magnates. The measure provides that, on the creation of the upper house, the existing National Assembly shall be converted into a lower house, and that the parliamentary system shall be a two-chamber one. The more important provisions of the House of Magnates Bill are the following: the House shall consist of elected, nominated, and *ex-officio* members. Members of the House of Magnates, by virtue of their office, will be the lords standard-bearers (*zaszlosok*), the presidents of the royal curia, of the administrative court, of the land-ownership court, the president of the royal court at Budapest, the State Attorney-General, the commander-in-chief of the forces, the president of the national bank, and finally the dignitaries of the churches recognized by the State. The following will be eligible for election: members of the magnate families, members of city and county councils, members of certain agricultural, industrial, commercial, scientific and art bodies. The age limit is fixed at 35. The hereditary members will be the members of the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty, providing they live in Hungary and are Hungarian citizens.

Opposition to the Measures

Both of these measures have aroused considerable hostility on the part of the liberal political elements. The Opposition press is outspoken in its opinion that the Opposition parties had better keep away from Parliament if their members are to be deprived of all freedom of action and if they can be arbitrarily deprived of their mandates. The leader of the Social Democrats, Deputy Peyer, has declared in an interview that his party will continue their opposition.

The bill for the restoration of the upper house has met with a very unfavorable reception in progressive and Social Democratic circles, where it is considered that the bill will strengthen the position of a reactionary government. Particu-

larly bitter criticism is leveled at the provision regarding the hereditary right of members of the Hapsburg dynasty to a seat in the house. This provision, it is said, will be a source of anxiety and unrest in the neighboring countries. In political circles the measure for the restoration of the House of Magnates is regarded as the overture to a complete liquidation of the régime installed in Hungary following upon the revolution. It is also considered probable that before long the government will bring forward a bill to adjust the position of the future king to the nation. There are reports in the press that Count Bethlen is preparing the way for the election of a paladin, in which case the present regent, Admiral Horthy, would be deprived of his office. That such steps are contemplated by Count Bethlen is all the more probable, as the regent has of late been badly compromised by his connections with the arrested members of the "Awakening Hungarians," accused of wholesale murders at the time of the fall of the Commune.

Trend of Foreign Relations

In the course of the budget debate in the Hungarian Parliament, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Scitovszky, discussed the country's foreign policy and declared that it was entirely a peaceful one, and that it was a main item in his program to convince foreign countries of Hungary's peaceable intentions. It would be necessary, he said, to transfer the government's activities in respect of foreign policy into the sphere of economics. Hungary had already concluded a whole series of commercial treaties. This course would be persevered with and the series completed. Under prevailing conditions it was impossible for the foreign policy of Hungary to show very favorable results. So far as results were obtained, they might be described as chiefly lying in the efforts of the Hungarian Government to improve the conditions of those Hungarians living in the territories which had been detached from former Hungary. The League of Nations, which Hungary recognized as a powerful and significant factor, had so far, in the matter of the protection of minorities, proved a serious disappointment to Hungary.

Hungarian public opinion, as reflected in Parliament and in the press, seems lit-

tle satisfied with this speech. In the first place it is pointed out that the Foreign Minister was entirely silent on current matters of foreign policy. The public are likewise not overpleased with the candid confession that at the present moment Hungary has really no foreign policy at all. Many of the newspapers express their amazement and ask why, this being the case, Hungary maintains such a large number of expensive diplomatic posts abroad. The extreme Nationalist press declares that Hungary *must* pursue an energetic foreign policy, and suggests that such a policy would be found in an intimate alliance with Italy and Germany in sharp antagonism to the surrounding States.

New Monetary Unit

According to a statement made by Mr. Popovics, the director of the national bank, a new Hungarian currency is likely to be introduced in the latter half of the current year, after the English pound has attained parity. An agreement has been arrived at between the Hungarian National Bank and the Bank of England, according to which the fate of the Hungarian crown is bound up with the English pound. It is expected that the English pound will reach parity by the end of July, and by that time the Hungarian crown will be fully stabilized, so that steps may at once be taken then to adopt a new monetary unit.

In this respect Hungary will follow the example of Austria, where a new monetary unit has just been introduced. On March 1 Austria bade official farewell to the "krone," or crown, for on that day the new monetary unit, the "schilling," came into power. The schilling is valued at 10,000 kronen, and is divided into 100 groschen (groats). The "krone" has existed for 25 years, having been introduced on the 2d of August, 1892, to replace the old gulden (florin), and made obligatory tender from the 1st of January, 1900.

SPLIT IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY

THE expulsion of Trotsky from the position of Communist leader chief in Moscow has been imitated in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, so far,

of course, as comparison may be made between the latter and its Russian model. At the end of February, Deputy Bubnik, who had previously been one of the leading members of the Communist Party, was expelled from it, and his expulsion was followed by a voluntary withdrawal from the party of another prominent leader, Deputy Warmbrunn.

Causes of the Expulsion

The immediate cause of Deputy Bubnik's expulsion from the party was his opposition to the recent Communist demonstration, designed officially as a protest against the rise in the cost of living. The real reason for the demonstration, however, according to the expelled leader, was to extort from Moscow another subvention for propaganda purposes. His opposition to the demonstration, which was a dismal failure, anyway, enraged his colleagues and led to his downfall.

The real difference of opinion in the Communist Party, of which the expulsion incident was merely a manifestation, has been developing for some time. The more moderate and less fanatical section of the Communist leaders and party adherents dislike the uncerecermonious interference in the internal affairs of the party on the part of Moscow. At the recent congress of the Communist Party, Moscow insisted that Communist extremists, who do not in any way hold the confidence of the workers and who include various adventurous and place-hunters, should be appointed to its Executive Committee. In his letter giving his reasons for seceding from the Communist Party, Deputy Warmbrunn complains of this immixture of Communist adventurers in the Executive Committee. Moreover, one can see from his words that complete chaos reigns today in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and that there is nothing but mutual suspicion and dissatisfaction, in which two tendencies may be discerned: the more moderate tendency, which is opportunist and dissatisfied with the strict centralism of Moscow, and the radical tendency of the extreme Left, which is entirely subservient to Moscow.

Formation of a New Communist Party

The expulsion of Deputy Bubnik served to bring these groupings to a focus. At first, Bubnik demanded readmission to the

party and the convocation of a congress, at which he would be able to present his case. On March 2, however, he and his colleague changed their tactics and informed the House of Deputies that they were establishing a party of "independent Communist deputies."

The program of this new Communist Party (its independence of the Third International remains to be seen) is roughly the same as that of the Communist Party proper: a struggle against the bourgeoisie and its government, on behalf of social revolution and the unification of the working classes, etc. Perhaps the only new item on the program is the declaration of a fight against the old Communist Party and the revelation of its misdeeds.

In addition to these two deputies, the Slovak Senator Matuscák has also left the party. He has not, however, joined the new party.

Disintegration of the Communist Party

The disintegration of the Communist forces in Czechoslovakia, indicated by the formation of the new party, is deepened by the fact that there are now also important differences of views between the fanatical adherents of Moscow, who control the party, and the still more fanatical ultra-radical elements. These elements, led by a man named Haken, are now demanding the convocation of a Communist Congress, at which they would be able to discuss their differences with the controlling elements in the Communist leadership.

The general view in Czechoslovakia seems to be that the split in the Communist ranks will widen rather than diminish. The *Prague Central European Observer* considers that "in any case the position of the Communists in Czechoslovakia is very unfavorable for them," and that "the ideal of communism is so discredited among the majority of the workers that sooner or later many of them will return to the old Socialist parties from which they seceded and which they can thank for many things that have been accomplished, whereas the results of the Communist policy and tactics are equivalent to nil."

THE REVOLT IN KURDISTAN

ON FEBRUARY 13 Sheikh Said, one of the hereditary leaders of Kurdistan, raised the standard of revolt against the authority of the Turkish Government at Angora. For nearly two weeks after the beginning of the revolt, the Angora Government minimized its significance, and it was only much later that the seriousness of the situation was fully admitted. In the meantime, however, a great deal of dissatisfaction was aroused in Turkey over the inefficacy of the measures taken by the government, and this led to the resignation of the Turkish Cabinet and the creation of a new cabinet, headed by General Izmet Pasha.

Religious and Nationalist Causes

It does not appear clear to what extent the revolt led by Sheikh Said is one of Kurdish nationalism and to what extent it is caused by religious ideas. Orthodox Islamism is very strong in the outlying eastern vilayets of Turkey, and the active opposition of the present government to religion has been causing resentment there. Although the constitution of present-day Turkey recognizes the Islam as the faith of the country, the Republican leaders, once they had achieved the separation of church and state, have been showing themselves but indifferent Islamists. As a matter of fact, many of their actions have been interpreted by the orthodox Moslems as affronts to the faith.

The administrative methods applied by the present government have not been such as to assuage this feeling. Nor have the officials of the present government displayed any great ability in handling the situation. General Ismet Pasha made the admission that this revolt was bound to come sooner or later, and Jemil Bey, the Minister of the Interior, has declared that the existence of such a conspiracy was known to the authorities. Both admissions are equally damaging, for the former is tantamount to an acknowledgment that the Turkish Administration has no gift for adaptation and has tried to fit everybody to its bed of Procrustes, and the second argues that the civil and military officials alike were lacking in their duty.

Fall of the Turkish Cabinet

Whatever the real causes of the revolt in Kurdistan, it has had very serious repercussions in the political life of Turkey. Its most important effect seems to have been in providing extreme Republicans with an opportunity to inaugurate a régime of repression, by means of which they would be able to crush the last vestiges of opposition to their program.

On March 3 the cabinet, headed by Fethi Bey as Prime Minister, was forced to resign. The outgoing premier insisted that the measures already taken by his government for the crushing of the Kurd revolt and the prevention of its spread to other parts of Turkey were amply sufficient. He was opposed in this by extreme Republicans, who finally triumphed over the Prime Minister when Mustapha Kemal himself, the President of the Turkish Republic, delivered a long speech in which he supported their position.

The New Government

The formation of a new cabinet was entrusted to General Ismet Pasha, Fethi Bey's immediate predecessor in office. He immediately announced his program, the principal features of which are as follows:

(1) The dispatch of a tribunal of independence, with full powers of life and death, into the regions under martial law.

(2) The establishment of another tribunal at Angora, but its death sentences to be subject to revision by the Grand National Assembly.

(3) The government to have the right, subject to the consent of the President of the Republic, to suppress any organizations, publications, or institutions proved to be contrary to the interests of the internal situation in the country.

Ismet Pasha's program was adopted by the Grand National Assembly only after a prolonged debate. The discussion centered mainly around the third proposal. The bill embodying these proposals gives the government full power to apply the restrictions described for two years.

In a message to the nation, the President of the Republic has declared that the government will immediately employ its new powers with firmness and energy for the purpose of preserving order and tranquillity, which is the first condition for

all happiness, activity, and economic and commercial development. After recording with pride the manner in which the nation has rallied to the Republic, the President called upon all officials, civil as well as military, to forestall incidents rather than have recourse to repression after they have occurred, and warned them that negligence on their part will be severely punished.

CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Remarks of Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State, as Chairman of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, at a Special Meeting of the Governing Board Held on Monday, March 2, 1925, at 3 O'clock.

MR. HUGHES said:

It is a high privilege to present the subject of this special meeting to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union. It is a subject of transcendent importance, as it relates to the establishment among the nations of the reign of law and to the endeavor of the American republics to hasten the fulfillment of this purpose by a more definite formulation of the rules of international law. It was fitting that the American republics, free as they happily are from many of the historic antagonisms and rival ambitions which have vexed the peace of other parts of the world, should take the lead in this effort, and through the painstaking studies of American jurists gratifying progress has been made.

At the meeting of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union on January 2, 1924, it was my privilege to present to you, and the board adopted, a resolution referring to the action of the Fifth International Conference of American States, and to the proposed international congress of jurists to be held at Rio de Janeiro, and inviting the co-operation of the American Institute of International Law in the essential task of the codification of international law. The Executive Committee of the American Institute cordially accepted this invitation and has now presented the result of its labors in a series of projects, or draft conventions.

There are thirty-one of these projects, covering a wide range of subjects dealing

with the American international law of peace. They represent the labors of distinguished jurists of this hemisphere. I shall not attempt to state their titles and it is sufficient to say that they embrace a declaration of the rights and duties of nations, statements of the fundamental bases of international law and of the fundamental rights of the American republics, and the formulation of rules with respect to jurisdiction, international rights and duties and the pacific settlement of international disputes. It is natural, as is pointed out by the Executive Committee of the American Institute of International Law, that the law to be applied by the American republics should, in addition to the law universal, contain not a few rules of American origin and adapted to American exigencies, and that the old and the new, taken together, should constitute what may be called American international law, without derogation from the authority of the law which is applicable to all nations.

In the letter presenting these projects for the consideration of the representatives of the American republics the Executive Committee of the American Institute directs attention to American initiative in this work of codification. It is recalled that the first codification of the rules and practice of nations was the "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field" prepared by Dr. Francis Lieber, which was issued in 1863 by Abraham Lincoln. This code was found to be accurate and comprehensive. It furnished the basis and the inspiration of the important labors of Bluntschli. The Second International Conference of the American Republics, held in 1901-1902, in Mexico City, provided for the appointment of a committee to draft codes of public international law and private international law to govern the relations of the American republics. While the convention then proposed was not ratified, the interest in the subject continued and the question of the codification of international law was again taken up at the Third Pan American Conference, held at Rio de Janeiro in 1906. The resulting convention was ratified, but the work was unavoidably delayed and the international commission did not meet

until 1912. This happened to be on the eve of the World War, which interrupted the consideration of the subject. After the war the initiative was again taken by an American jurist, when Mr. Elihu Root, one of the advisory committee of ten jurists meeting at The Hague in 1920 to formulate a plan for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, proposed to that committee the recommendation of a series of conferences to restate the established rules of international law and to formulate desirable amendments and additions. This recommendation appropriately recognized the vast importance of the development of a body of law which would govern and be applied by international judicial institutions. It is regrettable that there should have been such long delay in carrying forward this plan, which had the full support of the advisory committee. Appreciating the importance of expert preliminary work, the proposal for international conferences to restate, improve, and develop the rules of international law carried with it the recommendation that there should be suitable preparatory efforts on the part of jurists, which alone could save from failure in such an enterprise the conferences of governments.

The Fifth Pan American Conference, which was delayed because of the war, was held in Santiago, Chile, in 1923, and the plan to take appropriate measures for the codification of American international law was again brought forward. Provision was made for the appointment of an American international commission of jurists, which accordingly has been constituted and will soon meet at Rio de Janeiro. It is, as I have said, preliminary to the undertaking of this congress of jurists that the Governing Board of the Pan American Union has asked the aid of the American Institute of International Law, which has so promptly and efficiently been rendered.

These projects, or draft conventions, are not submitted to the governing board either for approval or for criticism at this time. In expressing our gratification, we are not dealing with texts or passing upon particular proposals. These projects, or draft conventions, are submitted to the Governing Board with the

recommendation, which I take pleasure in making, that they be transmitted by the members of the Governing Board to their respective governments for their consideration, with an appropriate expression of our gratitude for the high-minded and expert endeavors which have so happily attained this point of achievement.

What is far more important, at this moment, than any particular text or project is the fact that at last we have texts and projects, the result of elaborate study, for consideration. We have the inspiration and stimulus of this action full of promise for the world. We feel that, thanks to American initiative, we are on the threshold of accomplishment in the most important endeavor of the human race to lift itself out of the savagery of strife into the domain of law, breathing the spirit of amity and justice.

It is significant that the Executive Committee of the American Institute of International Law has stated that their projects relate to the international law of peace. Their members were a unit in believing that the law of war should find no place in the relations of the American republics. We have dedicated ourselves to the cause of peace. Fortunately, we have no grievances which could furnish any just ground for war. If we respect each other's rights, as we intend to do, if we co-operate in friendly efforts to promote our common prosperity, as it will be our privilege to do, there will be no such grievances in the future. There are no differences now, and there should be none, which do not lend themselves readily to the amicable adjustments of nations bent on maintaining friendship.

I believe that this day, with the submission of concrete proposals which take the question of the development of international law out of mere amiable aspiration, marks a definite step in the progress of civilization and the promotion of peace, and for that reason will long be remembered; for in this effort we are not unmindful of the larger aspects of the question, and it is our hope that the American republics, by taking advantage of this opportunity, may make a lasting contribution to the development of universal international law.

THE TACNA-ARICA AWARD

ON MARCH 9 President Coolidge's award in the arbitration between Chile and Peru concerning Tacna and Arica was officially handed to the representatives of the countries concerned. The questions involved were submitted to the President of the United States as arbitrator by a protocol of arbitration and supplementary act signed on July 20, 1922. These questions arose out of the unfulfilled provisions of Article 3 of the treaty of peace between Chile and Peru, known as the Treaty of Ancon, which was concluded on October 20, 1883.

Duties of the Arbitrator

From the terms of the protocol of arbitration and the supplementary act, the arbitrator defined his duty to be as follows:

1. To decide whether in the present circumstances a plebiscite shall or shall not be held to determine the definitive sovereignty of the territory in question as between Chile and Peru.

2. If the arbitrator decides in favor of a plebiscite, to determine the conditions of that plebiscite, including the terms and time of the payment to be made by the nation succeeding in the plebiscite, as provided in Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon.

3. If the arbitrator decides against the plebiscite, to take no further action as arbitrator, except that—

4. Whether the decision be for or against a plebiscite, the arbitrator is to decide the pending questions with respect to Tarata and Chilcaya arising respectively on the northern and southern boundaries of the territory.

The Question of the Plebiscite

The arbitrator has decided that the provisions of the second and third paragraphs of Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon are still in effect; that the plebiscite should be held, and that the interests of both parties can be properly safeguarded by establishing suitable conditions therefor.

The arbitrator holds that the following persons shall be entitled to vote in the plebiscite directed to be held under this award:

A. Male persons, 21 years old, able to read and write, who qualify under one of

the following classifications, numbered 1, 2, and 3:

1. Persons born in Tacna and Arica—this is, in the territory as hereinafter defined in this award;

2. Chileans and Peruvians who

(a) On July 20, 1922, had resided two years continuously in said territory; and

(b) Continue so to reside in said territory until the date of registration; and

(c) Reside for three months immediately preceding registration in the sub-delegation in which they are resident at the time of registration; and

(d) Make an affidavit as to residence in a form to be prescribed by the Plebiscitary Commission hereafter described.

3. Foreigners—*i. e.*, persons who are neither Chileans nor Peruvians—who are eligible for naturalization in either Chile or Peru and who fulfill the qualifications described in subdivisions *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*, under paragraph A-2, and who, in addition, make affidavit, in a form prescribed by the Plebiscitary Commission, of their intention to apply at once for naturalization in the State winning the plebiscite.

B. 1. *Provided, however*, That no person shall be denied the right to vote at the plebiscite solely because of inability to read and write who on July 20, 1922, and continuously from that date until the date when he applies for registration was the owner of real property in said territory.

2. *Provided, further*, That no person shall acquire a vote through residence in said territory under the provisions of paragraphs A-2 and 3 if during any part of such required period of residence he has been a member in any capacity of the army, navy, carbineers, government police, secret service, or gendarmerie of either Chile or Peru, or has received compensation as such; or has been a government official or civil employee in the political, judicial, or fiscal service of either country, or has received compensation as such.

3. *Provided, further*, That military persons of all ranks and civil employees of every degree of both governments who were born in said territory shall be given the opportunity to return to their native place, both to register and vote in the plebiscite.

4. *Provided, further*, (a) That no person serving a term of imprisonment after sentence for a non-political offense involving moral turpitude or (b) under guardianship, *non compos mentis* or insane, shall be allowed to register or vote.

Supervision of the Plebiscite

For the purpose of the plebiscite there shall be constituted a Plebiscitary Commission, and registration and election boards with the following organization, powers, and duties:

A Plebiscitary Commission shall be constituted, consisting of three members, one to be appointed by the Government of Chile, one to be appointed by the Government of Peru, and the third member, who shall act as president of the commission, to be appointed by the President of the United States.

In case one party fails to appoint a member for thirty days after the time hereafter provided in this award, it shall thereupon become the duty of the president of the Plebiscitary Commission to appoint a member to fill the vacancy thus existing. In making this appointment the president of the commission is not limited as to nationality except that no more than one member of the Plebiscitary Commission may be a national of either Chile or Peru.

Vacancies shall be filled according to the manner of the original appointment.

The Plebiscitary Commission shall act by a majority vote and shall establish its own rules of procedure, subject to the provisions of this award.

The Plebiscitary Commission shall have in general complete control over the plebiscite and shall have authority to determine all questions as to the registration of voters, the casting and counting of the vote, and whether the persons claiming the right to register and vote are qualified to do so, subject only to the provisions of the arbitrator's opinion and award.

Powers and Duties of the Commission

Without limiting the generality of the foregoing, the Plebiscitary Commission shall have the power and duty to promulgate rules and regulations for the plebiscite, which shall provide as follows:

For the procedure of registration and election boards;

For public notice of the time and places of registration and the time and place of voting;

For the registration of voters;

For the opening to public scrutiny of the lists of registered voters before the date set for voting, so as to furnish opportunity for the investigation of contested cases and the correction of the voting lists;

For the secrecy of the ballot;

For the printing of the plebiscitary ballots, which shall be in simple form, with two columns headed by representations of the national flags of Chile and Peru, respectively, with the words "For Chile" in one column and the words "For Peru" in the other, and a square in each column, to be marked by the voter according to his preference;

For the reception and counting of the ballots;

For the tabulation and scrutiny of the returns of the vote;

For appeals from the registration and election boards to the Plebiscitary Commission;

For proceedings, either by way of appeal from the registration and election boards or by way of original contest, proceedings before the Plebiscitary Commission to exclude any or all votes cast or apparently cast at any voting place on account of intimidation, bribery, or fraud.

The arbitrator also reserves the power and right to entertain appeals from decisions of the Plebiscitary Commission and for contest. Provision is also made for the constitution of registration and election boards.

The Time of the Plebiscite

The members of the Plebiscitary Commission shall be appointed within four months from the date of the rendition of this award, and the commission shall assemble in the city of Arica for its first meeting not later than six months from the date of the rendition of this award. These times may be changed by the arbitrator. The commission shall thereupon proceed at once to formulate rules for its own procedure and regulations governing the plebiscite in conformity with the conditions herein set forth, and shall fix the date for the plebiscite and the time and places of registration and voting.

The dates, times, and places so fixed may be changed by the commission.

Proclamation of the Result of the Plebiscite

Upon being properly advised by the Plebiscitary Commission of the result of the plebiscite, the arbitrator, in case no contest proceedings have been instituted as hereinbefore provided, will proclaim the result by notifying both parties. In case contest proceedings are instituted, the arbitrator, upon receiving the report of the Plebiscitary Commission thereon, will either proclaim the result of the plebiscite by notifying the parties accordingly or will declare the plebiscitary vote void and decree a new plebiscite within three months.

The arbitrator holds that Chile and Peru shall enact legislation in aid of the plebiscite, to the end that intimidation, bribery, fraud, or other offenses committed in connection with the plebiscite may be prevented or punished.

The Payment of the Ten Millions

The payment which by the terms of Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon shall be made by the nation which remains the owner of the Provinces of Tacna and Arica shall be made in the following manner:

One million within ten days after the proclamation by the arbitrator of the result of the plebiscite; a second million within the year following; and two millions at the end of each year of the subsequent four years.

These sums shall be paid in Peruvian silver soles or in Chilean silver coin equivalent to the kind in circulation on October 20, 1883.

The total revenues of the custom house at Arica are assigned as security for the above payments.

The Boundary Questions

Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon provides:

The territory of the Provinces of Tacna and Arica, bounded on the north by the River Sama from its source in the Cordilleras on the frontier of Bolivia to its mouth at the sea, on the south by the ravine and River Cumarones, on the east by the Republic of Bolivia, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean,

shall continue in the possession of Chile, subject to Chilean laws and authority, during a period of ten years, to be reckoned from the date of the ratification of the present treaty of peace.

In accordance with this, the award takes up separately the questions of the northern and the southern boundaries.

The Northern Boundary—Tarata

Immediately after the signing of the treaty, a dispute arose as to the northern boundary, and the controversy has continued ever since. Chile contends that the treaty established a river line—that is, the River Sama from its source to its mouth—and that this line should be defined and followed as the northern boundary, irrespective of any Peruvian provincial lines. According to Chile's contention, the territory in question would embrace not only territory of the Peruvian Provinces of Tacna and Arica, but also a portion of the Peruvian Province of Tarata. Peru insists that Article 3 of the treaty dealt solely with the Peruvian Provinces of Tacna and Arica, and that no part of the Province of Tarata was included.

The arbitrator decides that no part of the Peruvian Province of Tarata is included in the territory covered by the provisions of Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon; that the territory to which Article 3 relates is exclusively that of the Peruvian Provinces of Tacna and Arica as they stood on October 20, 1883, and that the northern boundary of that part of the territory covered by Article 3 which was within the Peruvian Province of Tacna is the River Sama.

The Southern Boundary—Chilcaya

The southern boundary of the territory covered by Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon is stated therein to be "the ravine and River Camarones."

The arbitrator decides that the southern boundary of the territory covered by Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon is the Peruvian provincial boundary between the Peruvian Provinces of Arica and Tarapaca as they stood on October 20, 1883.

Decision on the Boundary Questions

The arbitrator's decision on the boundary question is as follows:

The territory to which Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon relates, and the disposition of which is to be determined by the plebiscite, to be held as hereinbefore provided, is the territory of the Peruvian Provinces of Tacna and Arica as they stood on October 20, 1883—that is to say, so much of the territory of the said Peruvian Province of Tacna as is bounded on the north by the River Sama, and the whole of the said Peruvian Province of Arica.

The arbitrator reserves the power and right to appoint a special commission consisting of three persons, one to be nominated by Chile, another to be nominated by Peru, and the third to be designated by the arbitrator, to draw the boundary lines of the territory covered by Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon in accordance with the determination of the arbitrator in this opinion and award; that if either party fails to make its nomination of a member of said commission within four months after the date of this opinion and award, the arbitrator shall have the power and right to appoint a member of said special commission to fill the vacancy so arising, and that vacancies in said special commission shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointments.

All the periods hereinbefore mentioned may be extended or changed by the arbitrator.

The holding of the plebiscite, as hereinbefore provided, shall not be delayed to await the proceedings or report of said special commission on boundaries, but that either party may challenge the right of any person to register or vote in said plebiscite upon the ground that he was born or resided, as the case may be, outside the limits of the territory covered by Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon as defined in this opinion and award, and the Plebiscitary Commission shall cause a separate record to be kept of all such persons whose right to register and vote may be affected by the report of the special commission on boundaries, and the votes of such persons shall also be separately kept.

The arbitrator reserves the power and right to pass upon, adopt, modify, or reject the report of said special commission, or to appoint a new special commission and pass upon its report in like manner.

If it appears from the report of the Plebiscitary Commission that the result of the plebiscite may depend upon the votes of persons whose right to register or vote may be in doubt until the boundaries of the territory covered by Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon have been fixed, as hereinbefore provided, the arbitrator shall withhold the proclamation of the result of the plebiscite until said boundaries have been fixed and the right of such persons to register and vote has been determined accordingly.

Reaction in Peru and Chile

President Coolidge's award has been generally interpreted as favoring Chile's side in the controversy. Public demonstrations have been held in the Peruvian capital against the award. Nevertheless, President Leguia, of Peru, has sent a message to President Coolidge in which he said:

Notwithstanding my judgment that Your Excellency's award has undeservedly approved the moral position of the Republic of Chile, undoubtedly guilty for over forty years of untold persecutions and crimes against Peruvian citizens from Tacna and Arica, I unreservedly express to Your Excellency my sincere thanks for the high responsibility so disinterestedly assumed to restore at last, under the predominance of justice, the peace and quietness in this part of the Western Hemisphere that, owing to Chile, has lived for nearly half a century on the verge of war.

On the other hand, the Chilean Foreign Minister, in his message to Secretary Kellogg, stated that "the government and people of Chile receive this decision as the expression of the lofty spirit of justice which has inspired President Coolidge."

On March 23 President Coolidge appointed General John J. Pershing as president of the Plebiscitary Commission, in accordance with the provisions of this award. In making this appointment it was pointed out at the White House that the fair and judicial settlement of the Tacna-Arica case "means much for the peace and good relations of South America, and the high character of General Pershing is an assurance to both parties that their proper interests will be adequately safeguarded."

THE AMERICAN GROUP OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

The Twenty-Second Annual Meeting,
February 10, 1925

FROM the *Congressional Record* of March 10, 1925, under the extension of remarks by Honorable Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, we are able to quote the stenographic report of the twenty-second annual meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. This report follows:

The meeting was called to order at 11 o'clock a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. William B. McKinley, President, presiding, with Mr. Arthur D. Call, Executive Secretary.

Among those present were Senators McKinley, of Illinois; Spencer, of Missouri; Harrell, of Oklahoma; Representatives Britten, of Illinois; Oldfield, of Arkansas; Raker, of California; Sabbath, of Illinois; McLaughlin, of Michigan; Celler and Somers, of New York; Cooper, of Wisconsin; McSwain, of South Carolina; Connally, of Texas; and Montague, of Virginia. Life member, Hon. Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio.

President McKINLEY: The meeting will come to order. This is the twenty-second annual meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. The first in order is the reading of the minutes of the last meeting. Since these minutes have been printed and distributed, it is possible that you may wish to dispense with the reading of the minutes.

Upon motion of Mr. Oldfield, duly seconded, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

President McKINLEY: The next is the report of officers, and under that the first report is the report of the president.

The president read his report, as follows:

Members of the American group, Interparliamentary Union: This is the twenty-second annual meeting of our group.

Officers and Executive Committee

At the last annual meeting you elected the following officers: President, Senator William B. McKinley; Vice-presidents,

Representative Andrew J. Montague, of Virginia; Representative Henry W. Temple, of Pennsylvania, and Representative William A. Oldfield, of Arkansas; Treasurer, Representative Adolph J. Sabath, of Illinois; Secretary, Representative John J. McSwain, of South Carolina; Executive Secretary, Arthur Deerin Call, 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

As members of the Executive Committee you elected the following: Senator William B. McKinley, of Illinois, *ex officio* (chairman); Representative Fred Britten, of Illinois; Representative Theodore Burton, of Ohio; Representative Henry Allen Cooper, of Wisconsin; Senator Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas; Senator Selden P. Spencer, of Missouri; Senator Thomas Sterling, of South Dakota; Representative James C. McLaughlin, of Michigan; Representative Merrill Moores, of Indiana; and Representative John E. Baker, of California.

All these officers and members of the Executive Committee have been returned for the Sixty-ninth Congress with the exception—we regret to add—of Senator Thomas Sterling, of South Dakota, and Representative Merrill Moores, of Indiana.

The Important Event of the Year

At the meeting of a year ago the important question was, Should the Interparliamentary Union meet in the United States in 1925? During the year this question has been answered in the affirmative. With the special aid of one of our vice-presidents, Representative Henry W. Temple, House Joint Resolution 204 was introduced soon after our last meeting. This resolution read as follows:

Resolution requesting the President to invite the Interparliamentary Union to meet in Washington City in 1925, and authorizing an appropriation to defray the expenses of the meeting.

Whereas the Congress in an act approved June 30, 1914, requested the President to extend an invitation to the Interparliamentary Union to hold its annual meeting for the year 1915 in the city of Washington, and in the same act appropriated the sum of \$40,000 to defray the expenses of the said meeting; and

Whereas when the World War led to repeated postponements of the said meeting the Congress repeatedly extended the appropriation: First, the act of July 1, 1916, extended it and made it available for the calendar years 1916 and 1917; second, the act of March 3, 1917, extended the appropriation and made it available for the calendar year 1918; third, the act of April 15, 1918, extended the appropriation and made it available for the calendar year 1919; and

Whereas this appropriation, repeatedly extended, has lapsed, and no part of it having been expended, and the meeting thus arranged for in Washington City has not been held: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the President be requested to invite the Interparliamentary Union to hold its annual meeting for the year 1925 in the city of Washington.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of defraying the expenses incident to said meeting the appropriation of \$50,000, to be expended under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of State may prescribe, is hereby authorized.

This resolution passed both the House and the Senate and was approved by the President.

At a plenary session of the Twenty-second Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, held in Bern, the following self-explanatory invitation was presented by the Hon. Hugh Gibson, United States Minister to Switzerland:

To the Interparliamentary Union:

The Congress of the United States of America having by a joint resolution, approved May 13, 1924, requested the President of the United States to invite the Interparliamentary Union to hold its annual meeting for the year 1925 in the city of Washington, it affords me very great pleasure indeed, as President of the United States, to extend to the Interparliamentary Union, in pursuance of the said joint resolution, the cordial invitation of the Government and the Congress of the United States to hold its twenty-third conference in the city of Washington at such time during the year 1925 as the Union may fix.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES,
Secretary of State.

WASHINGTON, June 30, 1924.

This invitation was unanimously and enthusiastically received and accepted.

The Twenty-third Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, therefore, is to meet in Washington October 1 to 6, 1925.

Co-operation of the State Department

It gives me great pleasure to call attention to the encouraging co-operation of our Department of State, as your officers have gone about the business of organizing the coming conference, and also of the Pan American Union.

Under date of January 10 we forwarded an invitation to the respective parliamentary bodies of each of the Latin American Republics. This invitation read:

To the National Congress:

HONORED SIR: I have the honor and the very great pleasure as president of the group of the Congress of the United States in the Interparliamentary Union to extend on behalf of that group a cordial invitation to the National Congress of — to be represented by a group of its members at the twenty-third conference which the Interparliamentary Union will hold at the city of Washington, October 1 to 6, 1925, in acceptance of an invitation extended by the President of the United States at the request of the Congress thereof.

It needs no assurance, I trust, that your representatives would be warmly received by the Union and accorded a most hearty welcome to the United States.

In the hope that it may be your pleasure to consider the invitation favorably, I avail myself of the opportunity afforded to offer to you, sirs, the assurances of the very high consideration with which I am

Your obedient servant,

W. B. McKINLEY,

*President of the United States Group
of the Interparliamentary Union.*

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,

Executive Secretary.

Accompanying the foregoing invitation we sent the following letter to the presiding officers of the legislatures of each of the American Republics:

MY DEAR —: The Department of State of the United States has transmitted through its embassy the formal invitation of the

group of the United States of the Interparliamentary Union to the legislative body over which you so ably preside to be represented at the twenty-third conference of the Union, to assemble at Washington in 1925. This conference will be held October 1 to 6, 1925.

The interparliamentary group of the United States is most anxious to hear of the organization of a group within your parliament, as already urged by the Interparliamentary Union; in any event, that your parliament will be represented at this meeting. I beg to press upon you the acceptance of this invitation, the appointment of duly accredited delegates, and their attendance at this conference in Washington.

It is needless for me to assure you of the warm welcome which the representatives of your national congress will receive in Washington, and I wish to add thereto the thought that such a coming together of the representatives of the national legislatures will contribute greatly toward better friendship and understanding.

I hope that I may hear favorably from you relative to this matter, and beg to remain,

Very sincerely yours,

W. B. McKINLEY.

The State Department graciously sent these communications to our diplomatic representatives in each of the republics and accompanied them with the following communication:

SIR: You will please address a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs to read as follows:

EXCELLENCY: In pursuance of a joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of America, the President of the United States extended to the Interparliamentary Union, at its twenty-second conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in August, 1924, an invitation to hold its twenty-third conference in the city of Washington, at such time during the year 1925 as the Union might fix. The invitation was accepted and the conference will be held at Washington, October 1 to 6, 1925. For the expenses incident to the holding of this conference the Congress of the United States has appropriated the sum of \$50,000.

The purpose of the Interparliamentary Union, as Your Excellency is probably aware, is to unite in common action the members of

all parliaments, constituted in national groups, to secure the co-operation of their respective States in the firm establishment and the democratic development of the work of international peace and co-operation between peoples, and to study all questions of an international character suitable for settlement by parliamentary action, but keeping aloof from questions purely domestic in their scope and from those of an acute political nature.

Since 1889 periodical conferences of the Union have been held, through which much has been achieved in the direction of the purposes of the Union, and at some of which the parliaments of as many as 34 States have been represented by groups.

That the legislative bodies of Latin American countries have taken little part in these conferences is a matter of regret to the American group, who are especially desirous of having the Congress of each of the independent governments represented by a group in the Washington conference of 1925. To that end the Hon. William B. McKinley, a Senator of the United States from the State of Illinois, who is president of the group of the Congress of the United States in the Union, has extended on behalf of that group a cordial invitation to the Congress of — to be represented by a group of its members in the conference of the Interparliamentary Union which is to meet at Washington on the 1st of October next.

This invitation has been forwarded to me by my government, which has instructed me to transmit it to Your Excellency with the request that you will be so good as to communicate it to the presiding officers of the National Congress of — with the foregoing information. In so transmitting the invitation to Your Excellency I am happy to discharge the further duty intrusted to me of expressing my government's hope that acceptance of the invitation will be found agreeable to the — Congress and in giving the assurance that such of its members as may attend the conference will be accorded a most cordial welcome to the United States.

In support of the invitation Senator McKinley has addressed personal communications to the presiding officers of the two houses of Congress. These I have the honor to send to Your Excellency in order that

they may, if you perceive no objection, be transmitted to the addressees at the same time with the formal invitations.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

— — —,
For the Secretary of State.

Co-operation from Canada

We are also gratified to report that the Canadian Parliament is planning to entertain the visiting delegates following the conference in Washington. Most courteous letters to this effect have been received from Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, speaker of the Canadian House of Commons and president of the Canadian Group of the Interparliamentary Union, and also from Senator R. Dandurand and Senator C. P. Beaubien. We have already received evidences of the pleasure felt by the European brethren at the prospect of meeting our Canadian friends under such happy auspices—a feeling deeply shared in, of course, by us of the Congress of the United States.

Certain Details of the Conference

This conference of members of parliaments from various parts of the world has for many years met invariably in the parliament buildings of the countries in which the conferences have been held. It is most desirable that this conference should be held in the House of Representatives, if the House be not in session at that time. Your officers beg your co-operation in the achievement of this. If a member of a foreign parliament is entitled to the privilege of the floor of the House, even when that body is in session, it does not seem unreasonable to grant such privilege to a group of such parliamentarians when the House is not in session.

Every step possible at this time has been taken toward extending the hospitality of our government and of the city to our fellow parliamentarians who may find it possible to be with us in October. We are assured that the customs formalities will be removed for these delegates. We plan to bring them from New York to Washington, entertain them here, and deliver them to our Canadian friends at Niagara Falls.

It is not necessary that I go into more detail at this time, further, perhaps, than to state that in our judgment the conference should be organized substantially as follows:

1. President of Council: Baron Theodore Adelswaerd, of the Swedish Senate.
2. Secretary General of Interparliamentary Union: Dr. Christian L. Lange, Geneva.
3. General chairman of the conference.
4. Committee on reception.
5. Committee on entertainment.
6. Committee on transportation and hotel accommodation.
7. Ladies' committee.
8. Director of the conference: Arthur Deerin Call, Executive Secretary of the American group.
9. Chairman budget committee: Hon. J. Butler Wright, Third Assistant Secretary of State.
10. Disbursing officer: Hon. William McNeir, Chief, Bureau of Accounts and disbursing officer, State Department.

Conclusion

I ought not to close this report without calling your attention particularly to the fact that in the *Congressional Record* for February 20 you will find our executive secretary's report of the Bern Conference of the Union held last August; an address of Hon. T. E. Burton, delivered before the Bern Conference on August 22, 1924; the resolutions adopted by that conference; and our Executive Secretary's historical account of the Interparliamentary Union.

Your officers look to you, members of the American group, to aid them in every way possible and to offer any suggestions that may occur to you as helpful, to the end that the coming conference of the Interparliamentary Union may be worthy of the dignity of our United States Congress, of the hospitality of our American people, and of the high purposes for which the Interparliamentary Union exists.

Mr. Britten was called on by President McKinley to report on the entertainment of the visiting delegates at hotels in Washington and their possible entertainment in several cities. He made an extended report and a motion was passed congratulating and thanking him.

President McKinley stated it was planned to bring our visitors to Washington and after the meeting provide for their transportation to Buffalo and Niagara Falls, where they would be received by the members of the Canadian delegation. He also stated that President Nicholas Murray Butler desired to arrange a reception and dinner for the guests at New York. It was proposed that there be a ladies' committee to arrange entertainment for wives of visiting delegates.

The treasurer's report was received and filed.

It was reported that no definite answer had been received from the railway companies upon reduced rates of fare, and that perhaps no report could be expected until it was more definitely known how many foreign delegates were coming to the meeting.

There was discussion relative to the meeting place in Washington for the delegates, and it was moved and carried that it was the sense of the American group that the House of Representatives be obtained for this annual conference of the Interparliamentary Union.

Senator McKinley was re-elected President for the ensuing year and the vice-presidents now serving were elected. Mr. Sabath was re-elected as treasurer and Mr. McSwain as secretary.

Also, it was moved and carried that Mr. Arthur D. Call be continued as Executive Secretary.

The President stated that two of the Executive Committee will leave Congress this year: Senator Sterling, of South Dakota, and Mr. Moores, of Indiana. Mr. Connally was elected to the Executive Committee in place of Mr. Moores, and Senator Curtis in place of Senator Sterling.

Under new business President McKinley gave lists showing that 50 members of the Senate and 200 members of the House of Representatives were enrolled as members of the local group of the Union. Mr. Burton suggested the advisability of securing the largest possible membership from each State.

A motion was made and carried authorizing the President to appoint such additional committees to arrange for the

coming meeting and the entertainment of guests as he might deem necessary or desirable.

Whereupon, at 11.20 a. m., the meeting adjourned.

ARTHUR D. CALL,
Executive Secretary.

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DATES

(February 16—March 15, 1925)

February 16—The Legislative Assembly of Tangier holds its first meeting, presided over by Mendub, representative of the Sultan.

February 18—The report of the Inter-allied Military Mission of Control is placed in the hands of the Versailles Committee, presided over by Marshal Foch.

February 19—The Convention, Protocol, and final acts of the Second Opium Conference are signed at Geneva.

M. Clementel, French Minister of Finance, announces in the Chamber of Deputies that the government intends raising a loan abroad, and that \$100,000,000 have been promised from the United States.

February 24—The new Russian Minister of War warns the Soviet Republic that a great military clash with other nations is before it.

February 25—The Russo-Japanese Treaty is signed by the Prince Regent of Japan.

Kurdish insurgents proclaim one of ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid's sons King of Kurdistan, causing considerable anxiety to the Turkish Government.

February 28—Herr Ebert, President of the German Republic, dies in Berlin.

March 2—Draft conventions, prepared by the American Institute of International Law, putting into form the ideals of American nations in international law, are presented to the governing board of the Pan-American

Union by Secretary of State Hughes.

March 3—Martial law is declared in the districts of Santiago, Valparaíso, and Aconcagua, in Chile, owing to disturbed political conditions.

March 4—Calvin Coolidge is inaugurated President of the United States. The award in the arbitration between Chile and Peru over Tacna-Arica is approved by President Coolidge.

Secretary Hughes finds solution to boundary controversies between the governments of Brazil, Colombia, and Peru, and a procès verbal is signed by Mr. Hughes and by the diplomats from the countries concerned.

March 5—The Turkish National Assembly votes confidence in Ismet Pasha's newly formed cabinet.

March 7—The Soviet Government announces a reduction of this year's agricultural taxes by 40 per cent.

A sweeping anti-Bolshevist law passes the House of Representatives of Japan.

March 9—The award of President Coolidge as arbitrator in the Tacna-Arica case is delivered to the Chilean and Peruvian ambassadors.

March 10—The Reichstag of Germany designates Dr. Walter Simon, former Prime Minister, as acting President of the German Republic.

The Council of the League of Nations, after a long private session, decides that Germany must apply for membership in the League in the routine fashion and without special favors.

March 12—Austen Chamberlain, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, states before the Council of the League of Nations, assembled at Geneva, that England and all her dominions except Ireland, which has not reported, reject the Geneva Protocol for Security and Disarmament.

HISTORICAL TEXTBOOKS AS PROVOCATIVES OF WAR

By DONALD R. TAFT
Professor of Economics and Sociology,
Wells College

In this study the summaries and quotations from French books are from Vast & Jalliffier: *Histoire de France*, Nouvelle Edition Refondue par Ch. L'Hopital, Paris, 1922, and one or two from Vast, H.: *Petite Histoire de la Grande Guerre*, Paris, 1919. The German summaries and quotations are all from Kunsteller, Haacke, Schneider: *Geschichtsbuch für die deutsche Jugend*, Leipzig, 1923. Except as noted below, the summaries and quotations from non-liberal American books are taken from Guitteau, William Backus: *Our United States*, Silver, Burdett & Co., New York, Newark, Boston and Chicago, 1924. The liberal are all from Long, William J.: *America, A History of Our Country*, Glinn & Co., 1923, New York. A single short quotation marked (Elson) is from Elson, Henry William, *History of the United States of America*, Macmillan, New York, 1923. A single one marked (Woodman and Moran) is from their text entitled *Elementary American History and Government*, Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1919. Of course, these few texts were used as representative of their respective types. Some thirty-three American books were studied.—D. R. T.

SERIOUS students of the war problem need not be reminded of its complexity. The recent Washington Conference on the Cause and Cure of War* noted some twenty-four war-making forces and the list was incomplete. Not long after the outbreak of the European war, the writer attempted to classify its alleged causes as set forth in current periodicals and books. Even then the number of causes mentioned was legion. An individual writer might stress a single factor, but the different men did not agree. Each saw the war in terms of his own experiences or speciality, and some analyses were profound and others superficial. Thus statesmen found the explanation of the war in diplomatic correspondence, or more rarely in the evils of secret diplomacy; business men saw it in specific instances of "unfair" competition or in the world struggle for markets or raw materials; anthropologists and psychologists stressed alleged racial traits of their enemies, or race hatreds, or a hypothetical fighting instinct; historians grouped a number of factors under the head of nationalism or militarism, and economists called it economic imperialism; while geographers spoke of the determining influence of location and of mountain barriers, and sociologists quoted birth rates and emphasized hindrances to mutual understanding. The most super-

ficial were satisfied to attribute the war to a plot and leave the matter there, or even to quibble over which side crossed the boundary first or fired the first shot.

More recent and scholarly investigations have found no single or simple explanation, but have uncovered an extraordinarily complex network of interrelated factors which ultimately resulted in conflict. The causes of war are many; and if the cause is not simple, neither is the cure. We may well join in the effort to secure a World Court, to perfect a Protocol, or create a real League of Nations, but the success of these efforts will depend largely upon the support they receive from other sources. Backed by public opinion, supported by educational policies, relieved from the disintegrating effect of the world scramble for oil, and secure from the irresistible pressure of a redundant population, say, in Japan, such a Protocol and such a League have just a chance for success. By themselves they are probably doomed to failure. The attack upon war must be simultaneous along all lines.

Now, one of these lines is the educational. One important aspect of the educational line is the teaching of history, and one of the tests of the influence of history teaching is the content of textbooks. This article will be concerned chiefly with textbooks as one of the influences which make the attainment of other aspects of our peace program difficult.

We shall consider history textbooks, although others are, perhaps, as important. For example, a civics which teaches the child that the sole duty of the patriot is to follow, to obey, to conform, rather than also to think, to criticise, to reform if possible, is perhaps more dangerous to world peace than a history which misstates facts or preaches hatred for a particular nation. We urgently need a generation trained in independent thought.

Instead of the influence of textbooks,

* Washington, D. C., January 18-24, 1925.

we might consider the influence of teachers. An able liberal-minded teaching may go far to counteract the influence of a poor and chauvinistic text. But the poorest teachers—and there are still too many of them—know little more of history than the textbooks tell. A really critical attitude towards the books which are used is rare.

But textbooks are also worthy of study, because they may be treated objectively. We may compare the treatment of the same historical event in the schools of two or more countries concerned; we may demonstrate that exactly opposite facts are taught without necessarily involving ourselves in the difficulty of determining which textbooks are lying. Textbooks thus lend themselves to unprejudiced study in a field which is permeated with prejudice and in which prejudice is absolutely fatal to an understanding of the problem.

Several studies of textbooks have been made recently. Some, such as the Hirshfield* investigation, and to a less degree the Mandel† report, are of little value except as indications of the state of public opinion. They have aimed to replace one kind of propaganda with a propaganda more to their liking. The most important completed study has undoubtedly been that made by the Paris branch of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. This study, which has not been translated, examined the post-war texts of England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Bulgaria. It was written under the editorial direction of Frenchmen and is perhaps not entirely objective in its viewpoint; but its conclusions are all the more significant for this very reason, because its conclusions are in general similar to those to which my own study has led me. This French study is almost as critical of French texts as of those of Germany. Both, it shows, are provoking the next war.

The writer has attempted a study smaller in scope, but objective in method. It covers representative textbooks in use in secondary and upper elementary schools in France, Germany, and the United States. By collecting these books, it is possible to compare the treatment of the same historical events in the texts of two or more countries concerned. The passages

compared naturally have to do with controversial subjects. For example, it would be possible to compare the treatment of the Monroe Doctrine in Mexican and South American textbooks with that in our own. In this article, however, the comparisons have to do with the World War and the peace.

The comparisons given below are of two kinds: First, short summaries derived from different parts of the texts; secondly, longer exact quotations. In the making of the summaries there is, of course, some danger of prejudice. But the longer quotations would, if space permitted a sufficient number, enable the reader to judge of the fairness of the summaries.

The purpose of the comparisons is not to show inaccuracies in the texts. Especially, it is not to show which text is lying. But the comparisons do abundantly show that both texts cannot be telling the truth. Quite possibly both misrepresent. Children cannot be taught opposite ideas and arrive at similar attitudes. Children cannot be taught to hate and have friendly feelings—unless, of course, some other force intervenes. Unfortunately, the other forces are for the most part of the same nature as the textbooks.

First, let us compare some fairly typical French and German texts. Practically all the French books the writer has examined are roughly similar to the one from which the summaries and quotations shown below are taken. There is a little more variation among the German books, some being slightly more liberal and less provocative than the summaries indicate. In general, the comparisons include texts published as late as 1923 and some in 1924, but the German books are slightly more recent than the French. It is possible that the last year has seen some improvement in the French texts, but I have little evidence of it.

Imagine, then, a French and a German child each faithfully reading and believing the following:

* Report on investigation, of pro-British history textbooks in use in the public schools of the city of New York, by David Hirshfield, commissioner of accounts, 1923. Brown Printing and Binding Co., New York.

† Report by Edward Mandel. Stillman Appellate Printing Co., 200 William Street, New York, 1922.

1. As to the cause of the war, French children read: "The war was caused solely by German aggression. The Germans, believing themselves to be a superior race, have long plotted to exterminate the 'unworthy' French. German children read: "Germany is guiltless; English jealousy and French desire for revenge were the chief among many causes."

We are dealing here, of course, with the fundamental of fundamentals. French and German children are naturally taught opposite notions as to the responsibility for the war. Occasionally in the German books there is some approach to a recognition of joint responsibility for a war which grew out of the complex situation preceding it. I have found no such suggestion in any of the French texts and the general emphasis in most of the German books is as the charts indicate.

2. As to colonial policy, French children read: "French colonial policy has always been peaceful, but German ill-will has always tried to thwart it." German children read: "French colonial policy was not really pacific, and England thwarted German attempts at fair play."

3. As to armaments, French children read: "That Europe has been an armed camp has been entirely due to the wicked Germans, who falsely pretended that they were encircled by enemies." German children read: "German armament was defensive, for Germany was surrounded by enemies."

4. As to peace efforts, French children read: "Sweet France has always been pacific, and at the beginning of the war she did all in her power to keep the peace, but Germany made her attempts fail." German children read: "Germany made every effort to localize the Austro-Serbian dispute, but the enemy nations openly incited war among their people."

5. As to broken treaties, French children read: "Germany alone basely violated the neutrality of Belgium." German children read: "English and Belgian officers planned the march through Belgium as early as 1908."

6. As to atrocities, French children read: "Germans and Germans alone were guilty of the vilest atrocities during the war." German children read: "The German activities in Belgium were justified. The English abused German residents in

England and tried to starve Germany with a blockade. The French abused German residents of Alsace-Lorraine and the Allies have murdered German children since the armistice by depriving Germany of cows."

7. As to Alsace-Lorraine, French children read: "The return of Alsace-Lorraine to France was an act of historical justice and no plebiscite was needed." German children read: "Alsace-Lorraine is only 13 per cent French, and its possession gives France the keys to Germany."

8. As to the treaty, French children read: "The peace is a peace of justice based on Mr. Wilson's fourteen points, whereas the Germans planned for us a peace of slavery." German children read: "The peace is a peace of enslavement and is a gross breach of the Allies' pre-Armistice promises."

9. As to the German Republic, French children read: "The German Republic is a mere sham, and another war is already being planned in Germany." The German textbooks vary considerably in their treatment of the Republic, some giving it scant attention and implying that the Social-Democrats were traitors to the Empire. Other texts, however, give great space to the Republic and the Constitution of Weimar, holding them up as the hope for the regeneration of Germany. In other words, German textbook writers reflect different points of view with reference to democracy, just as American textbook writers reflect different points of view with reference to the League of Nations.

10. As to Bolshevism, French children read: "The world-menace of Bolshevism is also due to Germany."

11. As to the future, French children read: "Germans are beasts, and the German menace will never cease. Therefore, France, beware!" German children read: "German youth, this treaty must not be permanent."

Just a very few quotations before we pass to the American books:

French:

"Early in the nineteenth century the German savants declared the Germans to be a superior race, having the right to destroy inferior races, and they proposed to exterminate the French just as the Europeans have exterminated the redskins in America."

On the German Republic:

The German Republic is only a fiction. Only her facade has changed. This democratic camouflage only warns us: "Let us in our turn keep our powder dry." . . . Adversity will, without doubt, force Germany to transform herself, but we can never forget the evil she has done us . . . Up to this time Germany has never been for France other than a cheat who deceives us; a brute who pillages and kills . . . The great epoch through which we have been living is in sum only an epoch of the eternal duel between Ahriman against Ormidz, of Satan against God, or bestiality against humanity . . . The savages on the other side of the Rhine have always menaced us; thus the great lines of history have never been effaced in spite of the diversity of the ages and the progress of science.

The military occupation of the left bank of the Rhine should not cease until the day when Germany shall have paid entirely what she owes. She will only pay what she is compelled to pay by force.

Still more striking quotations might be made from elementary school readers intended for very young children. The Carnegie study mentioned above quotes from one entitled "Little French Children, Do Not Forget," and the following is the substance of the passage:

Victor has received a delightful present, an engine and a train of cars. In the midst of his delight he suddenly stops short, frowning and thoughtful. After a moment thus he seizes his wooden mallet and dashes the toy to pieces at his feet. His astonished and somewhat angry mother is rebuked by the child's tearful exclamation, "Mamma, it is Boche."

German:

In a fairly typical, but slightly extreme, German text we read the following on England's alleged jealousy:

The growing prosperity of Germany angered England more and more, because she saw her industrial supremacy threatened. By 1913 an English newspaper wrote: "If tomorrow Germany were to be exterminated, then the day following there would be no Englishman who would not be richer because of the fact. For a long time people have

fought over a city or over an inheritance, must they not carry on war over an annual business of 250,000,000 pounds sterling? Germaniam esse delendam! Down with Germany!"

Further:

Therewith England made a beginning of shutting up enemy nationals who had settled in their country, together with their women and children, behind barbed wire fencing, and robbed them of their belongings. . . . They prevented the entrance of neutral ships into Germany and searched them. All this was really contrary to international understandings; but "Right or wrong, my country."

But most interesting are the long discussions of the treaty in the German books. Of the Conference as a whole they say:

Clemenceau had now reached the goal of his life. He could now unchain his hatred and revenge against defeated Germany. What concern of his were Wilson's fourteen points? "The fourteen points are really a few too many," he sneered; "the dear God himself had only ten." . . . Finally Clemenceau and Lloyd George wrested the fourteen points (from Wilson) one by one. . . . A cry of horror broke from the German people, weakened by the hunger blockade.

On the League:

The League of Nations agreement to maintain existing boundary lines is in reality an agreement of an armed alliance of victorious States ruled over by France. . . . Its foremost goal is the maintenance of the Treaty of Versailles. For this reason the United States has not entered the League in spite of Wilson. Liberia and Haiti belong, but Germany, Austria and Russia do not.

Characterizing the treaty as a whole, we read:

This is the way the "peace of righteousness appears." An English newspaper wrote, "Never were severer conditions of peace laid upon nations." . . . This peace must not be lasting, mark that well, German youth.

And what is the outcome of all this?

More distant than ever is a true and just League of Nations. German people, you may fall, but you cannot sink.

Can there be any question that the coming generation of French and German children, each as innocent as our own children of responsibility for the war, are growing up with diametrically opposite attitudes toward it? Unless some other radically different influence enters their lives, they cannot choose but hate each other. There is at least one thing that we Americans can do about it. We can co-operate with the new world organization which is studying the problem and work for a joint liberalization of history texts. But to do this we should come with clean hands. It behooves us to examine what we are teaching our own children.

I am not presenting a direct comparison between German and American textbooks because, for a number of reasons, exact parallels are difficult to draw. Instead, I compare briefly two extreme types of American books. The first I have called "non-liberal," and the second "liberal." By liberal, in this connection, I simply mean a book which approximates most nearly the German point of view, and by non-liberal I mean those texts which are most bitterly anti-German in their emphasis. Two qualifications must be clearly understood: By liberal we do not mean pro-German. Not one of the thirty-three American texts examined is pro-German. Pupils reading the liberal books will have no doubt but what America was justified in fighting the war. They may have some doubt as to the justice of the treaty. Secondly, it must be emphasized that while there is some difference between individual books, most of them belong to the category "non-liberal." So that these non-liberal books are nearly as characteristic of America as the French and German books studied are of their respective countries.

It is also worth noting that, as compared with either French or German texts, most American texts are somewhat less bitter. We are further away from the scene of conflict. Exception should, perhaps, be made of one or two German books. Turning to our American summaries, American children read in the non-liberal books:

1. As to the cause of the war: "That

the war was made in Germany is not a matter of dispute; it is a fact" (Elson). "Germany was fighting for the domination of Europe and eventually of America (Woodburn and Moran). "Germany admitted her war guilt in the treaty" (Guitteau).

In a liberal book, on the other hand, American children read: "Germany appears guilty, but her plot was not peculiar to her. Other nations had had plots of conquest. The real evil was the European system. It is impossible yet accurately to apportion the blame for the war. Moreover, it appears, at the last moment the German Emperor tried to restrain Austria (scattered).

Atrocities:

As to atrocities, the differences between the books is one of degree. All recognize the horrors of submarine warfare, but some give little space to describing them or to detailing the terrors on land. Nowhere, I think, is there a suggestion of an atrocity by other than enemy troops. But certainly the American texts might be much worse in this respect. Guitteau is a bit more extreme in his atrocity tales. He describes minutely the appearance of children returning to Belgium from Germany, and under one illustration he details the return of a little family to the remains of their home—a wall and a chimney—almost after the fashion of the French story of the German-made toy described above.

Obviously, this question of atrocity stories is a debatable one. Dr. Crile, the eminent war surgeon, in his fascinating but terrible book, urges that we show our children the vilest horrors of war. Only then will they know the truth about war, and only then will they abhor it and interest themselves in its prevention. Not all would agree with Dr. Crile. But certainly there is a vast difference between telling the truth about the horrors of war and telling the details of some real or alleged enemy atrocity. Atrocity stories which make one hate war are one thing; atrocity stories which make one hate Germans are quite another, and these are pre-war Prussian in their method.

Let me expand the American summaries with a few quotations to show the difference between the non-liberal and the lib-

eral treatment of the Treaty of Versailles (Guitteau *vs.* Long).

1. First as to the Fourteen Point Agreement. Guitteau makes no attempt to compare the treaty with the agreement. He speaks of the agreement in discussing Germany's attitude towards the treaty as follows: "President Wilson was the target for venomous attacks by the German press. It was asserted that the President had abandoned his fourteen peace principles, and that Germany would never have agreed to the armistice had she anticipated these terms of peace. These hypocritical protests deceived no one outside of Germany. That country had accepted the armistice in order to avoid the greatest military collapse of history; and the armistice itself distinctly sets forth the principles afterwards carried out in the peace treaty." (Notice that Guitteau here gives the impression that the treaty was rightly based upon the armistice terms rather than on the Fourteen Points. This was the French contention at first; but the view which finally prevailed at Versailles was that the Fourteen Points constituted a contract. Indeed, when Clemenceau visited America he urged our interest in the treaty on the ground that it was based upon our own Fourteen Points.) To continue the quotation: "The discussion of the peace terms by the German press and public leaders showed that Germany was not repentant for having sinned, but only regretful for having failed." Thus Guitteau holds that no agreement was broken in the treaty.

Contrast with this treatment that of Long: He says: "An implied condition of the armistice was that certain fair principles, which had been announced by President Wilson and accepted by the Allies, would be followed at the peace table. It was the expectation of America and the hope of Germany that this condition would be honorably kept. The politicians who represented the Allied governments failed to keep it. That is not to be wondered at, considering the losses and hatreds caused by the war, but neither is it to be condoned. Conditions made with an enemy should be kept even more scrupulously than conditions made with a friend." . . . "America expected, therefore, that the 'fourteen points' would be followed, but was overridden by France, Britain, Italy,

and Japan, which had made secret bargains among themselves." . . . (These Fourteen Points included.) "Impartial justice, with no discrimination between victors and vanquished." Thus Long holds that a sacred agreement *was* broken.

On the question of responsibility for the war these two texts are in partial contrast. After relating the story of the reception of the peace terms by the Germans and the words of the German spokesman, Guitteau comments: "Such was the German excuse for plunging the world into a war that cost eight millions of lives!" . . . And further on: "Germany accepted full responsibility for the damage to other countries from a war resulting, as she was required to admit, from her own aggression." Thus, to Guitteau there is no question as to Germany's full responsibility.

Long by no means takes the German point of view when he says: "German military leaders are blamed for the war, and their guilt is plain; but it should be remembered that other nations than Germany, aiming to dominate Europe by force, had all waged wars of conquest; that the diplomacy which governed their relations was a maze of trickery, double dealing, wickedness, and folly; that the whole continent was like a number of military camps, watchful and suspicious, in which a slight difference might at any moment lead to a clash of arms," etc. He even speaks in one place of the fact that Germany at the last moment seems to have tried to restrain Austria. The contrast between these quotations is marked. To Guitteau the important thing is a guilty nation; to Long the important thing is the general European situation preceding the war. The one leads to a notion of single responsibility, the other to something approaching a notion of joint responsibility for the war.

As to the reparations bill, Guitteau accepts it as both just and within Germany's capacity to pay. Scheidemann's contention that it would mean the enslavement of 60,000,000 people to the Allies he treats as mere hypocrisy. But Long says: "It is plain . . . why Germany should pay for damage done by her armies, but incomprehensible why her trade and industry should be heavily shackled, since by these alone can she pay her debt." . . . And later he says: "Germany must

pay a war indemnity so great that it must, unless modified, enslave her children for generations to come."

Of the territorial changes made in the treaty, Guitteau says: "In Europe Germany gave up about 36,000 square miles of territory won by former conquests and inhabited chiefly by people who have never wished to be German." Long, too, apparently approves of some of these changes, but of Austria he says: "Austria retains of her former empire only one small State, which faces starvation."

Of the permanency of the treaty and the relationship of the League to it, Guitteau tells us: "The delegates shared the opinion of President Wilson, who said: 'The arrangements of the present peace cannot stand a generation, unless they are guaranteed by the united forces of the civilized world.'" Thus Guitteau shares the French point of view, that the function of the League is to enforce the treaty against Germany. Long says: "The Treaty of Versailles has already been somewhat modified. Further changes are being demanded, on the ground that fulfillment of some of the articles would be unjust or impossible. . . . [The] nations that accepted it were all dissatisfied, and some enraged. A dozen small States have since been at war; the larger States, staggering under a mountain of debt, still carry the burden of huge armies which they think necessary for defense."

Finally, Guitteau characterizes the treaty, as a whole, as "just, if severe." Long says: "Such are a few typical results of the treaty we helped to make. Some are good, others bad; some spell freedom or justice, others spell hate or revenge or the greedy grabbing of territory that has always led to renewed war."

In general, then, to Guitteau the treaty is the just conclusion of a thoroughly righteous war. Its determinations are guaranteed by the League of Nations and should be permanent. Moreover, America, whether in the League or not, has a duty to defend this treaty without modification. To Long, the treaty is a mixture of good and bad, but very much of it is a most unfortunate ending of a glorious war, in which America fought for high ideals which were not realized. He leaves the impression, therefore, that much of the treaty is a war-making force, and that, so

far from supporting it, we should hope for its radical revision. Which type of book do we want American children to study? or, Are both at fault? The contrast between them is only less great than that between the French and German texts.

The above summaries and quotations all have to do with a single subject—the treatment of the World war and the peace. I have not examined with care our treatment of Anglo-American relations in recent editions. During the war there appeared at least one curious appeal by an educator of prominence, practically urging us to rewrite our histories, so as to show that England had really been our friend in the past, and that the arch-enemy had been Germany all along; in other words, to repeat in the war psychosis of 1918 the mistakes we had made as the result of earlier war hysterias!

The space given in our own books to Japanese relations is usually too slight to have much influence on children. In general, the treatment of the subject is fairly liberal. No charge of excessive jingoism can be brought. The sin, if any, is of omission rather than of commission. About half of our textbooks do not mention the problem of Japanese immigration. One or two make a commendable, though too brief, attempt to state both the Californian and Japanese points of view.

What, then, is the textbook problem?

1. We find that children of different countries are taught opposite attitudes toward the same historical events. We find our own textbooks not only contrasting with those of our late enemies, but differing widely among themselves. We likewise find that a narrow nationalism and even out-and-out hatred is sometimes preached.

2. Is it possible, then, to secure a greater degree of agreement between the texts in use in different countries? Although each nation must control its own books, the importance of the problem may be brought clearly to the attention of all peoples. To do this we need, in the first place, a more complete, scientific, and unbiased world study of textbooks than has yet been made. This will take time, tact, and some money.

3. When the facts are in hand, they may be presented to the different peoples through the proper world organization. Perhaps the World Federation of Educa-

tional Associations, organized a year and a half ago, will prove the most effective agency for this purpose. But the real struggle will take place over the reform of textbook writing and adoption within each country.

This leads us to the important question: Can we secure the adoption of liberal texts, in which truthful statement is the primary consideration? The adoption of any type of book will depend, of course, upon the strength of the public opinion which demands it. Public opinion has not yet demanded the impartial truth about the war. Up to the present, apparently, the standards for textbook selection have to some extent subordinated truth to other aims. Consider an advertisement of the last edition of Guiteau's book. It lists five tests of merit in textbook writing, but accuracy is not among them. Even the reputable study of New York City texts made by the Mandel Committee places truth in a subordinate position. I am subject to correction, but my impression is that the endorsement of a patriotic society (in the narrower sense of the word patriotic) will sell more books today than a similar endorsement of a peace society, and that the approval of most scientific societies would count for little. The problem is how to create a demand for books which shall put truth first and not second; which shall fairly interpret the life and point of view of other countries, and shall, in sum, be peace-making rather than war-making forces. To do this the opinion of those who wish this change must be made as effective as that of those who oppose it. Or, better yet, the patriotic societies must be won over to a more liberal definition of patriotism. Narrow minds should not be allowed to monopolize our national symbols.

4. We also need a thorough understanding of what is meant by truth in textbook writing. The statements of which we would complain in the textbooks of our former enemies are not all falsehoods—some are isolated truths, unrepresentative of the whole. Similarly, the French books and at times our own are replete with unrepresentative truths. For example, the implication in some German texts that Americans fought for purely material ends is, perhaps, an example of this misuse of unrepresentative truths. Conceivably some

Americans did so, but the implication is a gross misrepresentation of America's war aims. Likewise, the use of the atrocity story in French and in some American books is often an example of this evil.

Unfortunately, atrocities are a reality in war, but textbook stories which seem to imply that *every* German soldier and *never* an Allied soldier, was a bloodthirsty demon misrepresent where the truth is ugly enough for children to read. As stated above, American texts are somewhat less open to criticism in this respect. But the committees of public information in every country utilized such unrepresentative truths during the war, and they have now been embodied in more permanent form in textbooks, because few have been interested to challenge them. They are in harmony with popular prejudice. As Walter Lippman has pointed out in his book, "Public Opinion," there is no lie quite so black as an unrepresentative truth, because none is quite so effective and none so difficult to refute.

But what is to be done when the truth is not ascertainable? Take, for example, the fundamental question of responsibility for the war. Elson was probably sincere at the time he wrote, in saying that there was absolutely no question on this point. Likewise German writers were probably equally sincere when they asserted Germany's innocence. Those who are familiar with the recent investigations in this field by American historians will perhaps agree that there is no more debatable question in the world today than this question of war responsibility, upon which writers of school histories have expressed themselves with such confidence. In justice to these writers, it should be said that the new material on the background of the war may not have been available when they wrote.

5. Do we really want the truth in our textbooks? Of course, no educational authority would openly advocate misrepresentation in our texts; yet other aims, as we have seen, are sometimes preferred to truth. Last spring I was talking to a college graduate about the articles on the responsibility for the war which were appearing in the *Current History Magazine*. I told her of my amazement that a competent historian, after examining original documents, should express the opinion that Germany was less responsible

for the war than certain other countries. She replied, "If that's the conclusion he comes to, then I certainly don't want to read the articles." I wonder if we have not here a clue to the fundamental problem in textbook writing. The point is not that Germany was not responsible for the war. That is debatable. The point is that our minds are closed, and the minds of friends and former foes in other countries are similarly closed, to any information which does not confirm our fixed opinions and harmonize with our emotional prejudices. No one, of course, needs to accept the conclusions of those American historians; but their evidence at least shows the uncertainty as to the answer. Mr. Long in his textbook, "Our Country," published by Ginn & Co., alone takes the agnostic position—the facts are not yet all in. It is probably too much to expect the universal adoption of such a cautious position. (Mr. Long's book is not selling well, I am told.) But the nearer we can approximate it, the greater, I think, will be the influence upon peace of our teaching concerning the World War.

6. Finally, the influence of textbooks on peace will depend upon the extent to which we can teach our children to understand the life and point of view of others. In other words, it will depend upon their understanding of the *causes* of enemy points of view and enemy acts. If Germany did break the peace of Europe, her act can be partially explained in terms of the historical, economic, psychological, geographical, and social situation of 1914 and before. If men plan evil acts, we need to understand why they plan them. And the more we understand, the more we tend to redirect our hatred from the doers of bad deeds to the objective conditions which determined their acts.

But human beings enjoy a scapegoat—a Czar to damn or a Kaiser to burn in effigy. We all like something concrete to punch. Now, wicked men are unfortunately real. They exist, and they are war-making forces. But they and their acts are not uncaused. The real and fundamental causes of war are the objective forces which underlie human deeds and human purposes. They are trade wars, birth rates, textbooks, and so forth. Now, one cannot get quite as angry over trade statistics, birth rates, and geo-

graphical facts as we all do at the picture of men deliberately planning wars. Careful students know that the second picture is not completely accurate. Deliberate, causeless plots are not the causes of war. Grammar-school children cannot be taught all the intricacies of social causation, but the more they can be led to hate evil conditions rather than evil nations, the greater will be the hope of world peace.

THE ISLE OF PINES AND THE SOLIDARITY OF PAN AMERICA

By JAMES BROWN SCOTT

ON THE 13th day of March, 1925—a day long to be remembered in Cuba—the Senate of the United States advised and consented to the ratification of the Treaty of March 2, 1904, between the neighboring Republics of Cuba and the United States, and, on March 23, ratifications were exchanged by Secretary of State Kellogg, acting on behalf of the United States, and on behalf of Cuba by Dr. Cosme de la Torriente, Cuban Ambassador to the United States.

The preamble to the treaty states its origin and reason, and its quotation will obviate discussion on these points:

The United States of America and the Republic of Cuba, being desirous to give full effect to the Sixth Article of the Provision in regard to the relations to exist between the United States and Cuba, contained in the Act of the Congress of the United States of America, approved March second, nineteen hundred and one, which Sixth Article aforesaid is included in the Appendix to the Constitution of the Republic of Cuba, promulgated on the 20th day of May, nineteen hundred and two, and provides that "the Island of Pines shall be omitted from the boundaries of Cuba, specified in the Constitution, the title of ownership thereof being left to future adjustment by treaty;" have for that purpose appointed as their Plenipotentiaries to conclude a treaty to that end. . . .

The treaty itself consists of four articles, the last of which, providing for its ratification in accordance with the laws of the two countries, may be omitted from consideration. The treaty, therefore, is

reduced to three articles: the first stating the renunciation of the United States to the Island, the second the consideration for such renunciation, and the third the rights to be enjoyed by American residents of the Isle of Pines after the ratification of the treaty.

The first article is thus worded:

Article I

The United States of America relinquishes in favor of the Republic of Cuba all claim of title to the Island of Pines situate in the Carribean Sea near the southwestern part of the Island of Cuba, which has been or may be made in virtue of Articles I and II of the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain, signed at Paris on the tenth day of December, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight.

The second article is thus worded:

Article II

This relinquishment, on the part of the United States of America, of claim of title to the said Island of Pines, is in consideration of the grants of coaling and naval stations in the Island of Cuba heretofore made to the United States of America by the Republic of Cuba.

The third article is thus worded:

Article III

Citizens of the United States of America, who, at the time of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, shall be residing or holding property in the Island of Pines shall suffer no diminution of the rights and privileges which they have acquired prior to the date of exchange of ratifications of this treaty; they may remain there or may remove therefrom, retaining in either event all their rights of property, including the right to sell or dispose of such property or of its proceeds; and they shall also have the right to carry on their industry, commerce and professions being subject in respect thereof to such laws as are applicable to other foreigners.

The Senate of the United States approved the treaty by 64 to 13; therefore by more than the constitutional requirement of two-thirds of the Senators present. The text was approved as submitted, but with the consent of the high contract-

ing parties further assurances—in fact, they are inherent in the treaty—were to be provided at the exchange of ratifications. They were therefore stated in the notes exchanged between Secretary Kellogg and Ambassador Torriente, dated March 23rd, as appears from the following extract:

The Senate advised and consented to the ratification of the treaty between the United States and Cuba, signed on March 2, 1904, for the adjustment of title to the ownership of the Isle of Pines, subject to the following reservation and understanding, to be set forth in an exchange of notes between the high contracting parties, so as to make it plain that the reservation and condition are understood and accepted by each of them:

1. That all the provisions of existing and future treaties, including the Permanent Treaty, proclaimed July 2, 1904, between the United States of America and the Republic of Cuba, shall apply to the territory and the inhabitants of the Isle of Pines.

2. The term "other foreigners," appearing at the end of Article III, shall be construed to mean foreigners who receive the most favorable treatment under the Government of Cuba.

The transaction is complete; the Government of the United States has, during each successive administration, renounced any claim to the island; and if the Government of the United States had regarded the claim as founded, it had already received "consideration" for renunciation of title to the Isle of Pines, as expressly stated in the second article of the treaty of March 2, 1904, in "the grants of coaling and naval stations in the Island of Cuba," by the informal agreement of February 16/23, 1903, and by the formal treaty of July 2, 1903, between the two countries. As a matter of fact, the renunciation of claim of title to the Isle of Pines was made at one and the same time with the treaty granting naval and coaling stations; both were dated July 2, 1903.

The ratifications of the first treaty regarding the Isle of Pines were to be exchanged within six months. As it was not advised and consented to by the Senate within that time, the treaty lapsed. Therefore the treaty of March 2, 1904, was negotiated, similar in terms, with the omission of a specified time within which rati-

fications should be exchanged. This was, it would appear, one of the few cases in which nations had learned from experience. In the interval between its signing and its ratification, the treaty has become "of age," if such an expression be permissible in the relation of nations.

To the casual reader it must seem strange—indeed, "passing strange"—that the treaty was not sooner ratified. There were, however, circumstances which prevented its approval by the Senate whenever it was up, although on every occasion it was reported favorably to the Senate by its Committee on Foreign Relations. Although the exchange of ratifications which has already taken place on March 23, 1925, renders it unnecessary to argue or labor the matter as in times past, the reason for the delay has lost none of its interest.

On April 20, 1898, the Congress of the United States declared war against Spain in order to secure the independence of Cuba, and in so doing it disclaimed any intention on the part of the United States to annex Cuba when it should be severed from Spain. In the Treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898, with the United States, Spain relinquished "all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba." The United States troops remained in occupation of the island until such time as, in the opinion of the American authorities, it could be turned over to its people. This happened on May 20, 1902.

In the joint interest of Cuba and of the United States, certain articles were agreed to, known as the Platt amendment, contained in the act of Congress of March 2, 1901. The sixth article of the amendment provided for the omission of the Isle of Pines from the constitutional boundaries of the Island of Cuba, "the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty." The eight articles which form the Platt amendment were adopted by the Constitutional Convention of Cuba on June 12, 1901, and annexed to its constitution of February 21, 1901. So matters stood when the American army of occupation left Cuba on May 20, 1902, and Cuba assumed its status as a nation under a government of its own choice. The new republic was naturally anxious to have its boundaries settled and the Isle

of Pines recognized as forming a part of the national domain. Under date of February 6, 1903, Major General Leonard Wood, who had been military governor of Cuba during the occupation, and then and always its enlightened friend, wrote: "I believe it is desirable the status of the Isle of Pines be definitely settled at as early a date as possible." This was also the view of Mr. H. G. Squires, then American Minister to Cuba, who wrote under date of March 18, 1903:

No matter how the question of the status of the island is to be settled, I cannot too strongly recommend that it be done without delay.

So far, the statement is in accordance with that of General Wood. There is, however, an addition of the utmost value:

The longer the matter is allowed to drift on, the larger will become the number of Americans who will settle there and who will insist upon their claims and embarrass the government in case Cuba is to retain the island.

This is what happened and this was the cause of the delay. The dispute about the ownership of the island originated in an unauthorized and erroneous statement, made at the direction of an Assistant Secretary of War, that "this island was ceded by Spain to the United States and is therefore a part of our territory, although it is attached at present to the division of Cuba for governmental purposes." Mr. Elihu Root, then Secretary of War, repudiated the action of his subordinate early in 1900, as soon as it was called to his attention, saying in a letter of December 18, 1903, to Senator Platt, of Connecticut, of amendment fame:

I never thought so. It had been for several centuries, in common with the hundreds of other islands surrounding the coast of the mainland of Cuba, included in the political division of the Spanish Kingdom known as Cuba. It had long been a part of the Province of Habana, which was a political division of Cuba. I think it was included under the term of "Cuba" as used in the Treaty of Paris, and, therefore, not in the description "Porto Rico and other islands." I think at the time the treaty was made it was as much

a part of Cuba as Nantucket is a part of Massachusetts.

Senator Platt, however, was of a different opinion, and because of that difference he had the article concerning the Island of Pines included in the amendment, for the reasons which he had previously stated in a letter of November 5, 1902:

I feel that it is of the utmost importance that it shall be ours. It will give us the most advantageous point from which to defend the entrance of the isthmian canal.

When the lease of the coaling and naval stations had been obtained by the Government of the United States, this argument of Senator Platt fell by the wayside. The American inhabitants, however, remained in the island and increased with the years. They were never many, but their very presence was embarrassing to Cuba, which wished the Isle of Pines, and to the Government of the United States, which wished to renounce a title which it had never asserted. In October, 1899, a census of Cuba was taken by the American authorities, then in occupation. At that time there were in the Isle of Pines in all 3,199 inhabitants, of whom 2,990 were born in Cuba, 195 in Spain, and in other countries, 14. In January, 1903, the American settlers are said by their advocate to have numbered 300, with some 200 non-residents owning property in the island. At the time of the ratification of the treaty the number of American settlers is said to have increased to about 700. "How great a matter a little fire kindleth!"

When the treaty ultimately ratified was under consideration, Mr. Root, then Secretary of State, had a conference with Senator Shelby M. Cullom, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. He called the Senator's attention to a passage from Hall's *International Law* relating to the Isle of Pines, which was, in Secretary Root's opinion, decisive of the question—a passage written in 1894, before the outbreak of the insurrection which severed Cuba from Spain. The following is the passage:

Apart from questions connected with the extent of territorial waters, which will be dealt with later, certain physical peculiarities

of coasts in various part of the world, where land impinges on the sea in an unusual manner, require to be noticed as affecting the territorial boundary. Off the coast of Florida, among the Bahamas, along the shores of Cuba, and in the Pacific are to be found groups of numerous islands and islets rising out of vast banks, which are covered with very shoal water and either form a line more or less parallel with land or compose systems of their own, in both cases inclosing considerable sheets of water, which are sometimes also shoal and sometimes relatively deep. The entrance to these interior bays or lagoons may be wide in breadth of surface water, but it is narrow in navigable water. To take a specific case, on the south coast of Cuba the Archipelago de los Canarreos stretches from 60 to 80 miles from the mainland to La Isla de Pinos. Its length from the Jardines Bank to Cape Frances is over a hundred miles. It is inclosed partly by some islands, mainly by banks, which are always awash, but upon which the tides are very slight. The depth of water is at no time sufficient to permit of navigation. Spaces along these banks many miles in length are unbroken by a single inlet. The water is uninterrupted, but access to the interior gulf or sea is impossible. At the western end there is a strait 20 miles or so in width, but not more than 6 miles of channel intervene between two banks which rise to within 7 or 8 feet from the surface and which do not, consequently, admit of the passage of seagoing vessels. In cases of this sort the question whether the interior waters are or are not lakes inclosed within the territory must always depend upon the depth upon the banks and the width of the entrances. Each must be judged upon its own merits. But in the instance cited there can be little doubt that the whole Archipelago de los Canarreos is a mere salt-water lake and that the boundary of the land of Cuba runs along the exterior edge of the banks.

Mr. Root can be considered to have spoken in behalf of the Executive Department. Indeed, in an earlier letter, under date of November 27, 1905, he said to the "President of the American Club, Isle of Pines, West Indies," that "this is the view with which President Roosevelt authorized the pending treaty, and Mr. Hay signed it, and I expect to urge its confirmation." The view of the Judicial De-

partment is to the same effect, as appears from the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Pearcy v. Stranahan*, 205 United States Reports, 257, decided April 8, 1907, in which Chief Justice Fuller, delivering the opinion of the court, said:

The Cuban Government has been recognized as rightfully exercising sovereignty over the Isle of Pines as a *de facto* government until otherwise provided. It must be treated as foreign, for this government has never taken, nor aimed to take, that possession in fact and in law which is essential to render it domestic.

It is not irrelevant to remark that Mr. Justice Day, formerly Secretary of State, and who as Secretary had negotiated the protocol of armistice of 1898, and later chairman of the American commission which negotiated the treaty with Spain, concurred in this opinion.

Therefore, there only remained the Legislative Department to adhere to these views, which it did on the 13th of March, 1925.

The exchange of ratifications of the treaty is a source of satisfaction to Cuba, which now and hereafter has an unclouded title to its national domain, in law as well as in fact. It is a satisfaction likewise to the United States, because the ratification of the treaty is a further evidence, if any were necessary, of its good faith towards Cuba and the fulfillment of its solemn promise upon entering the war to secure its independence. It is a satisfaction to the American Republics, as allaying "the suspicions with which the policy of the United States in the Caribbean was regarded by some Latin American countries." Within three days of the ratification of the treaty the following passage from *La Nacion*, of Buenos Aires, appeared in the North American press:

Confidence in our great sister republic therefore is well merited and constitutes a foundation for continental security. . . . We have believed in the efficacy of the Monroe Doctrine and in the purity of the idealism of Wilson. The difficult moments have not distorted our vision nor disturbed our serenity. We knew the great nation was

acting in good faith its rôle of champion of liberty and justice. As in the tragic hours of the war, we are able to affirm with renewed satisfaction. Here is the proof. . . . The surrender of the Isle of Pines definitely and effectively means recognition of the rights of the weak.

Friends of the United States in all the Latin American republics are heartened by the ratification of the treaty to renewed efforts to bring about that solidarity of the American republics which unmistakably existed in times past, which has been questioned in our own day, but which, unless all signs fail, is destined to become even more marked in the future than ever it has been in the history of the Western World.

Among the believers in the good faith of the United States, none has been more constant and determined than Dr. Cosme de la Torriente, the Ambassador of Cuba, through whose efforts, it is not too much to say, the ratification of the treaty has been secured. He knows the people of the United States by contact, because in the trying days of Cuba's struggle for independence, and before the participation of the United States, he was in our midst, advocating the cause of his country. Later he served in the army of independence shoulder to shoulder with the American troops. He has never lost the enthusiasm of those days. Nor has he allowed himself, in the storm and stress of political life, to waiver in his devotion to the United States, and on many a platform he has expressed the gratitude of his country to the United States. He accepted the ambassadorship at great personal sacrifice to secure the ratification of the treaty renouncing all claim of the United States to the Isle of Pines, that the one source of irritation between the two republics might be removed, and in order that he might thereafter use the influence which he possesses, at home and abroad, to bring about those friendly relations between the Latin American republics and the United States which, because of the treaty, exist between Cuba and the United States. It is difficult to say which of the two republics owes the greater gratitude to Cosme de la Torriente.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

TREATY OF COMMERCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY

(Text Submitted for Ratification to the United
States December 11, 1923, and Ratified
February 24, 1925)

The United States of America and Germany, desirous of strengthening the bond of peace which happily prevails between them, by arrangements designed to promote friendly intercourse between their respective territories through provisions responsive to the spiritual, cultural, economic, and commercial aspirations of the peoples thereof, have resolved to conclude a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights and for that purpose have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America, Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State of the United States of America, and the President of the German Empire, Dr. Otto Wiedfeldt, German Ambassador to the United States of America, who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I

The nationals of each of the high contracting parties shall be permitted to enter, travel, and reside in the territories of the other; to exercise liberty of conscience and freedom of worship; to engage in professional, scientific, religious, philanthropic, manufacturing, and commercial work of every kind without interference; to carry on every form of commercial activity which is not forbidden by the local law; to own, erect, or lease and occupy appropriate buildings and to lease lands for residential, scientific, religious, philanthropic, manufacturing, commercial, and mortuary purposes; to employ agents of their choice, and generally to do anything incidental to or necessary for the enjoyment of any of the foregoing privileges upon the same terms as nationals of the State of residence or as nationals of the nation hereafter

to be most favored by it, submitting themselves to all local laws and regulations duly established.

The nationals of either high contracting party within the territories of the other shall not be subjected to the payment of any internal charges or taxes other or higher than those that are exacted of and paid by its nationals.

The nationals of each high contracting party shall enjoy freedom of access to the courts of justice of the other on conforming to the local laws, as well for the prosecution as for the defense of their rights, and in all degrees of jurisdiction established by law.

The nationals of each high contracting party shall receive within the territories of the other, upon submitting to conditions imposed upon its nationals, the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and shall enjoy in this respect that degree of protection that is required by international law. Their property shall not be taken without due process of law and without payment of just compensation.

Article II

With respect to that form of protection granted by national, State, or provincial laws establishing civil liability for injuries or for death, and giving to relatives or heirs or dependents of an injured party a right of action or a pecuniary benefit, such relatives or heirs or dependents of the injured party, himself a national of either of the high contracting parties and within any of the territories of the other, shall, regardless of their alienage or residence outside of the territory where the injury occurred, enjoy the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to nationals and under like conditions.

Article III

The dwellings, warehouses, manufactories, shops, and other places of business and all premises thereto appertaining of the nationals of each of the high contracting parties in the territories of the other used for

any purposes set forth in Article I shall be respected. It shall not be allowable to make a domiciliary visit to or search of any such buildings and premises, or there to examine and inspect books, papers, or accounts, except under the conditions and in conformity with the forms prescribed by the laws, ordinances, and regulations for nationals.

Article IV

Where, on the death of any person holding real or other immovable property or interests therein within the territories of one high contracting party, such property or interests therein would, by the laws of the country or by a testamentary disposition, descend or pass to a national of the other high contracting party, whether resident or nonresident, were he not disqualified by the laws of the country where such property or interests therein is or are situated, such national shall be allowed a term of three years in which to sell the same, this term to be reasonably prolonged if circumstances render it necessary, and withdraw the proceeds thereof, without restraint or interference, and exempt from any succession, probate, or administrative duties or charges other than those which may be imposed in like cases upon the nationals of the country from which such proceeds may be drawn.

Nationals of either high contracting party may have full power to dispose of their personal property of every kind within the territories of the other, by testament, donation, or otherwise, and their heirs, legatees, and donees, of whatsoever nationality, whether resident or nonresident, shall succeed to such personal property and may take possession thereof, either by themselves or by others acting for them, and retain or dispose of the same at their pleasure, subject to the payment of such duties or charges only as the nationals of the high contracting party within whose territories such property may be or belong shall be liable to pay in like cases.

Article V

The nationals of each of the high contracting parties in the exercise of the right of freedom of worship, within the territories of the other, as hereinabove provided, may, without annoyance or molestation of any kind by reason of their religious belief or otherwise, conduct services either within their own houses or within any appropriate buildings which they may be at liberty to

erect and maintain in convenient situations, provided their teachings or practices are not contrary to public morals; and they may also be permitted to bury their dead according to their religious customs in suitable and convenient places established and maintained for the purpose, subject to the reasonable mortuary and sanitary laws and regulations of the place of burial.

Article VI

In the event of war between either high contracting party and a third State, such party may draft for compulsory military service nationals of the other having a permanent residence within its territories and who have formally, according to its laws, declared an intention to adopt its nationality by naturalization, unless such individuals depart from the territories of said belligerent party within sixty days after a declaration of war.

Article VII

Between the territories of the high contracting parties there shall be freedom of commerce and navigation. The nationals of each of the high contracting parties equally with those of the most favored nation, shall have liberty freely to come with their vessels and cargoes to all places, ports, and waters of every kind within the territorial limits of the other which are or may be open to foreign commerce and navigation. Nothing in this treaty shall be construed to restrict the right of either high contracting party to impose, on such terms as it may see fit, prohibitions or restrictions of a sanitary character designed to protect human, animal, or plant life, or regulations for the enforcement of police or revenue laws.

Each of the high contracting parties binds itself unconditionally to impose no higher or other duties or conditions and no prohibition on the importation of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the territories of the other than are or shall be imposed on the importation of any like article the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign country.

Each of the high contracting parties also binds itself unconditionally to impose no higher or other charges or other restrictions or prohibitions on goods exported to the territories of the other high contracting party than are imposed on goods exported to any other foreign country.

Any advantage of whatsoever kind which either high contracting party may extend to any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign country shall simultaneously and unconditionally, without request and without compensation, be extended to the like article the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other high contracting party.

All the articles which are or may be legally imported from foreign countries into ports of the United States in United States vessels may likewise be imported into those ports in German vessels without being liable to any other or higher duties or charges whatsoever than if such articles were imported in United States vessels; and, reciprocally, all articles which are or may be legally imported from foreign countries into the ports of Germany in German vessels may likewise be imported into these ports in United States vessels without being liable to any other or higher duties or charges whatsoever than if such were imported from foreign countries in German vessels.

With respect to the amount and collection of duties on imports and exports of every kind, each of the two high contracting parties binds itself to give to the nationals, vessels, and goods of the other the advantage of every favor, privilege, or immunity which it shall have accorded to the nationals, vessels, and goods of a third State, and regardless of whether such favored State shall have been accorded such treatment gratuitously or in return for reciprocal compensatory treatment. Every such favor, privilege, or immunity which shall hereafter be granted the nationals, vessels, or goods of a third State shall simultaneously and unconditionally, without request and without compensation, be extended to the other high contracting party for the benefit of itself, its nationals, and vessels.

The stipulations of this article shall apply to the importation of goods into and the exportation of goods from all areas within the German customs lines, but shall not extend to the treatment which either contracting party shall accord to purely border traffic within a zone not exceeding 10 miles (15 kilometers) wide on either side of its customs frontier, or to the treatment which is accorded by the United States to the commerce of Cuba under the provisions of the commercial convention concluded by the

United States and Cuba on December 11, 1902, or any other commercial convention which hereafter may be concluded by the United States with Cuba, or to the commerce of the United States with any of its dependencies and the Panama Canal Zone under existing or future laws.

Article VIII

The nationals and merchandise of each high contracting party within the territories of the other shall receive the same treatment as nationals and merchandise of the country with regard to internal taxes, transit duties, charges in respect to warehousing and other facilities, and the amount of drawbacks and bounties.

Article IX

No duties of tonnage, harbor, pilotage, lighthouse, quarantine, or other similar or corresponding duties or charges of whatever denomination, levied in the name or for the profit of the government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations, or establishments of any kind shall be imposed in the ports of the territories of either country upon the vessels of the other, which shall not equally, under the same conditions, be imposed on national vessels. Such equality of treatment shall apply reciprocally to the vessels of the two countries, respectively, from whatever place they may arrive and whatever may be their place of destination.

Article X

Merchant vessels and other privately owned vessels under the flag of either of the high contracting parties, and carrying the papers required by its national laws in proof of nationality shall, both within the territorial waters of the other high contracting party and on the high seas, be deemed to be the vessels of the party whose flag is flown.

Article XI

Merchant vessels and other privately owned vessels under the flag of either of the high contracting parties shall be permitted to discharge portions of cargoes at any port open to foreign commerce in the territories of the other high contracting party, and to proceed with the remaining portions of such cargoes to any other ports of the same territories open to foreign commerce, without paying other or higher tonnage dues or port charges in such cases than would be paid by

national vessels in like circumstances, and they shall be permitted to load in like manner at different ports in the same voyage outward, provided, however, that the coasting trade of the United States is exempt from the provisions of this article and from the other provisions of this treaty, and is to be regulated according to the laws of the United States in relation thereto. It is agreed, however, that the nationals of either high contracting party shall within the territories of the other enjoy with respect to the coasting trade the most-favored-nation treatment.

Article XII

Limited liability and other corporations and associations, whether or not for pecuniary profit, which have been or may hereafter be organized in accordance with and under the laws, national, State, or provincial, of either high contracting party and maintain a central office within the territories thereof, shall have their juridical status recognized by the other high contracting party, provided that they pursue no aims within its territories contrary to its laws. They shall enjoy free access to the courts of law and equity, on conforming to the laws regulating the matter, as well for the prosecution as for the defense of rights in all the degrees of jurisdiction established by law.

The right of such corporations and associations of either high contracting party so recognized by the other to establish themselves within its territories, establish branch offices and fulfill their functions therein shall depend upon, and be governed solely by, the consent of such party as expressed in its national, State, or provincial laws.

Article XIII

The nationals of either high contracting party shall enjoy within the territories of the other, reciprocally and upon compliance with the conditions there imposed, such rights and privileges as have been or may hereafter be accorded the nationals of any other State with respect to the organization of and participation in limited liability and other corporations and associations, for pecuniary profit or otherwise, including the rights of promotion, incorporation, purchase and ownership and sale of shares, and the holding of executive or official positions therein. In the exercise of the foregoing rights and with respect to the regulation or

procedure concerning the organization or conduct of such corporations or associations, such nationals shall be subjected to no conditions less favorable than those which have been or may hereafter be imposed upon the nationals of the most favored nation. The rights of any such corporations or associations as may be organized or controlled or participated in by the nationals of either high contracting party within the territories of the other to exercise any of their functions therein, shall be governed by the laws and regulations, national, State, or provincial, which are in force or may hereafter be established within the territories of the party wherein they propose to engage in business. The foregoing stipulations do not apply to the organization of and participation in political associations.

The nationals of either high contracting party shall, moreover, enjoy within the territories of the other, reciprocally and upon compliance with the conditions there imposed, such rights and privileges as have been or may hereafter be accorded the nationals of any other State with respect to the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, oil shale, gas, and sodium on the public domain of the other.

Article XIV

(a) Manufacturers, merchants, and traders domiciled within the jurisdiction of one of the high contracting parties may operate as commercial travelers either personally or by means of agents or employees within the jurisdiction of the other high contracting party on obtaining from the latter, upon payment of a single fee, a license which shall be valid throughout its entire territorial jurisdiction.

In case either of the high contracting parties shall be engaged in war, it reserves to itself the right to prevent from operating within its jurisdiction under the provisions of this article, or otherwise, enemy nationals or other aliens whose presence it may consider prejudicial to public order and national safety.

(b) In order to secure the license above mentioned the applicant must obtain from the country of domicile of the manufacturers, merchants, and traders represented a certificate attesting his character as a commercial traveler. This certificate, which shall be issued by the authority to be designated in each country for the purpose, shall be viséed

by the consul of the country in which the applicant proposes to operate, and the authorities of the latter shall, upon the presentation of such certificate, issue to the applicant the national license as provided in section (a).

(c) A commercial traveler may sell his samples without obtaining a special license as an importer.

(d) Samples without commercial value shall be admitted to entry free of duty.

Samples marked, stamped, or defaced in such manner that they cannot be put to other uses shall be considered as objects without commercial value.

(e) Samples having commercial value shall be provisionally admitted upon giving bond for the payment of lawful duties if they shall not have been withdrawn from the country within a period of six (6) months.

Duties shall be paid on such portions of the samples as shall not have been so withdrawn.

(f) All customs formalities shall be simplified as much as possible with a view to avoid delay in the despatch of samples.

(g) Peddlers and other salesmen who vend directly to the consumer, even though they have not an established place of business in the country in which they operate, shall not be considered as commercial travelers, but shall be subject to the license fees levied on business of the kind which they carry on.

(h) No license shall be required of—

(1) Persons traveling only to study trade and its needs, even though they initiate commercial relations, provided they do not make sales of merchandise.

(2) Persons operating through local agencies which pay the license fee or other imposts to which their business is subject.

(3) Travelers who are exclusively buyers.

(i) Any concessions affecting any of the provisions of the present article that may hereafter be granted by either high contracting party, either by law or by treaty or convention, shall immediately be extended to the other party.

Article XV

(a) Regulations governing the renewal and transfer of licenses issued under the provisions of Article XIV, and the imposition of fines and other penalties for any misuse of licenses may be made by either of the high contracting parties whenever advisable within

the terms of Article XIV and without prejudice to the rights defined therein.

If such regulations permit the renewal of licenses, the fee for renewal will not be greater than that charged for the original license.

If such regulations permit the transfer of licenses, upon satisfactory proof that transferee, or assignee is in every sense the true successor of the original licensee, and that he can furnish a certificate of identification similar to that furnished by the original licensee, he will be allowed to operate as a commercial traveler pending the arrival of the new certificate of identification, but the cancellation of the bond for the samples shall not be effected before the arrival of the said certificate.

(b) It is the citizenship of the firm that the commercial traveler represents, and not his own, that governs the issuance to him of a certificate of identification.

The high contracting parties agree to empower the local customs officials or other competent authorities to issue the said licenses upon surrender of the certificate of identification and authenticated list of samples, acting as deputies of the central office constituted for the issuance and regulation of licenses. The said officials shall immediately transmit the appropriate documentation to the central office, to which the licensee shall thereafter give due notice of his intention to ask for the renewal or transfer of his license, if these acts be allowable, or cancellation of his bond, upon his departure from the country. Due notice in this connection will be regarded as the time required for the exchange of correspondence in the normal mail schedules plus five business days for purposes of official verification and registration.

(c) It is understood that the traveler will not engage in the sale of other articles than those embraced by his lines of business; he may sell his samples, thus incurring an obligation to pay the customs duties thereupon, but he may not sell other articles brought with him or sent to him, which are not reasonably and clearly representative of the kind of business he purports to represent.

(d) Advertising matter brought by commercial travelers in appropriate quantities shall be treated as samples without commercial value. Objects having a depreciative commercial value because of adaptation for

purposes of advertisement, and intended for gratuitous distribution, shall, when introduced in reasonable quantities, also be treated as samples without commercial value. It is understood, however, that this prescription shall be subject to the customs laws of their respective countries. Samples accompanying the commercial traveler will be despatched as a portion of his personal baggage; and those arriving after him will be given precedence over ordinary freight.

(c) If the original license was issued for a period longer than six months, or if the license be renewed, the bond for the samples will be correspondingly extended. It is understood, however, that this prescription shall be subject to the customs laws of the respective countries.

Article XVI

There shall be complete freedom of transit through the territories, including territorial waters of each high contracting party on the routes most convenient for international transit, by rail, navigable waterway, and canal, other than the Panama Canal and waterways and canals which constitute international boundaries of the United States, to persons and goods coming from or going through the territories of the other high contracting party, except such persons as may be forbidden admission into its territories or goods of which the importation may be prohibited by law. Persons and goods in transit shall not be subjected to any transit duty, or to any unnecessary delays or restrictions, and shall be given national treatment as regards charges, facilities, and all other matters.

Goods in transit must be entered at the proper customhouse, but they shall be exempt from all customs or other similar duties.

All charges imposed on transport in transit shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the traffic.

Article XVII

Each of the high contracting parties agrees to receive from the other, consular officers in those of its ports, places, and cities where it may be convenient and which are open to consular representatives of any foreign country.

Consular officers of each of the high contracting parties shall, after entering upon their duties, enjoy reciprocally in the terri-

tories of the other all the rights, privileges, exemptions, and immunities which are enjoyed by officers of the same grade of the most favored nation. As official agents such officers shall be entitled to the high consideration of all officials, national or local, with whom they have official intercourse in the State which receives them.

The government of each of the high contracting parties shall furnish free of charge the necessary exequatur of such consular officers of the other as present a regular commission signed by the chief executive of the appointing State and under its great seal; and it shall issue to a subordinate or substitute consular officer duly appointed by an accepted superior consular officer with the approbation of his government, or by any other competent officer of that government, such documents as according to the laws of the respective countries shall be requisite for the exercise by the appointee of the consular function. On the exhibition of an exequatur, or other document issued in lieu thereof to such subordinate, such consular officer shall be permitted to enter upon his duties and to enjoy the rights, privileges, and immunities granted by this treaty.

Article XVIII

Consular officers, nationals of the State by which they are appointed, shall be exempt from arrest except when charged with the commission of offenses locally designated as crimes other than misdemeanors and subjecting the individual guilty thereof to punishment. Such officers shall be exempt from military billetings, and from service of any military or naval, administrative or police character whatsoever.

In criminal cases the attendance at the trial by a consular officer as a witness may be demanded by the prosecution or defense. The demand shall be made with all possible regard for the consular dignity and the duties of the office; and there shall be compliance on the part of the consular officer.

Consular officers shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the courts in the State which receives them in civil cases, subject to the proviso, however, that when the officer is a national of the State which appoints him and is engaged in no private occupation for gain, his testimony shall be taken orally or in writing at his residence or office and with due regard for his convenience. The officer

should, however, voluntarily give his testimony at the trial whenever it is possible to do so without serious interference with his official duties.

Article XIX

Consular officers, including employees in a consulate, nationals of the State by which they are appointed, other than those engaged in private occupations for gain within the State where they exercise their functions, shall be exempt from all taxes, national, State, provincial, and municipal, levied upon their persons or upon their property, except taxes levied on account of the possession or ownership of immovable property situated in or income derived from property of any kind situated or belonging within the territories of the State within which they exercise their functions. All consular officers and employees nationals of the State appointing them shall be exempt from the payment of taxes on the salary, fees, or wages received by them in compensation for their consular services.

Lands and buildings situated in the territories of either high contracting party, of which the other high contracting party is the legal or equitable owner and which are used exclusively for governmental purposes by that owner, shall be exempt from taxation of every kind, national, State, provincial, and municipal, other than assessments levied for services or local public improvements by which the premises are benefited.

Article XX

Consular officers may place over the outer door of their respective offices the arms of their State, with an appropriate inscription designating the official office. Such officers may also hoist the flag of their country on their offices, including those situated in the capitals of the two countries. They may likewise hoist such flag over any boat or vessel employed in the exercise of the consular function.

The consular offices and archives shall at all times be inviolable. They shall under no circumstances be subjected to invasion by any authorities of any character within the country where such offices are located. Nor shall the authorities under any pretext make any examination or seizure of papers or other property deposited within a consular office. Consular offices shall not be used as

places of asylum. No consular officer shall be required to produce official archives in court or testify as to their contents.

Upon the death, incapacity, or absence of a consular officer having no subordinate consular officer at his post secretaries or chancellors whose official character may have previously been made known to the government of the State where the consular function was exercised may temporarily exercise the consular function of the deceased or incapacitated or absent consular officer, and while so acting shall enjoy all the rights, prerogatives, and immunities granted to the incumbent.

Article XXI

Consular officers, nationals of the State by which they are appointed, may, within their respective consular districts, address the authorities, national, State, provincial or municipal, for the purpose of protecting their countrymen in the enjoyment of their rights accruing by treaty or otherwise. Complaint may be made for the infraction of those rights. Failure upon the part of the proper authorities to grant redress or to accord protection may justify interposition through the diplomatic channel, and in the absence of a diplomatic representative, a consul general or the consular officer stationed at the capital may apply directly to the government of the country.

Article XXII

Consular officers may, in pursuance of the laws of their own country, take, at any appropriate place within their respective districts, the depositions of any occupants of vessels of their own country, or of any national of, or of any person having permanent residence within the territories of, their own country. Such officers may draw up, attest, certify, and authenticate unilateral acts, deeds, and testamentary dispositions of their countrymen, and also contracts to which a countryman is a party. They may draw up, attest, certify, and authenticate written instruments of any kind purporting to express or embody the conveyance or encumbrance of property of any kind within the territory of the State by which such officers are appointed, and unilateral acts, deeds, testamentary dispositions and contracts relating to property situated, or business to be transacted, within the territories of the State by which they are appointed embracing unilateral acts, deeds, testamentary dispositions, or

agreements executed solely by nationals of the State within which such officers exercise their functions.

Instruments and documents thus executed and copies and translations thereof, when duly authenticated under his official seal by the consular officer shall be received as evidence in the territories of the contracting parties as original documents or authenticated copies, as the case may be, and shall have the same force and effect as if drawn by and executed before a notary or other public officer duly authorized in the country by which the consular officer was appointed; provided, always, that such documents shall have been drawn and executed in conformity to the laws and regulations of the country where they are designed to take effect.

Article XXIII

A consular officer shall have exclusive jurisdiction over controversies arising out of the internal order of private vessels of his country, and shall alone exercise jurisdiction in cases, wherever arising, between officers and crews, pertaining to the enforcement of discipline on board, provided the vessel and the persons charged with wrongdoing shall have entered a port within his consular district. Such an officer shall also have jurisdiction over issues concerning the adjustment of wages and the execution of contracts relating thereto provided the local laws so permit.

When an act committed on board of a private vessel under the flag of the State by which the consular officer has been appointed and within the territorial waters of the State to which he has been appointed constitutes a crime according to the laws of that State, subjecting the person guilty thereof to punishment as a criminal, the consular officer shall not exercise jurisdiction except in so far as he is permitted to do so by the local law.

A consular officer may freely invoke the assistance of the local police authorities in any matter pertaining to the maintenance of internal order on board of a vessel under the flag of his country within the territorial waters of the State to which he is appointed, and upon such a request the requisite assistance shall be given.

A consular officer may appear with the officers and crews of vessels under the flag of his country before the judicial authorities

of the State to which he is appointed to render assistance as an interpreter or agent.

Article XXIV

In case of the death of a national of either high contracting party in the territory of the other without having in the territory of his decease any known heirs or testamentary executors by him appointed, the competent local authorities shall at once inform the nearest consular officer of the State of which the deceased was a national of the fact of his death, in order that necessary information may be forwarded to the parties interested.

In case of the death of a national of either of the high contracting parties without will or testament, in the territory of the other high contracting party, the consular officer of the State of which the deceased was a national and within whose district the deceased made his home at the time of death shall, so far as the laws of the country permit and pending the appointment of an administrator and until letters of administration have been granted, be deemed qualified to take charge of the property left by the decedent for the preservation and protection of the same. Such consular officer shall have the right to be appointed as administrator within the discretion of a tribunal or other agency controlling the administration of estates provided the laws of the place where the estate is administered so permit.

Whenever a consular officer accepts the office of administrator of the estate of a deceased countryman, he subjects himself as such to the jurisdiction of the tribunal or other agency making the appointment for all necessary purposes to the same extent as a national of the country where he was appointed.

Article XXV

A consular officer of either high contracting party may in behalf of his nonresident countrymen receipt for their distributive shares derived from estates in process of probate or accruing under the provisions of so-called workmen's compensation laws or other like statutes provided he remit any funds so received through the appropriate agencies of his government to the proper distributees, and provided further that he furnish to the authority or agency making distribution through him reasonable evidence of such remission.

Article XXVI

A consular officer of either high contracting party shall have the right to inspect within the ports of the other high contracting party within his consular district the private vessels of any flag destined or about to clear for ports of the country appointing him in order to observe the sanitary conditions and measures taken on board such vessels, and to be enabled thereby to execute intelligently bills of health and other documents required by the laws of his country, and to inform his government concerning the extent to which its sanitary regulations have been observed at ports of departure by vessels destined to its ports, with a view to facilitating entry of such vessels therein.

Article XXVII

Each of the high contracting parties agrees to permit the entry, free of all duty and without examination of any kind, of all furniture, equipment, and supplies intended for official use in the consular offices of the other and to extend to such consular officers of the other and their families and suites as are its nationals the privilege of entry free of duty of their baggage and all other personal property, whether accompanying the officer to his post or imported at any time during his incumbency thereof, provided, nevertheless, that no article the importation of which is prohibited by the law of either of the high contracting parties may be brought into its territories.

It is understood, however, that this privilege shall not be extended to consular officers who are engaged in any private occupation for gain in the countries to which they are accredited, save with respect to governmental supplies.

Article XXVIII

All proceedings relative to the salvage of vessels of either high contracting party wrecked upon the coasts of the other shall be directed by the consular officer of the country to which the vessel belongs and within whose district the wreck may have occurred. Pending the arrival of such officer, who shall be immediately informed of the occurrence, the local authorities shall take all necessary measures for the protection of persons and the preservation of wrecked property. The local authorities shall not otherwise interfere than for the

maintenance of order; the protection of the interests of the salvors, if these do not belong to the crews that have been wrecked, and to carry into effect the arrangements made for the entry and exportation of the merchandise saved. It is understood that such merchandise is not to be subjected to any custom-house charges unless it be intended for consumption in the country where the wreck may have taken place.

The intervention of the local authorities in these different cases shall occasion no expense of any kind, except such as may be caused by the operations of salvage and the preservation of the goods saved, together with such as would be incurred under similar circumstances by vessels of the nation.

Article XXIX

Subject to any limitation or exception hereinbefore set forth, or hereafter to be agreed upon, the territories of the high contracting parties to which the provisions of this treaty extend shall be understood to comprise all areas of land, water, and air over which the parties respectively claim and exercise dominion as sovereign thereof, excepting the Panama Canal Zone; for purposes connected with customs administration the territory of Germany shall be deemed to be coterminous with the area included within the German customs lines.

Article XXX

Nothing in the present treaty shall be construed to limit or restrict in any way the rights, privileges, and advantages accorded to the United States or its nationals or to Germany or its nationals by the treaty between the United States and Germany restoring friendly relations, concluded on August 25, 1921.

Article XXXI

The present treaty shall remain in full force for the term of ten years from the date of the exchange of ratifications, on which date it shall begin to take effect in all of its provisions.

If within one year before the expiration of the aforesaid period of ten years neither high contracting party notifies to the other an intention of modifying, by change or omission, any of the provisions of any of the articles in this treaty or of terminating it upon the expiration of the aforesaid period, the treaty

shall remain in full force and effect after the aforesaid period and until one year from such a time as either of the high contracting parties shall have notified to the other an intention of modifying or terminating the treaty.

Article XXXII

The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Washington as soon as possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same and have affixed their seals hereto.

Done in duplicate, in the English and German languages, at the city of Washington, this 8th day of December, 1923.

[SEAL.] CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.

[SEAL.] DR. OTTO WIEDFELDT.

IN EXECUTIVE SESSION,
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of Executive D, Sixty-eighth Congress, first session, a treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights between the United States and Germany, signed at Washington on December 8, 1923, subject to the following reservations and understandings to be set forth in an exchange of notes between the high contracting parties so as to make it plain that this condition is understood and accepted by each of them:

First, that there shall be added to Article I of said treaty the following: "Nothing herein contained shall be construed to affect existing statutes of either country in relation to the immigration of aliens or the right of either country to enact such statutes."

Second, that the fifth paragraph of Article VII and Articles IX and XI shall remain in force for twelve months from the date of exchange of ratification, and if not then terminated on ninety days' previous notice shall remain in force until Congress shall enact legislation inconsistent therewith, when the same shall automatically lapse at the end of sixty days from such enactment, and on such lapse each high contracting party shall enjoy all the rights which it would have possessed had such paragraph or articles not been embraced in the treaty.

BRITISH IMPERIAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

(Note.—Following is the text of a statement issued by the British Colonial Office concerning the constitution of an Imperial Economic Committee.)

In the course of the debate on the address in the House of Commons on December 17, 1924, the Prime Minister referred to the constitution of a committee to deal with the marketing in the United Kingdom of the food products of the oversea parts of the Empire. His announcement followed on discussions between His Majesty's present government and their predecessors and the other governments represented at the Imperial Economic Conference, 1923, regarding the resolution (pages 18-19 of Cmd. 1990) as to the appointment of an Imperial Economic Committee.

It has now been decided to set up a committee of an *ad hoc* character to be called the Imperial Economic Committee, representing His Majesty's Government and the governments of the self-governing dominions, India, and the colonies and protectorates, with the following terms of reference:

To consider the possibility of improving the methods of preparing for market and marketing within the United Kingdom the food products of the oversea parts of the Empire with a view to increasing the consumption of such products in the United Kingdom in preference to imports from foreign countries, and to promote the interests both of producers and consumers.

It has also been agreed that the committee should concentrate its attention first on meat and fruit.

It has further been arranged that the committee should be invited to make recommendations regarding schemes upon which useful expenditure might be incurred out of the grant which the Prime Minister announced was to be devoted by His Majesty's Government to securing for producers in the oversea parts of the Empire a larger share of that portion of the United Kingdom market in foodstuffs which has to be supplied by importation from abroad.

Sir Halford Mackinder, who is also chairman of the Imperial Shipping Committee, has, by agreement between the governments concerned, been appointed chairman of the new committee. The other members will be:

United Kingdom—Sir Thomas Allen, Director of the Co-operative Wholesale Society;

Mr. W. S. Crawford, of Messrs. W. S. Crawford, Limited; Sir Algernon Firth, Bt., late President of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom.

Canada—Mr. J. Forsythe Smith, of the Canadian Trade Commissioner Service; Mr. L. McQuat, of the Department of Agriculture, Ottawa.

Australia—Sir Mark Sheldon, K. B. E., chairman of the Australian Bank of Commerce; Mr. F. L. McDougall, one of the business advisers to the Australian delegation at the Imperial Economic Conference, 1923.

New Zealand—The Hon. Sir James Allen, K. C. B., High Commissioner for New Zealand; Mr. R. S. Forsyth, London manager of the New Zealand Producers' Board.

South Africa—Mr. J. Dimond, trade commissioner for the Union of South Africa in London.

Irish Free State—Mr. James McNeill, High Commissioner for the Irish Free State; Mr. S. J. Meyrick, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Dublin.

Newfoundland—Captain Victor Gordon, High Commissioner for Newfoundland.

India—Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, K. C. I. E., High Commissioner for India; Mr. M. M. S. Gubbay, C. S. I., C. I. E., late I. C. S., formerly Secretary to the Finance Department, Government of India.

Colonies and Protectorates—Sir Gilbert Grindle, K. C. M. G., C. B., Senior Assistant Undersecretary of State, Colonial Office.

(A second representative of the colonies and protectorates will be selected from a panel including representatives of certain associations connected with the colonies.)

The secretary of the committee will be Mr. H. Broadley, Board of Trade, to whom all communications on matters affecting the work of the committee should be addressed, at the Board of Trade, Great George Street, S. W. I.

Sir Algernon Firth, Bt., was president of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce from 1912 to 1918 and served on numerous government committees during the war. He has been a member of the Board of Trade Advisory Council.

Sir Thomas Allen is a director of the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society and chairman of the Co-operative Insurance Society. He is also a member of the Board of Trade Advisory Council.

Mr. W. S. Crawford is a member of the

firm of Messrs. W. S. Crawford, Limited, advertisers' consultants, and was chairman of the British Program Committee for the Advertising Convention held at Wembley in July, 1924, and in this connection was responsible for all the organizing arrangements.

News in Brief

AN HISPANIC-AMERICAN EXPOSITION will be held in Seville, Spain, in 1927. The Latin American countries have all accepted invitations to appear, and the United States, the only other country to be invited, has also decided to take part. Congress has appropriated the sum of \$700,000 to provide for the representation of the United States in the exposition.

THE CONTROL OF AIR ROUTES TO SOUTH AMERICA is a matter which is engaging popular attention in several European countries as well as in the United States. Among the great air routes under discussion, are the following: (1) A French plan for an air service from Toulouse to Dakar, fast steamer service from Dakar to Pernambuco, and air service from Pernambuco to Buenos Aires; (2) a Spanish plan for Zeppelin service to the east coast of South America via the Canary Islands and Cape Verde Islands; (3) a project that is said to have been discussed in the League of Nations, at the instance of the French, for establishing an air service from Geneva to South America via Bordeaux, Lisbon, Dakar, and Pernambuco.

THE DEPARTMENT OF SUPERINTENDENCE of the National Education Association met in Cincinnati in February. It passed resolutions endorsing among other things, a federal department of education, the codification of international laws, and an international court of justice.

HIGH SCHOOLS IN DENMARK emphasize a broad outlook and sympathy toward other lands, as well as patriotism toward their own. Pupils are taught universal history,

and great men of all nations are used as examples of heroism. The children are also taught the songs of many nations.

RESTORATION OF THE DEVASTATED REGIONS in Belgium will be completed in 1926, according to a statement made by Premier Theunis. After that year this heading will disappear from the budget sheet.

A LARGE MILITARY CAMP AT HEUBERG, southwest Germany, has been turned into a holiday camp and open-air school for sickly and convalescent children. Upward of nine thousand undernourished and physically deficient children have already been given health supervision in this camp.

A GIFT OF \$500,000 FOR NEAR EAST COLLEGES has been announced recently by Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge, of New York. This is sufficient to cover for five years a fifth of the expenses of Robert College, Constantinople, the American University of Beirut, the Constantinople Woman's College, and other institutions at Smyrna and Sofia. The Dodge family has been supporting educational and relief work in the Near East for three generations.

CANADIAN FEDERAL ESTIMATES include the provision of an annuity for Dr. Charles Saunders, who first produced "Marquis" wheat.

FEBRUARY MARKED THE ONE-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY of the Anglo-Argentina treaty of amity, navigation, and commerce.

MR. EDWARD S. HARKNESS, President of the Commonwealth Fund, New York, announced on January 31 that a fund is offered to establish, annually, twenty fellowships, each for two years, at American universities for British graduate students. This is done "in the hopes of advancing international understanding." An important provision of the plan is that each student shall have at least three months' travel in the United States at the end of the first year of study. A possible third year of study is granted to a limited number of promising students. The Prince of Wales has accepted the honorary chairmanship of the British committee of award.

"THE WORLD'S HEALTH" (organ of the League of Red Cross Societies) states that

there is an urgent need for more Chinese doctors in China, where existing hospitals are seriously understaffed and private practitioners are relatively few. The Rockefeller Foundation's China Medical Board has allotted \$22,500 per annum for a campaign undertaken by the Chinese Council on Health Education for more doctors, through the schools and universities.

"IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN further the ties between the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the Chinese people," the Soviet Government is arranging an exhibition at Harbin. Timber, coal, and metals will be included among the exhibits.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS has convoked the first meeting of the Committee on the Codification of International Law for April 1 at Geneva. Former Attorney-General George W. Wickersham is the American member of this committee.

RECENT POLISH LEGISLATION fixes the age limit for child labor at fifteen years. This is in advance of similar legislation in neighboring States, according to the Save the Children Bulletin for February 10. In Russia, for instance, the age limit previous to 1922 was 12, in Germany it is 13, in Austria 12 for artisan work and 14 for factory work. Poland is even further ahead than several States of Western Europe—e.g., France (age limit 13), Italy (12), and Spain and Hungary (10). The age limit adopted by the International Labor Office is also less liberal than that voted in Poland. Luxemburg and the Soviet Republic (decree of 1922) go even further and fix the age limit for minors at 16 years.

A NEW CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE EDUCATION is one of the results of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, held in Washington in January, by nine country-wide women's organizations.

THREE NEW CONVENTIONS designed to promote peace and stability in Central America have received the necessary ratification and are to become effective shortly. The State Department has been advised that Honduras has ratified the convention for a Central American tribunal, and that it would be put into effect despite its rejection by San Sal-

vador. All the other Central American republics have accepted it. The Central American arms limitation convention has been ratified now by all five Central American governments and the convention for international commissions of inquiry has been ratified by the United States, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras.

THE EMPIRE PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION of the British Empire is enlarging the sphere of its activities and forming committees to study such subjects as trade, communications, and finance; Empire foreign relations and defense; migration and land settlement within the Empire; Indian affairs, and affairs of the West Indies. The committees will merely explore methods of co-operation with the dominions, India, and the colonies. Courses of action will be taken only by individual members of the association.

MORE THAN THIRTY NATIONS, including the United States and Germany, have accepted an invitation to a conference on the control of the international traffic in arms to be held in Geneva early in May.

THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH SHIPPING LINE, a State enterprise which was instituted in 1916, has proved a costly failure, and the Australian Government is taking immediate steps to dispose of the fleet of 32 ships.

THE INTERNATIONAL SLEEPING CAR SERVICE has arranged matters with the Soviet Government so that there will soon be a biweekly service linking the London-Paris-Brussels routes with Riga, Moscow, and Vladivostok.

MOUNT SALEVE, JUST OUTSIDE GENEVA, but in France, will soon be crowned by two important stations. One is to be the world's largest and most powerful radio station, which can communicate with all parts of the globe; the other, an observatory containing the most powerful telescopes in the world. Four years will be required to build these two stations, and it is expected that, when completed, Saleve will become the seat of the international meteorological office.

THE THREE-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY of its public postal service was celebrated on De-

cember 24 by Denmark. On Christmas Eve, 1624, King Christian IV ordered the opening of post offices, the appointment of postmen to carry letters and parcels, and fixed certain domestic and foreign postal routes, with a board to keep the books and manage the system.

EIGHT HUNDRED FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, reaching some 9,000,000 readers, printed last year 48,000 articles prepared by the Foreign Language Information Service of New York City. These articles were written to give simple, unbiased information about American life and ideals to immigrants in order to help them become the more promptly and wholesomely assimilated into the life of our people.

RECENT ARCHEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES in the valley of the Indus, says Sir John Marshall, have now established the fact that well-built cities and a relatively mature civilization existed there 5,000 years ago. Up to this time discoveries have indicated a civilization there dating back only half that length of time.

JAPAN PASSED LAWS PERMITTING FOREIGNERS to own land in that country about thirty years ago, but has deferred making the legislation operate to see how other nations would reciprocate, said Dr. Yusuke Tsurumi recently in New York City. He explained that, while the law was not yet in effect, it is possible for foreigners to hold leases on land for as long as 2,000 years.

MRS. JAMES L. SLAYDEN, of San Antonio, Texas, wife of a former President of the American Peace Society, has established "The Slayden Memorial." The income of this memorial furnishes prizes for the best essay on world peace within the two high schools of San Antonio. The subject of the essays this year is "How Does War Injure Mankind?" Mrs. Slayden has opened Mr. Slayden's library to the use of the contestants.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES OF CENTRAL AMERICA have recently been held in San José, Costa Rica. A team from the Canal Zone won first place, with Costa Rica second and Nicaragua third. An athlete on the Canal Zone team, from Porto Rico, won the championship in individual points.

BOOK REVIEWS

SAINT JOAN. By *Bernard Shaw*. Pp. 163. Brentano, New York, 1924. Price, \$2.25.

One approaches Shaw's *Saint Joan* with something of trepidation. What will he do with that story, so full of mysticism and tragic beauty—he, who so dearly loves to prick our bubbles, to lash our authorities, and riddle our pet beliefs with witticisms?

A good many of these things he does in the preface, written after the play had been produced for nearly a season in London and New York. He analyzes Joan fearlessly, finding her sane and shrewd, logical and dominant. She was the embryo "managing woman of fifty." She "ordered people about." The process of her deeds was so rapid that, though they were thoroughly calculated, she was hardly conscious of it and ascribed it all to her voices. Yet in all sincerity Joan was, according to Shaw's findings, devoted and religious. She was modern, in that she claimed the right of private conscience. A genius in her management of people and a theocrat in doctrine, she was yet too ignorant of the world to forestall her own doom. "Quite innocent," said the inquisitor after she was taken out to the stake. "She did not understand a word we were saying."

After Shaw the pamphleteer has finished his preface, Shaw the artist begins his play, and by the time the great trial scene is reached the artist rises to heights never before reached by him.

Cleverly the preparation for this scene is made after the action has been well introduced. The long conversation between the Earl of Warwick and the Bishop of Beauvais shows those powerful currents, voiced by the church and the aristocracy, which are destined to destroy the maid. To be sure, persons do not really thus explain or even understand themselves. But it is as good a way as any to foreshadow and explain Joan's downfall.

Another scene for the same purpose shows how really alone she is. Then follows the trial scene. No buffoonery intrudes here, no dragging in of sarcasm or satire to be ap-

plied to modern times. Except that the trial is shown to be more fair than one usually thinks, the picture is kept entirely in its proper century. The clash of the forces which have been approaching this climax is felt to be tragically inevitable and innocence is sacrificed.

An epilogue serves to bring us back to every day and also to wind up Shaw's ideas on the maid. Early in the play she had excused her warlikeness on the ground that the English belonged in their own land. So God intended. "Otherwise it would be murder to kill an Englishman in battle." In the epilogue she explains the spirit in which she fought, thus: "With heart high and humble and void of malice and nothing counting under God but France free and French."

Not a peace play, surely, yet full of darting truths on right and wrong international relations, and with the final teaching that not even yet are the nations ready for their saints.

MODERN TURKEY. By *Eliot Grinnel Mears*. Pp. 779. Illustrated. Macmillan Co., New York, 1924. Price, \$6.00.

Relatively few people in America have any knowledge, more than hearsay information, of Turkey as she really is at this moment. Opinions there are in plenty, but distressingly little knowledge of facts. The author of *Modern Turkey* felt, after a considerable time of residence there as a government official, that practical and up-to-date information should be furnished English-speaking people.

His book, now happily brought out, has been praised widely by many experts on the Orient, because of its accuracy and objective nature. Professor Mears has, indeed, in spite of the personal bias of some of his witnesses, produced that most rare and difficult thing, an impartial history in a field often dominated by intrigue.

Many authorities have been drawn upon in collaboration. In the chapter on "Minorities," for instance, the articles on Armenians, Greeks, and Jews have been written by representatives of those races. "The Turkish Press" is written by Ahmed Emin Bey; "The Young Turk Movement," by Saleh Kerameth Bey. Many other chapters, and especially summaries, are by Professor Mears himself. The Armenian question, the Arabian question, and the Kemalist movement are can-

didly treated by this trained observer. Through his eyes one can see that Turkey which "bears no resemblance to the Ottoman Empire of 1914 and differs greatly from the nationalist Turkey of 1920-1922."

An appendix contains documents, bibliographies, and an especially interesting feature, a 23-page chronology of events in Turkey from 1908-1923.

CALVIN COOLIDGE: HIS IDEALS OF CITIZENSHIP. By *Edward Elwell Whiting*. Pp. 391. Price \$2.00. W. A. Wilde Company, Boston, 1924.

The story of Calvin Coolidge is a human story. A survey of his life reveals that it has been shaped, not by the many influences usually predominant in a public career, but by abiding moral principles planted in him in his early years. Among these elemental principles, none is more prominent than his lack of introspection and freedom from conscious self-exploitation. In one of his own sentences, spoken to the State Senate of Massachusetts, he tersely expressed the creed by which he lives: "Do the day's work."

"Calvin Coolidge: His Ideals of Citizenship," by Edward Elwell Whiting, is a portrayal of the character and public services of the President by means of a comprehensive survey of his public papers and addresses. Throughout the long list—much longer than commonly supposed—of these documents, one easily detects a central theme. Mr. Coolidge is, and has ever been, a unique interpreter of "the meaning of democracy." In the closing chapters of the book, with such titles as "Moral Forces in Government," "Religion in Government," "The Gospel of Work," "Education," etc., there are revealed the foundation stones of Mr. Coolidge's—yes, of America's—political philosophy, based upon the experience of history, but having the hopeful, forward look. After all, what better thing does life have to offer?

THE MONROE DOCTRINE. By *Alejandro Alvarez*. Pp. 573. Oxford University Press, 1924.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE. By *David Y. Thomas*. Pp. 580. Macmillan, New York, 1923. Price, \$4.00.

The Monroe Doctrine, first enunciated a bit over one hundred years ago, in 1823,

continues happily to be one of those international subjects most discussed by statesmen and lawyers and the general public as well. To be ignorant of this important principle is inexcusable.

The volume compiled and largely written by the distinguished Chilean publicist, Dr. Alvarez, was produced at the instance of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It covers the fields of the history of the doctrine, its nature and extent. Articles and opinions of many Latin and North Americans have been assembled here, forming a valuable body of comment on the whole matter. It is a serviceable text.

The book by Professor Thomas, less legal in form, makes an admirable handbook for the general reader.

"Before the work began," says Mr. Thomas, "I, like most Americans, believed in the Monroe Doctrine, though never with any blind adulation of everything masquerading under that name. The study was undertaken with the sincere desire to get at the facts, wherever they might lead. They have led far afield, but not astray." His story is interesting and would be an excellent preliminary to more specialized work.

BIRD ISLANDS OF PERU. By *Robert Cushman Murphy*. Pp. 362. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam Sons, New York, 1925.

Here is a book as charming as Beebe's "Galipagos." If all scientists and explorers wrote in a similarly delightful manner, even discoveries less fresh and thrilling might have great interest for the stay-at-homes. We are all full of questions, but answers are so often dull that it is easy to lose the child's wide-awake habit of asking "Why?"

In this book, however, the findings of the author not only answer many questions, but they do it in a way that suggests others. Thus we are led out to wish to know more and more of the arid part of the coast of South America.

"When you see no more trees," says a native to the explorer, "it is Peru." But why is this coast so barren? Why is this tropical country washed by such a cold ocean? Why are the coast islands teeming with literally millions of birds?

Dr. Murphy begins not with science, but with word pictures, preliminary to his research. We see Lima during a strike; we share his rambles about the ancient capital,

climb with him to the top of Morro Solar to view the sunset. In language graphic because simple and natural, he describes the scene as though with a sweeping brush. "When the sun went under as a fiery disk, the foam of the rollers that broke upon the rocky shore turned from white to hellotrope, and most of the colors of both sea and land assumed indescribable richness." Then came, through the dusk, remarkable bird-calls, but so loud and harplike he could imagine no bird capable of producing them. Soon he described, silhouetted against the sky, twelve ibises whose combined voices produced the sustained notes so instrumental in quality.

And so the interest of the normal inquiring mind is kept alert throughout. There are chapters devoted to the investigation and explanation of the remarkable cold Humboldt current which washes the coast of Peru. Others leave the teeming aquatic life and observe the birds on the guano islands, which comprise a most important source of wealth to Peru.

Dr. Murphy has done not only a notable piece of field investigation, in the opinion of other naturalists, he has also created for the North American public a new region of interest in the country of Peru and its arid coastal islands.

POLITICAL ACTION, A NATURALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN RELATION TO THE STATE. By *Seba Eldridge*. Pp. 368 and index. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1924.

What are the secret springs back of political events? A survey of the writings upon this subject reveals much confusion of thought and inadequacy of statement. Mr. Seba Eldridge in his book, "Political Action," attempts a comprehensive treatment of all the factors entering into our political life, with special emphasis upon the mental functions most significant for politics.

Pointing out that the three great influences operative in human society are heredity, environment, and culture or tradition, the author divides mental traits as follows: (a) instincts; (b) intellectual processes; (c) pleasant and unpleasant feeling tones; (d) habits; stating, however, that these are merely logical, not ontological, distinctions. The whole range of primary instincts or tendencies constitutes the source of human behavior. Hunger, fear, repulsion, acquisitiveness, sex, play, etc., often have a larger in-

fluence than commonly realized. But Mr. Eldridge believes that such traits as fighting, inquisitive and gregarious impulses, are more directly significant in the interpretation of political events.

With this background discussion of sources, Mr. Eldridge passes, in the last third of his book, to an extended and interesting treatment of political liberalism, under the chapter headings: "Reason and Justice in Politics"; "Freedom of Discussion"; "The Nature of Representative Government."; "The Radical Party"; "Incurable Defects of Political Democracy." Then follows a chapter in which the author outlines his conceptions of what the future of political action is likely to be. The book ends with a chapter devoted to ultimate problems involved in the understanding and appreciation of the mental traits that shape human society.

The student of political science and philosophy, interested to find an adequate statement of the factors involved in the interpretation of past and present political events, will find this book—well written, logically arranged, comprehensive in scope—a valuable aid in his investigations.

OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT: TWO TREATISES. By *John Locke*. Everyman's Library, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1924. Price 80 cents.

Among the many classics which have been brought out in the Everyman's Library, these essays, written by John Locke in the seventeenth century, have now a strange timelessness. These are days when political foundations are undergoing a careful scrutiny, when new organizations, national and international, are in process of building. What more suitable, therefore, than that we, at least in America, should run over again those documents and ideas which so profoundly influenced our beginnings? It was Locke who formulated the ideal of government by the consent of the governed; who emphasized natural rights, the right of resistance, and popular control. Our Revolution depended upon a philosophy directly derived from Locke and his school. Much also of the political theory underlying our Constitution was built upon doctrines first enunciated by him.

An interpretive introduction by Prof. William S. Carpenter, of Princeton, serves as an excellent guide through the quaintness of Locke's style.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

Edited by ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

1815-1828

Suite 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

(Cable address, "Ampax, Washington.")

PUBLISHED MONTHLY EXCEPT SEPTEMBER

Sent free to all members of the American Peace Society. Separate subscription price, \$2.00 a year. Single copies, 20 cents each.

Entered as second-class matter, June 1, 1911, at the Post-Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917; authorized August 10, 1918.

It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

CONTENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD..... 251

EDITORIALS

American Public International Law—Codification of Private International Law—As to the Course of Arbitration—Our Reputation in the Caribbean—Will a "Traitor" Save the Day?—Editorial Notes 253-264

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

Herriot's Downfall—Germany without a President—Poland and Security—Communist Intrigues in the Balkans—Codification of International Law—Better Co-operation with South America—Important International Dates (March 16-April 15)..... 264-275

GENERAL ARTICLES

Netette and Rintintin (a story)..... 275
By Kenneth Macnichel

The Commemoration of Grotius..... 284
By David Jayne Hill

A Plan of Education to Develop International Justice and Friendship (the Raphael Herman \$25,000 award)..... 287
By David Starr Jordan

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Draft for a Code of Private International Law, an introduction..... 293
By Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante Y Sirven

Great Britain and the Geneva Protocol..... 301
(Mr. Austin Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons)

NEWS IN BRIEF..... 307

BOOK REVIEWS 308

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY..... 311

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.

Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.

It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.

Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.

It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.

FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is two dollars;

Sustaining Membership, five dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of ADVOCATE OF PEACE, Washington, D. C.

Hon. P. P. CLAXTON, Ex-United States Commissioner of Education, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Senator from Illinois, Washington, D. C.

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN, 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, Esq., Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

HENRY C. MORRIS, Esq., 1155 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, California.

Prof. ARTHUR RAMSAY, Ex-President Fairmont Seminary, Southern Pines, North Carolina.

THEODORE STANFIELD, 126 W. 74th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Hon. HENRY TEMPLE, Representative from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS

HENRY C. MORRIS

THEODORE STANFIELD

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D.

Hon. HENRY W. TEMPLE

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE

OFFICERS

President:

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

GEORGE W. WHITE, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Washington, D. C.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

A. T. BELL, Esq., Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.

GILBERT BOWLES, Esq., Richmond, Indiana.

Dead CHARLES R. BROWN, New Haven, Conn.

Pres. E. E. BROWN, New York University, New York.

GEORGE BURNHAM, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston, Mass.

Rt. Rev. Bishop J. DARLINGTON, Harrisburg, Pa.

Dr. W. H. P. FAUNCE, Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.

GEORGE A. FINCH, Washington, D. C.

EVERETT O. FISK, Esq., Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM P. GEST, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hon. CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Washington, D. C.

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D. D., New York, N. Y.

Dr. DAVID STARR JORDAN, Stanford University, Calif.

Geo. H. JUDD, Washington, D. C.

Bishop WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Mass.

JOSEPH LEE, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM H. LUDEN, Reading, Pa.

L. H. PILLSBURY, Derry, N. H.

Judge HENRY WADE ROGERS, New York, N. Y.

Hon. ELIHU ROOT, New York, N. Y.

Mrs. FREDERIC SCHOFF, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. RUTH H. SPRAY, Salda, Colo.

Senator THOMAS STERLING, Washington, D. C.

EDWARD STEVENS, Columbia, Mo.

*Pres. M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

*Pres. C. F. THWING, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pres. MARY E. WOOLLEY, South Hadley, Mass.

*Emeritus.

Suggestions for a Governed World

(Adopted by the American Peace Society, May 27, 1921)

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference

for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council in the performance of their respective duties whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment whenever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council

of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that.

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for and, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instructions in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
87

MAY, 1925

NUMBER
5

EDITORIALS

AMERICAN PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW

THE thirty projects submitted by the American Institute of International Law to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union by the Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, March 2, 1925, have been printed by the Pan American Union of Washington, D. C., in a brochure of 121 pages. In submitting these resolutions, Secretary Hughes said: "I believe that this day, with the submission of concrete proposals . . . marks a definite step in the progress of civilization and the promotion of peace, and for that reason will long be remembered." Because of these words, made public at the time, students of international affairs have awaited the projects with deep interest. Do these conventions warrant the estimate put upon them at the time of their submission by Mr. Hughes? We think they do.

The most striking of them is the last. This project reads:

"The American Republics, . . . animated by the desire of preserving the peace and prosperity of the continent, for which it is indispensable that their mutual relations be based upon principles of justice and upon respect for law, solemnly declare as a fundamental concept of American international law that, without criticizing territorial acquisitions effected in the past, and without reference to existing controversies—

"In the future territorial acquisitions

obtained by means of war or under the menace of war or in presence of an armed force, to the detriment of any American Republic, shall not be lawful; and that

"Consequently territorial acquisitions effected in the future by these means cannot be invoked as conferring title; and that

"Those obtained in the future by such means shall be considered null in fact and in law."

This suggestion for a self-denying ordinance may be said to be the central thought of the projects. It will be noted that it contains no provision whatsoever for affirmative action, no binding of the nations to go to war against a recalcitrant State, no threat of any kind. Nations adopting such a principle simply renounce the right to acquire another's territory by conquest. There are no drastic demands whatever. There is not even a ban on war. It simply proposes an agreement by the terms of which any inducement for aggressive action is forever removed. It is a peace proposal. It is an Americanization of the Monroe Doctrine. It is the essential first step which the nations must collectively take before there can be any hopeful efforts toward the upbuilding of that justice between States without which no abiding peace is conceivable.

The thirty projects cover a wide range. The titles of the projects are as follows: 1, Preamble; 2, General declarations; 3, Declaration of Pan American unity and co-operation; 4, Fundamental bases of in-

ternational law; 5, Nations; 6, Recognition of new nations and new governments; 7, Declaration of rights and duties of nations; 8, Fundamental rights of American republics; 9, Pan American Union; 10, National domain; 11, Rights and duties of nations in territories in dispute on the question of boundaries; 12, Jurisdiction; 13, International rights and duties of natural and juridical persons; 14, Immigration; 15, Responsibility of governments; 16, Diplomatic protection; 17, Extradition; 18, Freedom of transit; 19, Navigation of international rivers; 20, Aërial navigation; 21, Treaties; 22, Diplomatic agents; 23, Consuls; 24, Exchange of publications; 25, Interchange of professors and students; 26, Maritime neutrality; 27, Pacific settlement; 28, Pan American Court of Justice; 29, Measures of repression; 30, Conquests.

If these projects are adopted by the International Commission of Jurists meeting next year in Rio de Janeiro and ratified by the twenty-one American republics, we shall have for the first time in history an association of nations based upon a definite code of law. Therefore we are speaking here of important matters.

The rules and regulations here suggested are based upon the idea of co-operation, international duty, and common interests. They contemplate the gradual evolution and free development of international law. They show the way for the American republics to determine among themselves the rules which shall regulate their reciprocal relations. They are all founded upon a principle enunciated by Mr. Elihu Root, who, as Secretary of State of the United States, at the laying of the cornerstone of the Pan American Union Building, in Washington, in 1908, said:

"There are no international controversies so serious that they cannot be settled

peaceably if both parties really desire peaceable settlement, while there are few causes of dispute so trifling that they cannot be made the occasion of war if either party really desires war. The matters in dispute between nations are nothing; the spirit which deals with them is everything."

The projects are peace projects. They contain no proposals for the regulation of war. They bar conquest and intervention. They renounce any imperialistic aims on the part of the United States. They assume the equality of all States before the law. Article 2 of project 5 distinctly says: "Nations are legally equal. The rights of each do not depend upon the power at its command to insure their exercise." Project number 7 is the international bill of rights adopted by the American Institute of International Law at its first session, in the city of Washington, January 6, 1916. Article 1 of project number 8 reads:

"The following principles are declared to constitute American public law and shall be applied and respected in America by all nations:

"1. The American republics, equal before international law, have the rights inherent in complete independence, liberty, and sovereignty. Such rights can in no way be restricted to the profit of another nation, even with the consent of the interested American republics.

"2. No American republic can cede any part whatever of its territory to a non-American nation, even if it consents to do so.

"3. No nation shall hereafter, for any reason whatsoever, directly or indirectly, occupy even temporarily any portion of the territory of an American republic in order to exercise sovereignty therein, even with the consent of the said republic.

"4. No nation has a right to interfere in the internal or foreign affairs of an American republic against the will of that republic. The sole lawful intervention is friendly and conciliatory action without any character of coercion."

Since no code of international law can be satisfactory without provision for a court of international justice to render decisions in cases of controversy, project number 28 shows how a Pan American Court of International Justice may be set up. The plan proposed is adapted from the project of the Commission of Jurists which met at The Hague in 1920. There are 45 articles in this project, the second and third of which are as follows:

"Article 2. At a date to be fixed by the governing board of the Pan American Union, each contracting republic shall be requested to appoint a member, and the names of the persons so appointed shall be transmitted to the Director General of the Pan American Union. The members thus appointed shall form the court, and the Director General shall send a list of them to each republic.

"The Pan American Union shall request from each contracting republic the name of a Canadian jurisconsult who possesses the qualifications specified in Article 1 and who is disposed to accept the position of member of the court. The names of the persons proposed shall be drawn by lot by the Director General of the Union at a meeting of the governing board, the person whose name is thus drawn from the urn being appointed to the court.

"Article 3. At a meeting of the governing board the names of the members shall be placed in an urn and the director General shall draw them one by one. The first half shall form the court of first instance; the second, the court of appeal.

"In respect to the United States and Canada, the person whose name is first drawn shall be in the first branch, and the person whose name is last drawn shall be reserved for the court of appeal."

It is proposed that this court shall have obligatory jurisdiction as to the interpretation of a treaty, the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; as to the nature and extent of reparation to be made for the breach of an

international obligation; as to the interpretation of a sentence passed by the court, and as to all disputes of any kind which may be submitted to the court by an agreement of the parties. Appeals from the decision of the Court of First Instance may be made to the Court of Appeal, but the judgment of the Court of Appeal shall be final.

Project number 29 provides for measures of self-redress short of war. These are of two kinds—*pacific* and *coercitive*. The *pacific* measures provided for are severance of diplomatic relations, *pacific embargo*, and *non-intercourse*. Those of a *coercitive* nature are those actions taken by a country in order to compensate it for damages suffered where another nation has taken the law into its own hands. Such action, known as *retorsion*, might be extended to the display of force, such as the maintenance of a naval squadron in or near the waters of the nation charged with wrong-doing.

Another series of *coercitive* acts provided for are such as may be undertaken for the purpose of obtaining, directly or indirectly, reparation for the illegal conduct of another nation. Such acts are acts of *reprisal*. Other acts of *coercitive* nature, called *hostile embargo*, are such as when ships or properties of a foreign nation are detained for one reason or another. A final list of *coercitive* acts includes acts of *pacific blockade*. This consists in the obstructing or closing of the ports or coasts of one country by another. If confined solely to the country against which the measure is taken, such an act is said to be *pacific*, and it does not necessarily create a state of war. This is the maximum of force provided for in the projects. But, in the case of force against any American republic, it is pointed out that such a republic should immediately notify the Pan American Union in order that the governing board thereof "may

consider the matter and take such action as it may deem advisable." This is a fair summary of those portions of the projects dealing with the coercion of States.

We do not know that these projects will pass the gauntlet of the International Commission of Jurists and of the various governments; but it must be apparent to every one who will take the time to study them that we have here the most hopeful beginning of a society of nations governed by law that the world has heretofore seen. It is peculiarly fitting that the Pan American Union should have printed at the top of the title page of these projects those words of Joubert: "*C'est la force et le droit qui règlent toutes choses dans le monde; la force, en attendant le droit*"—"Force and right rule everything in the world; force, until right is ready."

THE CODIFICATION OF PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL LAW

THE projects for the codification of international law submitted by the American Institute refer only to public international law. By public international law is meant those rules and principles which are generally observed by States in their relations with each other.

There is another branch of international law, having to do with rights of individuals. That portion of international law which relates to the rules and principles governing private rights is commonly known as private international law.

These private international laws are as much in need of clarification and codification as public international laws.

When the work of the American Academy of International Law, which ended in the projects to which we refer, was brought to the attention of the Honorable

Antonio Sánchez de Bustamante y Sirvén, this distinguished jurist turned his attention at once to the problem of codifying private international law.

Judge Bustamante is professor of public and private international law in the University of Havana, in the Republic of Cuba. He is vice-president of the Institute of International Law and a member of the American Institute of International Law. He is vice-president of the International Academy of Comparative Law. His law firm in Havana is said to have the largest practice of any law firm of the Western Hemisphere, which probably means of the world. He is probably best known to our readers, however, by the fact that he is one of the judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Judge Bustamante has shown the keenest interest in the projects for the codification of American public international law; but, realizing also the necessity for rendering a similar service in the field of private international law, he withdrew from the practice of law and devoted himself intensively to drafting a code of private international law, with the result that his work has appeared in the form of a volume, 269 pages, printed by El Siglo XX, Havana, Cuba. This remarkable work, begun some time last fall, appeared from the press in March of this year.

A translation of the introduction appears in our department of international documents, page 293 of this number.

In the light of these two works—one by the American Institute of International Law, in the interest of public international law; the other by the distinguished jurist of Havana, in the interest of private international law—there can remain no doubt either of the interest or

of the initiative of the American republics in matters relating to the promotion of peace between the nations.

AS TO THE COURSE OF ARBITRATION

THE arbitration of international disputes is as old as history. It may be said that this method began in the Western Hemisphere with the earliest discoveries. Indeed, as early as January 8, 1454, Portugal obtained from Pope Martin V a papal bull granting to her any newly discovered territories explored by her Prince Henry the Navigator. Upon the discoveries by Columbus, Spain sought to protect her new "possessions" through confirmation also by a papal bull. Pope Alexander VI, May 4, 1493, granted to Spain all lands discovered west of a line drawn from the north pole to the south pole one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Portugal vigorously opposed this action, but the line was confirmed by another bull of September 26, 1493, just before Columbus sailed on his second voyage. Trouble over the matter continued, however, between Portugal and Spain until finally Ferdinand of Spain suggested submitting the matter to an impartial arbitrator. This served to pave the way for the negotiation of the Treaty of Tordecillas of June 5, 1494, which extended the line three hundred seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands and provided for a joint commission to mark the boundaries.

Difficulties have continued over lines of demarcation practically to the present time. In 1522 a commission of geographers was appointed to fix the boundaries, of which Columbus' second son was a member. In 1750 a new treaty was drawn, under the terms of which the attempt was made to draw a satisfactory boundary line. This treaty failed to sat-

isfy. Another treaty, known as the Treaty of San Ildefonso, was drawn in 1777. Under the terms of this treaty all former treaties were annulled. The boundary was divided into separate sections and separate commissions were appointed to settle each one. Through the mediation of Charles Evans Hughes, one of the most difficult problems connected with one of these sections has just been settled. Many commissions have spent many years, the lives of many men, and large sums of money in explorations and other attempts to adjust boundaries in South America. For example, Colombia inherited an old dispute. Peru disputed territory claimed from Brazil by Colombia, a situation which precipitated a war in which Colombia was victorious; and yet she only claimed in settlement what belonged to the old viceroyalty of Santa Fé (Bogotá), her progenitor.

The point here, however, is that practically no decade has passed since white men opened this hemisphere without the employment of some arbitral method for the settlement of international disputes.

OUR REPUTATION IN THE CARIBBEAN

OUR State Department is finding it difficult to keep up with the criticisms of its policies, particularly in the Caribbean. It is openly accused of involving the United States in all sorts of obligations without the authority of Congress. It has "frankly become largely a commercial agency," supervising the placing of loans and practically guaranteeing the collection of foreign debts. The action of the State Department in Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua is roundly condemned. With such criticisms in mind, Secretary Hughes pointed out that the chief danger of strife among our neighbors to the south lies in internal dissensions and in the tendencies to have revo-

lutions instead of fair elections. The influence of our government is directed to the support of peace by constitutional methods, but he has been careful to point out we have no desire to take advantage of this regrettable condition in neighboring countries, either to acquire territory or to assume political control. Mr. Hughes said: "Nothing could demonstrate this attitude more completely than our recent withdrawal from Santo Domingo. Of course, we could have remained in control had we desired, but instead of doing so we have been solicitous to aid in the establishment of an independent government so that we could withdraw; and, such a government having been established through our efforts, we have withdrawn." We have withdrawn from Nicaragua and would have withdrawn earlier had the newly elected president not besought us, in the interest of peace and order, to remain until quiet had been restored.

Speaking of Haiti, Mr. Hughes said: "In Haiti we are only waiting to see a reasonable promise of peace and stability to effect our withdrawal. And in the meanwhile we are doing our utmost to promote the interests of the people of Haiti without selfish considerations. Nowhere else in Latin America have we any forces, and everywhere we are seeking to encourage constitutional government, to use our friendly offices in the interest of peace, and to assure our neighbors of our respect for them as independent States." We would call the attention of our readers to another quotation from a recent address by Mr. Hughes, speaking in honor of Lincoln's birthday, in the city of New York:

"If the turbulent spirits among us, whose aim seems to be to foment ill-will, to turn friends into enemies, to erect between well-disposed peoples the barriers of lying imputations of motive and action, could only be quieted; if those who are

loudest in vaunting their patriotism would do less harm to their country; if some of our advisers would be as astute in finding ways out of trouble as they are in getting us into trouble; if we could sound the note, not of an ignoble pacifism or of a truculent chauvinism, but of a noble reasonableness, we should be thrice armed and be secure in a just influence to which no one could set bounds."

WILL A "TRAITOR" SAVE THE DAY?

THERE are two kinds of security about which France is sorely perplexed—security against Germany and security against her own financial collapse. Either one of these is sufficiently grave; the two together present one of the most serious situations in the history of France. The scholar and lecturer, M. Herriot, has battled with these questions and failed. M. Paul Painlevé, another scholarly gentleman, has taken up the task. M. Painlevé, as President of the Council and Minister of War, announced at 2 o'clock in the morning of April 17 the new cabinet of the French Government. Of course, this change of cabinet carries no change in the party control of French politics. The government is still a socialist government. Only a dissolution of Parliament, which we believe has occurred but once throughout the history of the Republic, and a new election could change the party complexion. One wonders, therefore, how France is to benefit by the change.

By a strange turn in the wheel of political fortunes, the future of France seems now largely to lie in the hands of the new Minister of Finance, tried during the war, convicted, and banished from Paris on the charge of treason, Joseph Caillaux.

Here we have an interesting situation indeed. This irascible and domineering gentleman has been something of a storm center in French politics for over a

decade. It will be recalled that some twelve years ago his wife killed Gaston Calmette, editor of the *Le Figaro*, for his attacks on her husband. During the war M. Caillaux was charged with being a friend of Germany. He still believes, we understand, that Germany did not start the war; rather, that Russia and France, under the intriguing direction of England, were the guilty parties. Early in the war M. Caillaux was sent rather mysteriously on a mission to Brazil. In 1917 he visited Italy and aroused suspicions by his relations with Italian politicians favorable to a separate peace with Germany. He proposed that France should come to an understanding with Germany and make common cause against Great Britain. In the darkest hour of the war he was a "defeatist." It was because of these things that he was tried and convicted of high treason. Because of extenuating circumstances, however, he was not put to death. He was sentenced rather to banishment from Paris and to a deprivation of all his civil and political rights. When the French Parliament recently voted an amnesty for political offenses committed during the war, the sentence against M. Caillaux came to an end. He then returned to Paris and stepped at once into the political life of his nation. He is today his country's Minister of Finance. The eyes of many of his countrymen have turned to him as a possible rescuer of France from imminent financial disaster.

No one doubts the courage or ability of Joseph Caillaux. He has been Premier of France. It was he who put over the income tax in France thirteen years ago. He has already notified the bankers that he does not propose to take orders from them. He will listen to their advice, but that is all. His book, "*Whither France? Whither Europe?*", is probably the ablest analysis of the European situation since the war. Belief in his financial and tech-

nical sincerity and ability is deep and well-nigh unanimous. He was an intimate friend of Anatole France and was given special permission last October to return to Paris for the funeral of that illustrious writer.

Is this the man to lead France to safety? Of course, no one can say. But his new position in the cabinet arouses the interest of us all in his beliefs and points of view. Examining his writings, we find that he believes the war debt of the European nations should be distributed as a European debt; that the money necessary to this operation should be obtained by levies based mainly on private fortunes, and, consequently, proportionate to the wealth of each co-operating nation. He would increase gold production and rehabilitate money. He thinks our economic theories should be recast. He seems to agree with the independent labor party of Great Britain, that capital's autocratic management of industry should be overthrown, and that labor should be given a much more extensive control. He favors the interest of the consumer and is inclined to hold that the dividend of inactive capital should be limited, and that profits should be divided among administrative heads, technical experts, and employees. He has no very exalted notion of the State. Of it he has said: "It is composed of political puppets and petty bureaucrats."

He considers the supreme question of the day to be, How are we to adjust the political institutions founded by our fathers to the economic forces which have become our real rulers—our chaotic, disorganized, all-powerful rulers? His answer to this question is that we must subordinate the business interests to the common welfare by destroying privilege. He holds, therefore, that in every country an economic State must be formed within the political State, not above it, but definitely subordinated to it. The next step

—almost more important—will be to federate these economic States for all Europe. Some two years ago he wrote: "To maintain parliamentary assemblies with political powers (and only political powers), and to hand over to new organizations complete control of the economic state—in a word, *to combine Western democracy and Russian Sovietism—this is the goal to be reached!*"

He wishes that the production of all the nations of the earth might be federated. While he grants that this is probably impossible at once, the eyes of Europe must be lifted up toward the broad horizons of liberty and understanding and universal brotherhood. For him there is only one doctrine for Europe to adopt—the democratic doctrine. He bemoans that the ideals of 1789 and 1848—true liberty, real equality, effective justice and the right of men to live and to dispose of themselves as they see fit—have never been carried to their logical conclusion. If only the States of Europe would organize themselves politically and economically on the democratic basis, joined one to the other on an equal footing, they may not only continue to exist, but they may, he says, even recover their past glory. In a word, he would overthrow plutocratic privileges, nationalize production, discipline science, and unite Europe. Whether such changes be called revolution or evolution does not interest him.

As one reads his writings, one discovers that his friendship for Germany relates only to the Germany of Goethe. He agrees with Professor Schwiedland, of Germany, that "It is regrettable that the new German Empire gave Europe no new ideas from 1871 to 1914 and completely surrendered itself to the cult of brute force and dreams of world hegemony." But, M. Caillaux adds, "This thought deserves to be completed. Not only has Prussia—of which Mirabeau said over one hundred

and fifty years ago that it did not constitute a State, but was simply an army—failed to give Europe any ideal, but it has done its best to grind to dust the conceptions of liberty, altruism, and generosity which were the watchwords of the French Revolution. Victorious Prussia spread its reactionary currents all through the old Germany of Goethe."

Here is something of the man to whom is entrusted the financial and perhaps the political security of France. According to the newspapers, he has already declared against the futility of improvised measures for placing the treasury on a sound footing. He approves of the balanced budget, already a fact, but points out that that in itself is not sufficient. He says that charges on the treasury must be lightened; a careful inventory of France's internal and external debts must be made; a strong attempt must be made to obtain settlement of the interallied debts. The expense of completing the work in the devastated regions must be carefully calculated. He has come out for a fiscal system based upon purely democratic principles and for the beginning of amortization. He has called for support by the entire nation. Upon these principles he has already won the support of the radical Socialist group. Of course, the world outside of France awaits with no little anxiety the reception of M. Caillaux's policy by that portion of France represented by such men as Poincaré, Millebrand, and Clemenceau.

THE *Round Table*, England's leading interpreter of the Empire and an outstanding friend of the League of Nations, grants, unequivocally, in its March number, that the Covenant of the League is a very binding sort of document. For example, it binds Great Britain to submit to arbitration; to judicial settlement; to inquiry; to carry out awards; not to go

to war with members complying with awards; to sever all trade and financial relations, under certain circumstances, with the nation that goes to war; to abide by the recommendations of the Council as to how she shall use her military and naval forces; to go to war against a nation, not a member of the League, which goes to war against a member; to "respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League." The *Round Table*, viewing this situation with a critical eye, confesses flatly that no member of the League of Nations is at all likely to live up to these provisions. The editor is not at all clear that the Danzig corridor, separating Germany into two parts, is a permanent arrangement; that the boundary between Poland and Russia is permanently fixed; that the new boundaries affecting Bessarabia, the Tyrol, Hungary, Bulgaria, can be relied upon. The *Round Table* is quite clear that no nation belonging to the League of Nations can be depended upon to "preserve as against external aggression" every existing frontier, insist on delay, or go to war, if Russia, Germany, Hungary, or Bulgaria should begin to rectify frontiers. Great Britain need not be expected to send troops or ships to China or Central America or Persia, irrespective of the merits of the case. This outstanding friend of the League of Nations believes that no one intends to live up to the Covenant as originally drafted, and says so. The evil of the Covenant, the editor holds, is its dependence upon force without adequate regard for the merits of the given case.

THE eighteenth of May is officially "Peace Day" for many of the peace workers of the world. This day has been celebrated widely in honor of the first

meeting of The Hague Peace Conference, May 18, 1899. On that day the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, W. H. de Beaufort, in his opening address, said: "The day of the meeting of this conference will, beyond doubt, be one of the days which will mark the history of the century which is about to close." In our opinion, there is no day throughout the long rise of the peace movement more worthy of special celebration than the eighteenth of May.

THE Kurdish revolt, particularly during the month of March, has caused the Turkish Government no little anxiety. Ismet Pasha, the Prime Minister, has recently pointed out, however, that various towns and villages have gradually been recaptured. The Pasha also says that the insurgents have now retreated into the mountains; but he adds that they have not given up the struggle, and that they maintain their formation. He believes, however, that they will be tracked down and punished. To this end the Turkish Government is rapidly completing the mobilization of its forces.

THE Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate was not idle between December 12 and the time of its adjournment in March. Senator Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, reports that nineteen treaties were ratified by the Senate during that time. The list includes:

The treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights with Germany.

Convention with American States to provide for the protection of trade-marks and commercial names.

Convention with Great Britain, with respect to Canada, to aid in suppressing smuggling along the boundary between the United States and Canada.

Convention with Panama to aid in the prevention of liquor smuggling.

Convention with France to prevent the smuggling of liquor into the United States.

Convention with The Netherlands to aid in the prevention of smuggling.

Extradition treaty with Rumania.

Arbitration convention with Sweden.

Convention with Guatemala and other countries for the establishment of an international commission of inquiry.

Convention of ratification with the Dominican Republic.

Convention with Great Britain concerning rights in Palestine.

Convention with the Dominican republics.

Convention with Great Britain providing for extradition on account of violation of the narcotic laws.

Treaty with The Netherlands regarding the Island of Palmas.

Extradition treaty with Finland.

An international sanitary convention signed at Havana with Latin American republics.

Treaty with Great Britain defining the boundaries between the United States and Canada.

Treaty with Great Britain concerning regulation of the level of the Lake of the Woods.

TSUNEO MATSUDAIRA, Japanese Ambassador to the United States, has already won his way into the hearts of many of our people.

Ambassador Matsudaira was born in 1877. He graduated from the College of Law of the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1902, when he was appointed attaché to the Japanese embassy in London. In 1907 he became third secretary of that embassy, and in 1910 the second secretary. Two years later he was second secretary of the Japanese legation in Peking. He became Consul General at Tientsin in 1914. In 1918 he became political director of the Japanese expeditionary forces in Siberia, with the rank of Coun-

selor of Embassy. He was appointed Director of the European and American Bureau of the foreign office in 1920. America became acquainted with him in 1921, when he served as secretary of the Japanese delegation of the Disarmament Conference. He was vice-minister of the foreign office in 1923. He comes from one of the most distinguished families in Japan. It was not necessary for His Excellency to point out, as he did at the Harvard Club in New York City April 20, that war between Japan and the United States is "a matter of physical impossibility," and that "we are destined to live in peace for all time." But that he did go out of his way to say that thing upon such an occasion is simply one of a number of reasons why this distinguished ambassador has made so many friends throughout our land.

REPRESENTATIVE Theodore E. Burton has been appointed by the President as chairman of the American delegation to the International Conference on the Traffic in Arms, which is to open in Geneva on May 4. Referring to this appointment under date of April 8, the *Christian Science Monitor* carried the following:

"The choice of Mr. Burton is favorably regarded here. As a member of the Foreign Debt Refunding Commission he has been in touch with one of the most critical phases of international relations today, and as a member of Congress he is in touch with the legislative trend in this country. He is one of the best-informed members of Congress on financial questions and has been connected with international problems. As a member of the Interparliamentary Union, he has participated in the meetings held in various capitals of Europe during the last decade.

"Mr. Burton was formerly a Senator from Ohio, and received the unanimous support of his State for the presidential nomination in the Republican National

Convention of 1916. He made the opening speech at the Cleveland Convention, which nominated Mr. Coolidge, last summer.

"As President of the American Peace Society, Mr. Burton is identified with a movement 'to promote international peace through justice and to advance in every way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.'"

AS AN aid to business and pleasure travel between the Americas, there has just come from the press a unique booklet, printed entirely in the Spanish language, entitled "*Viajando por los Estados Unidos*," which means, translated, "*Seeing the United States*." This little work answers a thousand and one questions that the average visitor wants to know before coming and while sojourning in the United States. It is intended primarily for the Spanish-speaking countries of the Americas, but might be used in Spanish classes in the United States. First, it shows the several routes and the great ports of New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco, which receive the bulk of travelers. Such questions are covered as passing the United States customs, getting to hotels, sightseeing in cities, in the national parks, American railroads, chambers of commerce, aids to women purchasers, specimen trips and the approximate cost, climate, and a multitude of other things about which the stranger should be informed. Life and activities of typical American cities are also described, while more than half a hundred excellent illustrations present additional travel features.

The booklet was published by the Pan American Union, being a companion to a similar work in English published a year

ago, called "Seeing South America." Director General Rowe, in speaking of the new publication, voiced the opinion that it fills a need in Latin America, and that its detailed information should aid and encourage the coming of more business men and tourists to the United States, which means a better understanding and a further step in inter-American development.

OUR Tariff Commission, it is reported, has been sending investigators into Switzerland, Great Britain, France, and Sweden, inquiring into the production costs within those countries, on the theory that it needs this information as a guide to the Treasury in imposing ad valorem duties, and also in determining whether or not the production costs abroad are sufficiently below the costs in this country to warrant the enforcement of the anti-dumping provision of the tariff law. A number of those countries have protested against these activities. Our own judgment is that our government should conduct its investigations only with the advice and consent of foreign governments. In no circumstances should the investigations be conducted in a manner calculated to arouse resentments abroad.

THE ways of the Chinese politician are deep and devious.

A certain politician in China had been invited to the conference at Peking. In order to come, a mandate had to be issued declaring an amnesty, thus incidentally pardoning him and freeing him from an order for his arrest.

About seven years ago he underwent the same operation; he had been ordered arrested and had gone abroad. Then the government changed, he was invited to return, and an order was issued pardoning him. He returned. What then?

In due course of time the man who invited him back was forced out of office, but this politician joined the party which came into power and presently was given a high position. He did not last long, for his backer himself was forced to relinquish his hold on the government. What then?

This politician was again ordered arrested and went abroad. The man who

invited him back seven years ago has now repeated the process. If the politician returns, does it mean that the man who has twice pardoned him and invited him back will once more be forced to retire, to be succeeded by the politician, backed by his former strong friend?

And if this happens, does it mean that he will then again lose his job—and the whole story repeat itself a third time?

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

HERRIOT'S DOWNFALL

THE thorny problem of finance has proven to be an insurmountable obstacle to the Herriot Cabinet, just as it had finally smashed the Poincaré Government. After ten months in office, Premier Herriot resigned on April 10, leaving his successor a difficult heritage of unsolved financial problems.

Difficulties over inflation

The particular phase of the situation which brought about M. Herriot's downfall was the problem of inflation. Signs of the approaching storm were plain to be seen for weeks prior to the actual resignation. The position of the franc was becoming more and more insecure, and it was clear that the government, while protesting its determination to avoid currency inflation, was in some way or other drifting into inflation.

Then an incident occurred which brought the situation to a focus. On April 2 M. Clémentel, the Minister of Finance, announced in the Senate that the government was contemplating an authorization to the Bank of France for an extraordinary issue of bank notes in excess of the legal limits prescribed by existing legislation. M. Clémentel explained that this issue was intended to serve

purely commercial needs and was not for the uses of the treasury. That same day the government, after a special cabinet meeting, issued a statement to the effect that, "faithful to the declaration which it has made, that it will not ask for any inflation for the needs of the State and will remain within the legal limit of advances from the Bank of France to the treasury, it considered the means which it will propose to meet the needs of commerce without being false to that engagement."

In spite of these assurances on the part of the government, a veritable storm was aroused by this first indication that the government officially contemplated inflation. So great was the flood of protest that M. Clémentel resigned and his place was taken by Senator de Monzie.

Senate Forces Herriot's Resignation

Premier Herriot appeared before the Chamber with explanations of his financial policies; but he found himself confronted with demands for a clear statement of some of the recent transactions between the treasury and the Bank of France. In the course of the discussion it appeared that the bank, at the demand of the government, had already exceeded the legal limits of circulation, having re-

ceived assurances, however, that necessary legislation would be pushed through by the government legalizing this act.

In the course of his defense, M. Herriot blamed his predecessors for the difficulties in which his government had found itself. He received a scant vote of confidence from the Chamber. When he appeared before the Senate, however, he fared much worse.

The attack in the Senate was led by ex-Premier Poincaré, and especially by M. François-Marsal, who was Minister of Finance in the last Poincaré Cabinet and Premier in the interval between the Poincaré and the Herriot ministries. When vote came at the end of this attack, the Herriot Government found itself denied a vote of confidence, and nothing remained for it to do but to resign.

Painlevé Becomes Premier

After several days of negotiations among various leaders and factions, the constitution of a new cabinet was finally entrusted by President Doumergue to M. Paul Painlevé, President of the Chamber. There were great difficulties in the way of the constitution of the new cabinet, but they were finally reconciled, and on April 17 Premier Painlevé presented the following cabinet to the President of the Republic:

President of the Council and Minister of War—Paul Painlevé.

Vice-President of Council and Minister of Justice—Senator Jules Steeg.

Minister of Foreign Affairs—Aristide Briand.

Minister of Finance—Joseph Caillaux.

Minister of Interior—Senator A. Schrameck.

Minister of Marine—Emile Borel.

Minister of Commerce—Senator Charles Chaumet.

Minister of the Colonies—André Hesse.

Minister of Labor—Antoine Duraufour.

Minister of Education—Anatole de Monzie.

Minister of Public Works—Pierre Laval.

Minister of Agriculture—Jean Duran.

Ministry of Pensions—Louis Antériou.

For reasons of economy, the Ministry of the Devastated Regions was suppressed and put in charge of an undersecretary. Practically all the ministers and under-

secretaries belong to the Radical Socialist, Radical, and Left Radical parties.

The two outstanding figures in the new cabinet are Briand and Caillaux. The former's return to office was more or less a foregone conclusion. The latter's inclusion in the cabinet, however, is a tremendous event in French political life.

Caillaux's Return to Public Life

Joseph Caillaux, former Premier of France, was exiled during the war for alleged treason. He was only recently pardoned by the Herriot Government, reinstated in his rights, and permitted to return to France.

Soon after his arrival in Paris the *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme* gave a dinner in his honor, in the course of which M. Caillaux delivered a speech, stating his views on the problems now confronting France. He dealt with the question of responsibility for the war, expressing the opinion that the Nationalists had not wanted to prevent the war and pursue a policy of ententes, which would, he admitted, have involved essential concessions.

He had, however, always considered the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine a requisite of French equilibrium. He himself favored a policy which stubbornly strove for peace and paid due consideration to economic and ethnic movements. He thought that with another policy during the war they might have had a peace that would have been of some use and have given security as well as reparations. He deplored the estrangement of Russia on her ceasing to be Tsarist.

For him the Entente Cordiale with England and a gradual rapprochement with all the peoples of Europe were essential conditions of political reconstruction. The government must be infinitely tactful, patient, firm, supple, and inflexible. He condemned the formula "Germany will pay"—a formula that had led France to advance the Reich a sum of 54 milliards.

M. Caillaux saw great difficulties in the way of a capital levy. He was optimistic with regard to the French budget, which was near balancing, and he favored the extinction of debts by substitution, by directing them along fresh channels. He

was convinced that the requisite support could be obtained from all taxpayers if they could only see an end of the present financial situation. France's debit account was so much in excess of her credit account that they might find themselves compelled to pay their Allies more than they received from their enemies as reparation for the abominable destruction they had wrought, the total burden of which would devolve upon Frenchmen.

His opinion was that the Nationalists in 1920 and 1921 did not seize all the opportunities that offered themselves to settle up interallied accounts. The note which Great Britain had just presented proved it. The quite advantageous proposals made by Mr. Bonar Law had been brushed aside by M. Poincaré in disregard of France's interests.

A notable lightening of their debts was not now promised them, but there was ground for hoping that they would push their advantages. Their associates as well as their allies would understand how impossible it was for them to pay what they persisted in asking of them, except by giving up a portion of what Germany owed them. He liked to think that these hopes would not be disappointed. He thought the high cost of living was mainly caused by the action of certain economic groups, by the weakness of the State, and the raising of the tariff rates.

Financial Problems Confronting France

M. Caillaux is considered the ablest living French financier. He will have to exercise his utmost ability to solve the problems that now confront him and the new government.

The three main questions before the government are (1) the balancing of the budget; (2) the handling of the floating debt; and (3) the provision of monetary circulation. Taking these in order, it may be said that the balancing of the budget has been to a certain extent achieved, although there are still difficulties to be overcome. The questions of the floating debt and of the increase of circulation are for the moment more urgent. The floating debt has reached a total of 56 milliard francs and consists of bonds maturing in one, three, and six months, and one year. In addition, there are 22 milliards of na-

tional defense bonds and of long-term bonds maturing for repayment this year. There are also so-called commercial debts, principally to the United States, which will involve the sending abroad of more than two milliard francs. Thus the government is confronted with a total floating indebtedness of about 80 milliards.

When it is considered that the rate of interest has risen to 8.7 per cent, the prospect for the government, whether the investor is asked to exchange old bonds for new or asks, instead, for the return of his capital, is obviously a very awkward one. As for fiduciary circulation, the legal limit of 41 milliards is believed in many quarters to have been already exceeded, some say by more than two milliards, the exact position being concealed by the comprehensiveness of the item "comptes divers" in the balance-sheet of the Banque de France.

GERMANY WITHOUT A PRESIDENT

THE presidential election in Germany, necessitated by the death of the first President of the Republic, Friedrich Ebert, was held on March 29. Seven candidates appeared in the field, and a strenuous campaign was waged by each. As a result, not one of the candidates received the requisite majority and a new election became necessary. In the meantime Dr. Simon, the Provisional President, continues to exercise the functions of the head of the Republic.

Results of the Election

The results of the election held on March 29 were as follows:

Herr Jarres (Combined Right)...	10,387,593
Herr Braun (Socialist).....	7,785,678
Herr Marx (Center).....	3,883,676
Herr Thalmann (Communist)....	1,869,553
Herr Hellpach (Democrat).....	1,565,136
Herr Held (Bavarian People's Party)	1,002,278
General Ludendorff (Hitler "Fascist")	284,471
Cast for personal candidates.....	34,152
Total number of valid votes.....	26,812,537
Number necessary to secure election (an absolute majority)....	13,406,269

The leader of the poll, Herr Jarres, failed to reach the necessary total by 3,018,676. A second poll, in which the recipient of the greatest number of votes will be elected President, falls due, accordingly, on April 26.

There was a moderately heavy poll, estimated at 68.75 per cent, or approximately 11.6 per cent less than that registered at the Reichstag election in December, 1924, when more than 30,000,000 of an electorate numbering close on 39,000,000 recorded their votes. A comparison of the results with those of the December election to the Reichstag reveals no considerable transference of votes from one group or party to another. The main tendencies apparent in December have continued to operate. The extremist parties of the Right and Left have weakened notably, General Ludendorff having polled approximately one-fourth of his former strength, and the Communist vote having sunk again by something less than one-third. The steadfastly Republican parties of the Weimar Coalition—Center, Democrats, and Socialists—have reasserted in combination the gain they had made in December on the result of the previous election to the Reichstag in May. On that occasion the Republican parties secured 39.6 per cent of the total number of votes; in December they secured 45.9 per cent; and later they secured 49.5 per cent, whereas the proportions obtained by the Monarchists were 45, 43.7, and 43.5 per cent in the three elections.

Field Marshal Hindenburg's Candidacy

Perhaps the most spectacular development of the second presidential campaign, which opened immediately after the indecisive election, has been the substitution of Field Marshal Von Hindenburg in the place of Dr. Jarres as the candidate of the united parties of the Right. The old war leader hesitated a long time before he accepted the candidacy. One of the difficulties in the negotiations for his acceptance has been his demand that his candidacy must be endorsed by all the parties of the Right, while the People's Party, led by Dr. Stresemann, withheld its support.

The opposition of the People's Party was finally broken, and it gave its passive approval to Hindenburg's candidacy. It

is still, however, withholding its active aid, Dr. Stresemann himself saying nothing either in favor of the Field Marshal or against him.

Von Hindenburg's candidacy is considered as a decided triumph for the Monarchist elements. It is interesting that one of the planks in the Field Marshal's platform is the restoration of the old national flag of Germany in place of the flag adopted by the Weimar Constituent Assembly. This plank reminds one of that curious incident in recent French history, when the Bourbons lost the throne of France to the Third Republic because of the insistence of their representative upon a restoration of the fleur-de-lis standard in place of the tricolor.

Republican Demand for the Annexation of Austria

Scarcely less spectacular than the emergence of Hindenburg has been the inclusion in the Republican platform of a demand for the annexation of Austria to the German Reich. This demand has been stated in the first campaign speech delivered by ex-Chancellor Marx, candidate of the united Republican bloc. In this speech he said that the question of the annexation of Austria is a part of the whole European security problem:

The first step for the pacification of Europe was taken when the London agreement was reached. It brought Europe onto the road toward a policy of economic horse sense. The next sensational step on this road was taken by Germany when she offered a security compact to France, Germany, for the sake of an understanding with France, declaring herself ready to recognize the western border such as was made by the war.

Because Germany made this offer of a truce to France, ex-Chancellor Marx feels she has the right to bring up the question of annexation.

The oldest country of German culture and history is Austria. The annexation to the brother State of Austria and the creation of a greater Germany, the dream of more than a century, can be demanded now when the security compact is under discussion. This demand already has been outlined in the Weimar Constitution. We see it expressed all the time in the flag of red, black, and gold. It is only under these Republican

colors that it will be possible to solve the question of annexation for Austria, for us, and the whole world.

We don't lack respect for the old flag. It is dear to us as the flag under which Germany's small States conquered. The flag of black, red, and gold means more; it speaks to us of our mission and our history. The new flag is not only that of the Weimar Constitution, but it is the symbol of greater Germany and united, free, peaceful development.

This was also the Republicans' reply to Hindenburg's demand about the change of national flags.

POLAND AND SECURITY

ONE of the outstanding difficulties in the way of negotiating a security pact to take the place of the Geneva Protocol is the Polish problem. The Germans, in their proposals, have been insistent upon regarding the eastern frontiers of Germany, as fixed by the Treaty of Versailles, subject to arbitration and possible change. The acceptance of this thesis would present tremendous danger to the Poles, who have, therefore, been thoroughly aroused by the apparent trend of the security negotiations.

Poland's Position at Geneva

During the last meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, Count Skrzynski, the Polish Foreign Minister, visited Geneva, seizing the occasion also for a visit to Paris. While in Geneva, speaking on the arbitration pact with Germany, Count Skrzynski declared emphatically that Poland was ready to conclude an arbitration treaty with Germany, or with any other country whatsoever, on the principles laid down by the League of Nations or by the Protocol, but he rejected all ideas of any change in the frontiers of Poland. This point of view he again emphasized in Paris, where he declared that he looked forward to the future with optimism, believing, as he did, that mutual solidarity would lead to the final triumph of justice. Poland was, he said, faithful to the principles of the Geneva Protocol.

Referring to Germany's proposal for a guaranty pact, Count Skrzynski said that

Poland entertained neither fear nor hate—she desired to forget the past in order that life alongside her neighbors might begin anew—but she did not intend to go so far in forgetting as to forget the lessons of history. She would like to see the entry of Germany into the ranks of the League of Nations. In concluding his speech, Count Skrzynski paid a tribute to the French thesis supported by Herriot and Briand, and declared: "There can be neither stability nor security without justice, and justice means equality in the eyes of the law."

The Polish Frontiers

The frontiers of Poland, as fixed according to the Treaty of Versailles, were based on the principles enunciated in the 13th of President Wilson's Fourteen Points: "An independent Polish State should be erected, which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic integrity should be guaranteed by an international covenant." Thus said President Wilson, and the authors of the articles which delimit the Polish frontier did their best to give effect to his ideas.

The inhabitants of the "corridor" are Kashubes. They are a distinct branch of the Polish race, but speak a dialect of Polish and are as indisputably Poles as the Saxons or Bavarians are indisputably Germans. In drawing the new frontier, no account was taken of what had been Polish territory before the partition of 1772. The chief guides were the ethnographical maps of the German Government, which indicated by communes the districts containing a majority of German-speaking or Polish-speaking inhabitants. So far as possible, the frontier was fixed so as to leave to Poland only communes where there was a Polish-speaking majority. The result is a state of affairs which satisfies neither Poles nor Germans.

The "corridor," as it appears on the map, is a belt of territory running along the left bank of the Vistula and tapering gradually as it nears the sea. At its narrowest, it is only about twenty miles broad. To the Germans there seems

something provokingly unreasonable in this narrow obstacle, which divides one part of their country from the other. They maintain that the Kashubes, who are a simple people of peasants and fisher-folk, were at least as contented under Prussian rule as they are under Polish, and they chafe under the annoyances which the new frontiers impose upon them. It is not the through railway traffic from distant parts of Germany to Königsberg and Tilsit which suffers. On the main trains the customs and passport examination is perfunctory, and the Poles claim that they take less time to pass over that part of the line than they did when it was German.

But to the local population the customs formalities and the necessity of always having papers properly visaed are a constant source of irritation. They cause waste of time and great inconvenience. The existence of the "corridor" is a sore point to every patriotic German, wherever he lives, but to those who dwell along the frontier, or in the "corridor" itself, under Polish rule, its existence is a practical nuisance which the lapse of time will never abate.

The "Free City" of Danzig

If the Germans hate the "corridor," the Poles hate the "Free City" of Danzig no less. They feel a sense of deep injustice because Danzig was not included in Poland under the Peace Treaty, and the way their controversy with the "Free City" has developed makes it rankle. President Wilson demanded "free and secure access to the sea" for the new Poland. The "corridor" gives the Poles about 40 miles of perfectly useless seaboard. The estuary of the Vistula, which forms the real outlet seawards for all that part of the country, has been excised from the end of the "corridor" to form the territory of the "Free City." The "Free City" itself was the conception of certain historians who remembered that, years before, Danzig had been a city with special rights and privileges within the Kingdom of Poland, and that the German blood of its merchants had not prevented their being very loyal subjects of the Polish Crown. The 16th century warehouses which stored the Polish grain still stand beside the Danzig

canals, and to this day the gilded figure of a Polish king surmounts the spire of the old town hall.

But one cannot make history repeat itself. The days when Danzig (Gdansk) stood or fell with Poland were before Germany was united and the Pan-German idea had become a force in Europe. The modern Danzigers are just as chauvinistic as any Prussian from Stettin or Königsberg. When the Poles talk about the rights granted them by the Peace Treaty in the port and city of Danzig, the Danzigers reply: "Are we, or are we not, a free city? If we are free, then we are masters here, and not you." There is constant bickering between the Warsaw Government and the Danzig Senate, and there is very little sign as yet that the commercial interdependence of the port and its hinterland, in which the authors of that section of the treaty put their trust, will bring about friendlier relations between the nation and the city; they distrust one another completely.

New Polish Harbor

So little confidence have the Poles in Danzig that they have begun to develop a harbor of their own at Gdynia, to the west of the Vistula mouth and just outside the territory of the "Free City." That is because they have found that, in certain cases and for certain purposes, Danzig will not serve them as a port. It may not be used as a station for the half dozen patrol vessels and torpedo-craft which form the Polish navy. More important still, the Poles found that during the Bolshevik invasion of 1920 the military stores which they were importing through Danzig were held up by a dockers' strike, the motives of which were certainly political. The Poles could not depend on being able to use Danzig in any emergency in which the safety of the country was involved. Gdynia, therefore, is being built as a safeguard, but a long channel will have to be dredged through shoal water before it can be used by vessels of any size, and it will need years of work and millions of capital before it can in the slightest degree compete with Danzig as a commercial port. The "free and secure access to the sea" postulated by President Wilson remains an illusion.

No Solution in Sight

Thus the present state of affairs is equally objectionable to the Germans and the Poles, but there is no way out of it which both parties would accept. The Poles refuse to consider the slightest alteration of their frontier, and their argument is sound. There is no real reason for the suppression of the "corridor," except that it annoys the Germans. The latter cannot claim that it seriously interferes with their trade, or that it removes a large number of Germans from German rule.

The Polish remedy for the case would be to make Danzig Polish. But this is not practical politics and has never been put forward from any authoritative Polish quarter. No solution of the "corridor" problem is practical politics at present, and yet the Polish problem is, indeed, one of the thorniest tangles in the present-day European situation.

COMMUNIST INTRIGUES IN THE BALKANS

THE wanton violence of the terroristic outbreak in Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, represents, undoubtedly, the culmination of a long period of strenuous Communist propaganda in the Balkans, especially in Bulgaria. The network of Communist intrigue has been gradually woven around every promising point of vantage on the whole Balkan Peninsula. Everywhere the hand of the Third International, that general staff of the world revolution, is quite in evidence.

Methods Employed by the International

According to the well-informed Balkan correspondent of the *London Times*, the Third International began its Balkan work by exploiting the economic grievances left by the war on the familiar lines of "class-conflict," and failed in Yugoslavia because most of its supporters were peasant proprietors, who merely voted Communist because they were exasperated by the delays of reconstruction and because the Communist candidates promised them most. When the handful of extremists in the party murdered a liberal

and popular statesman in M. Drashkovitch, the government proclaimed the Communist Party an illegal organization and canceled the mandates of over fifty Communist deputies. Thereupon nearly all the peasants who had voted Communist stampeded to the "legal" parties and left the handful of genuine Reds in the air—or in prison. In Bulgaria, owing to the proximity of Russia, the effect of military disaster and the influx of a multitude of refugees, there seemed more chance for Communism. But here, again, it failed, mainly because the dictatorship of M. Stambulisky and the Agrarians was quite radical and anti-bourgeois enough to satisfy the peasants, and because his enemy, the powerful Macedonian organization, was still more ill-disposed to a movement which opposed its design of expelling Greek and Serb from Macedonia and forming an "autonomous" State which would utilize the first opportunity to proclaim union with Bulgaria.

Before the overthrow and death of M. Stambulisky, Moscow had realized that class warfare did not interest peoples nine-tenths of whom were peasants and the tenth probably a peasant's son, and that Communism aroused no enthusiasm among nations of small owners. It was necessary to exploit political grievances in order to keep the Balkan States apart and prevent any combination which might oppose a Russian attack on Bessarabia. Grievances abounded, especially in Greek and Serb Macedonia and among the Croats. Working from Vienna, its advanced base in Central Europe, the Third International modified its program in a sense adverse to Communist internationalism, but favorable to Soviet foreign policy.

Pulling Macedonian Strings

First, it was necessary to divide the Macedo-Bulgar organization in Bulgaria. There already existed a Federalist organization apparently descended from the so-called Macedonian Socialist Party formed by the notorious Sandansky and revived by Dr. P. Athanassoff. It competed with the Macedonian Autonomist organization, led by General Protogeroff and the redoubtable Todor Alexandroff, a man of commanding presence, iron will,

and merciless severity, for the obedience of the mass of Macedonian Slav villagers, who, having grumbled at having to pay taxes to both the Yugoslav authorities and to Todor's Komitadjis, grumbled still more at having to pay thrice, and became the more ready to make their peace with the Serb. The Third International established touch with the Federalists, but lost no chance of attempting to obtain a foothold within the Autonomist organization. By 1923 the Soviet Government, always working through the Third International, was in contact with all the Balkan malcontents—Catholic Croats, led by the incalculable M. Raditch; fanatically anti-Serb Albanian Moslems of Old Serbia, who were behind the Kossovo Committee; Saloniki Jews, who could not forgive the Greeks for their competition, and Bulgars of every revolutionary complexion.

Secret Conference of Balkan Parties

By May, 1924, all was ready for the staging of a "secret" conference of Balkan parties at Vienna under the management of Comrade Goldstein (Tchirsky), the head of the Vienna branch of the Rosta Agency, who prudently insisted that the representatives of the different factions should arrive at preliminary agreements before they laid any proposals before the Third International, which he represented. Most of the "wild men" of the Balkans were there; M. Raditch, Dr. Matchek, and other Croat leaders; the Albanians, Hassan Bey of Prishtina, and Zia Debar. Dr. Athanasoff represented the Macedo-Bulgar Federalists. General Protogeroff, Todor Alexandroff, Peter Chauleff, and M. Vlahoff the Autonomists. The last named is reported to be a Bulgarian official or ex-official who was employed by M. Stambulisky in previous negotiations with the Soviet Government, and to have been subsequently sent by Alexandroff on a mission to Moscow. The two Bulgar factions signed an agreement whereby the Autonomists restricted their activities in Macedonia to the districts of Monastir, Petritch, and Nevrokop, the bridge between the Bulgar propagandists and Albania.

The congress seems to have decided to work for the substitution, for the unitary Yugoslav monarchy, of a loose federation

of demilitarized peasant republics, which Bulgaria and Albania might enter. The choice of methods was left to the various leaders, who reached no general agreement, M. Raditch remaining an advocate of non-revolutionary means to this end, while the Albanians and Bulgars remained partisans of armed insurrection. The leaders were promised every assistance by the representatives of the Third International—i. e., of the Government of Soviet Russia—but Comrade Goldstein stipulated that Greece and Rumania were to be left out of the proposed combination. To this M. Raditch certainly agreed. The motives of the omission were obvious. Russia must settle her differences with an isolated Rumania, and part of Greece must satisfy the appetite of the "Macedonians." The whole scheme was admirably devised to make Yugoslavia, the one Balkan State which Soviet Russia fears, politically and militarily impotent, and to set up in the place of Bulgaria and the present Yugoslav Kingdom a mosaic of small States, nominally federated, but in reality political clients of the new Russia.

Alexandroff's Death

Had all gone well with the plan of co-operation, Goldstein would have achieved a great political success. But neither General Protogeroff nor Todor Alexandroff signed the Protocol embodying the decisions of the conference. It was after their return to Bulgaria that the Protocol was published with their signatures. Chauleff and Vlahoff averred that they had received a power of attorney to sign for the other two chiefs, which the General and Todor denied. It may be that they found their Macedonian followers and their military backers unexpectedly hostile to any co-operation, direct or indirect, with Communism. But a group led by Chauleff took a different view, though Chauleff himself did not formally resign his seat on the executive of the Macedonian Autonomist organization, and tension between the two wings increased until, in late August last year, the redoubtable Todor was murdered. According to one account of his death, he was shot, while sleeping after a meal in the outer room of a house in the neighborhood of Petritch, by two men who had been es-

corting him and Protogeroff while they were inspecting this district. Protogeroff, though elderly and stout, ran for his life and was opportunely rescued by some peasants. The death of this grim and able chief was officially ascribed to the pro-Communist wing, after being kept secret for ten days, though the Communists averred that it was decreed by the Bulgarian officers and ex-officers of Macedonian origin, who have always been the mainstay of the Macedonian movement, as a punishment for his negotiations with the Third International.

Communism in Greece

Greece since the disaster of 1922 has promised a better crop of tares to the Red sowers than Yugoslavia. Normally the Hellenes are refractory to Communism, or even to the most moderate Socialism; indeed, it might well be argued that they would be a stronger nation were they less fiercely individualistic. But the moral effect of a great military and political reverse, the influx of hordes of destitute refugees, high prices, and heavy taxation gave the Communists a chance of which they took considerable advantage last year.

The Greek Socialist Party was converted into a Communist organization; the more moderate leaders and also certain extremists, whose zeal was more remarkable than their discretion, were expelled; the Communist Party was affiliated to the Pan-Balkan Communist Union, of which it is now simply a branch, and this body, which has its headquarters at Vienna, now exercises a strict control over the activities of the Communist local headquarters at Athens.

Communist activity has been furthered by the resumption of diplomatic relations with Moscow, to which the then Prime Minister, M. Papanastasion, gave his consent over a year ago. The Republican leader seems to have at least an academic sympathy with Socialism, but the hope of an increased export of Russian grain to Greece, which is emphatically a "bread-eating" country, dependent largely on imported wheat, explains his decision. This hope has not been realized. A few cargoes of cheap wheat reached Greece from south Russia last summer, but none has since

appeared, and any considerable export of Russian grain is now improbable. The arrival at Athens last spring of the Russian representative, Comrade Ustinoff, with a staff of over sixty officials, dependents, and servants, and the unsuccessful demand for permission further to increase this army of functionaries aroused misgivings, even among the Greek Republicans, and the present Greek Government is watching the activities of certain persons connected with the Russian Legation with anxious vigilance.

Greek Communist Party in Action

The methods of the Communist Party in Greece have followed the usual lines. Labor grievances are exploited to the full, and the tobacco workers in western Thrace and Macedonia—who have long complained that the American tobacco companies export untreated leaf tobacco in large quantities for treatment in America, on the ground that local labor lacks the necessary skill in manipulation, and thus deprive many refugees and natives of employment—are now well organized and much influenced by Communist leaders. If the recent attempt at a general strike failed, it was not for lack of encouragement, for the Minister of Communications has asserted that the railway men, who were the backbone of the movement, were persuaded to strike by the Soviet Legation. Agrarian disputes furnish grist to the Communist mill in parts of northern Greece, but the generally Royalist small holders of the Peloponnese remain inimical to Communist incitations. It is, however, among discontented ex-soldiers, some of whom have spent ten years with the colors in Macedonia and Asia Minor and have lost the habit of regular work or resent having to start afresh at the age of from 30 to 35, that Communist activities have been most dangerous.

Communist methods of exploiting these unhappy people are abominably unscrupulous; attempts are being made apparently with the connivance of the Soviet Legation, to persuade some of the refugees from Asia that, if they accept Communism, Moscow can and will persuade or compel the Turks to allow them to return to their homes!

CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

THE Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, held last September, requested the Council of the League to appoint a committee of jurists to draw up a provisional list of questions in international law, the settlement of which by international agreement would appear desirable and practicable at the present time. The committee was appointed at the Rome session of the Council last December, and held its first meeting at Geneva on April 1, under the chairmanship of M. Hammarskjöld, the former Swedish Prime Minister. Prominent international lawyers from Sweden, Italy, Spain, Great Britain, France, Salvador, the Netherlands, Portugal, Czechoslovakia, Japan, Poland, Germany, Argentina, Belgium, China, and the United States make up the committee. An expert in Moslem law will also be appointed by the President of the League Council.

First Meeting of the Committee

After a short speech of welcome by Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General of the League, M. Hammarskjöld delivered an opening address, in which he pointed out that the League of Nations is continuing by these new efforts the work of The Hague Conference on International Private Law and of The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907. It was necessary that unwritten rules should be transformed into a code of written law. By this method, not only would justice be more clearly established, but friction between nations, often born of uncertainty of law, would be prevented. This committee of experts should not only draw up a list of problems of international law of which the settlement by international agreement seems practicable, but should also draft questionnaires with regard to the solution of those problems, thus preparing the way for the future tasks of diplomatic conferences on those subjects.

After M. Hammarskjöld had spoken, Mr. George Wickersham (United States), Professor Suarez (Argentina), Professor Dena (Italy), M. Loder (Netherlands), and Señor Guerrero (Salvador) expressed their points of view on the committee's

task. It was generally agreed that the committee should give its attention mainly to the codification of international law in times of peace. M. Loder, who agreed that no rules of war should be examined, suggested, however, that the committee might study the problem of the inviolability of private property in time of war. He also mentioned, as one of the most important tasks of the committee, an examination of the problem of the sovereignty of States and its limits. Speaking from his own experience as a member of the International Court of Justice, M. Loder asserted that the solution of various sides of that problem might render great service to the World Court.

Suggestion of the American Member

Mr. Wickersham suggested that the committee might follow the example of the Convention on Uniform State Legislation of the United States, a body which, meeting from year to year, prepares, and submits to the legislatures of the various States for adoption, model laws on certain subjects. M. Loder, on the contrary, thought it advisable that the committee should prepare draft treaties containing only general principles, leaving to each national legislative body the task of enacting laws based on those general principles, but taking into account the special needs of each people.

Signor Dena thought that the committee, before all, should study the existing customary laws and codify them. Professor Suarez mentioned, as one of the subjects falling within the competence of this committee, the problem of double nationality.

After this first exchange of views, which took place in a public meeting, the committee continued its work behind closed doors. It is intended that a provisional list of questions suitable for codification shall be sent to all States, and that the replies of the governments shall be examined by a committee, which will then submit to the League Council a report on the questions considered ripe for discussion and on the procedure to be followed for the holding of international diplomatic conferences on those problems.

BETTER CO-OPERATION WITH SOUTH AMERICA

AN INCREASING desire really to co-operate with Latin America is noticeable in several recent events.

On April 13 the White House announced that the invitation of the Argentine Republic to take part in the Pan American Road Congress, to be held in Buenos Ayres in October, 1925, has been accepted.

In the selection of the commission the President has given assurance to South America of a sincere desire on the part of this country for an interchange of opinion on the problems of roads and transportation, by appointing a group of men who have devoted their lives to such problems.

The chairman of the commission to represent the United States is J. Walter Drake, an aide of the Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Drake is given the credit of having brought the Pan American Highway Commission to this country last year. Another member of the commission is Charles M. Babcock, whose work as commissioner of highways in Minnesota has attracted attention all over the world. F. L. Bishop, dean of the School of Engineering of the University of Pittsburgh, is another member, well known for his work in investigations of roads and transport. Others are Congressman William E. Hull, of Illinois, who initiated the movement for good roads in Illinois, which are considered among the best in the United States; Thomas MacDonald, Chief of the Department of Highways of the United States; Frank Page, brother of the late Walter Hines Page and a former president of the Road Constructor's Association; and Dr. Guillermo Sherwell, Secretary-General of the Pan American High Commission.

Another evidence of our policy as regards Latin America is indicated in the leading editorial of *La Prensa*, a Spanish-language paper published in New York for South Americans, in the issue for March 31. The editor says in part:

One of the outstanding features of the new regulations governing diplomatic representation to South America is the requirement by the United States of a knowledge of Spanish.

This is a novelty worthy of note. Up to the present, with few exceptions, United States diplomatic representatives in South America have spoken only English, a few have spoken a little French, Spanish only in a few very notable exceptions. . . .

The necessity of having recourse to interpreters, interpreters of words and of acts, in our countries, in which political conflicts, and even social differences, take on the intensity and vehemence of our race, make a representative who has to resort to intermediaries for his understanding run a great risk, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, of getting a wrong idea of important matters.

This danger, which is proved by hundreds of cases in the history of Hispanic America, will be greatly reduced by requiring, as is to be done now, a knowledge of Spanish. This is a great stride forward. . . .

It is opening a most encouraging prospect of a better understanding between our peoples and the Government at Washington. When Washington can understand and study at first hand our problems, our ideals, our ambitions, and our interests, the solution of all our problems will be much nearer and easier to attain than now.

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DATES

(March 16-April 15)

- March 16—A direct cable between the United States and Italy is opened by a greeting from President Coolidge to the King of Italy.
- March 18—The United States Senate adjourns its special session.
- March 20—President Alessandri, of Chile, is greeted with great enthusiasm on his return to Santiago from Europe.
- March 21—The executive committee of the Communist International, consisting of 120 delegates from all over the world, begins its session in Moscow.
- March 23—General Pershing is appointed by President Coolidge president of the commission to supervise the Tacna-Arica plebiscite.
- March 25—Formal notes of ratification pass between Secretary Kellogg and Ambassador la Torriente,

giving possession of the Isle of Pines to Cuba.

March 27 — Brigadier-General Morrow, former governor of the Canal Zone, is appointed by the President, United States member of the Boundary Commission in the Tacna-Arica settlement.

March 29 — Popular ballot for head of the government takes place for the first time in German history, but fails to elect a president.

March 31 — Herr Marx is again nominated by the Center Party of Germany for president.

The Pan-American Union makes public 30 draft conventions for codification of American international law, to be discussed by the International Commission of Jurists in Rio de Janeiro.

The Japanese Imperial Diet closes its fifteenth session, having reformed the House of Peers and enacted the manhood suffrage bill.

April 1 — A conference of jurists meets in Geneva to prepare a tentative list of subjects to be discussed in a later meeting for the codification of international law.

April 2 — M. Clémentel announces in the French Senate the government's

intention to increase the currency circulation.

A note from Peru to the United State Government protests the award of President Coolidge in the Tacna-Arica dispute.

April 3 — Finance Minister Clémentel, of France, resigns and is succeeded by Senator Anatole de Monzie.

April 7 — A capital levy bill is introduced in the French Chamber of Deputies by the Minister of Finance.

April 8 — Field Marshal von Hindenburg is nominated for the presidency of Germany by the National Conservative Bourgeois Bloc.

April 9 — President Coolidge replies to Peru that the Tacna-Arica award is final.

April 10 — Premier Herriot and his ministers resign from the French Cabinet, following a vote of lack of confidence of 156-134.

Mr. Theodore E. Burton is announced chairman of the American delegation to the Geneva Conference on the Regulation of Traffic in Arms.

April 15 — Paul Painlevé, forming French Cabinet, gives the post of minister of finance to former premier Joseph Caillaux.

NENETTE AND RINTINTIN*

By KENNETH MACNICHOL

WITHOUT doubt, said René Guizet, even you, my friends, have grown to think of me as a cynic, whose unprofitable life is spent in futile comment on the foibles of humanity. This I deny without indignation. One has wisdom enough to see that life mixes honey with the bitter wine. Those whose hands are scratched in plucking roses may readily learn thereby that the offending bush bears flowers of great beauty in due season. To prove to you that I look on life with no malefic eye, here is a tale of moving sentiment for you. Apart from unimportant personal observations, one

could adapt it easily to adorn the pages of any weekly of the people at two sous.

The little Journalist of "Le Grand Bavard" paused for a moment, while that one in attendance at the third table on the right in the Café Provençal brought the usual libation of foaming bock.

As you know, René Guizet continued, thus refreshed, since three days I have again returned from my native Provence, where I visited Papa and Madame Hilaire. It is not of them, however, that I speak. My dear uncle of the monstrous nose and his good wife, formerly the Widow Gibaud, and his near neighbor, are a happy couple. She orders his life benevolently, as though he were an infant of three

* From *Blackwood's Magazine*, February, 1925.

years. So, relieved of all responsibility, he endures her tirades with exceeding placidity, doddering about among his roses, pipe in mouth, mazed in such peace of mind as he has never known before. The constant contemplation of this besotted happiness becomes inescapably monotonous. Therefore I was driven to look elsewhere for an interest to assuage the tedium of those ten protracted days.

Where to look? Messieurs, your imagination cannot picture such a place as the little farm of Papa Hilaire. There time stands still. The translation of a calf into veal becomes an event of communal importance. Births, deaths, and weddings, few and far apart, are all the history of the locality. One goes to bed before 9 o'clock, with the painful result that thwarted Nature compels awakening long before the sun has cleansed the night air of unhealthy chill and dampness. St. Pierre de la Croix, the nearest village, has five houses, a forge, and a café, where the somnolent *locataire* sells gray wine unsurpassed for lack of merit. One does not willingly visit that place twice. No; the bucolic life of Papa Hilaire, much as it pleases him, would soon result in death from weariness of doing nothing for one whose thoughts turn inevitably towards the lighted boulevards of Paris. In alleviation of all this one might seek relief, as the only possible alternative, in the society of Jacques Barbosse.

He is a young peasant, this Jacques Barbosse, who is neighbor to Papa Hilaire, stupid as are all peasants, except that his stupidity is more pronounced. He is stupid, *mon Dieu*, as one of his own cows, whom he resembles, having much of that beast's foolish complacency. You will understand me when I say that he looks like a cow: a huge body, protuberant bones, blonde and red, wide blue eyes containing as much expression as a pair of buttons set in a wooden face. Peace surrounds him as with an aura of eternal brooding. He speaks slowly after chewing well the cud of his reflections, a mannerism peculiarly exasperating to a man like myself. You will see at once that Jacques Barbosse is not a Provençal. His mother, rest her soul, was a woman of Alsace, whom the father met while doing military service. He died, so goes the gossip of the village, worn out in a

vain attempt to shatter his wife's vast impenetrable calm.

Jacques Barbosse has been more fortunate. He married a girl of St. Pierre de la Croix, Delphine Pardou, as little intellectual as himself and as little given to useless conversation. Our Provençal women sometimes possess that habit of sedate reticence, since they have so little opportunity to become loquacious because of the extreme love of self-expression characteristic of their men. That marriage could not have been more happily arranged. After six years those two still look at each other with all of love's benignity alight in their eyes, undemonstrative and perfectly content. There are two beautiful children, twins who have five years, little blonde Nenette and the brown little hero of the farmyard, Rintintin, much more aggressive than his sister, whom he protects from angry cocks and a morose old gander with amazing chivalry.

Petite Nenette! Le petit Rintintin! Do those names not awaken ten thousand recollections? Curious names, *mes amis*, certainly, to hear spoken in a Provençal farmyard!

Think, ten years since! *Poupées!* Hero and heroine who redeemed our France! Beloved fetish of our *poilus* throughout the war! Yes, *mes amis*; only two little dolls, two effigies, no more than a twist of yarn folded over and tied to make a waist, wrapped about once again to form the head, with three little stitches for the eyes and mouth. They were always together, as you will remember—*la petite Nenette et le petit Rintintin*. They were more firmly attached than by any bond of marriage, for of the threads that formed one was the other also made. How many of our brave soldiers did this hero and heroine save from death or fearful injury! Those who wore the fetish near to the heart might go forward calmly, supremely confident that neither fire nor steel had power over them. More potent than the commander of the armies, little Nenette and Rintintin hurled the enemy back across the border, for no other personage, however great, could instil the same reckless courage in both peasant and aristocrat.

All this seems strange now, *mes amis*, is it not so? It is said that Nenette and Rintintin the First were conceived in the mind of an unknown midinette, and were born between the curves of her clever fingers to be given to her lover before he went away. If the tale is true, that little daughter of the people deserved the cross with palms more assuredly than the greatest of our generals. Now even her name is forgotten, if it were ever known. But there is no doubt that those little puppets had power to make brave men of cowards, and heroes of those who needed no such support.

The secret? It was ordained that Nenette and Rintintin should be made with love sewn into every stitch—thence came their virtue. Otherwise they were no more than a wisp of yarn crumpled and twisted resting in a forgotten pocket of a soldier's blouse. This, one believes, is probably the reason why, although I carried my own fetish to the front with me, after three weeks I was so prettily wounded that for six months thereafter I lay on my back in hospital. It is not necessary to consider further the implication thus so painfully forced on one.

Since these six years I thought we had forgotten little Nenette and Rintintin. How droll to find them come to life again, two charming babies with solid flesh upon them. One was curious to know how they chanced to have such names.

"They will be nicknames?" I asked Madame Barbosse.

"*Au contraire*, Monsieur," she answered politely. "The names my children have are their very own."

"But, then," I wondered, "there will be a reason."

"*Sans doute*," she smiled. "They are not saints' names, certainly."

From her one could obtain no more information. Consider this, however: the first time that I had a glass of wine with Jacques Barbosse, there, in the little two-room cottage, resting on a ledge over the great stone fireplace, I saw the godfather and godmother to the children: Nenette and Rintintin made in stained wool, green and red, worn and rumpled, protected from the onslaughts of old age by a little dome of glass on a wooden base.

I called the attention of Jacques Barbosse to the souvenir.

"They are there," he told me simply, "because were it not for them I should not be here."

"Yes, that is true," echoed Madame Barbosse.

"It follows, then, that there would be no children?" The remark seemed sufficiently obvious.

"Se we named them also Nenette and Rintintin," said Madame Barbosse.

You will observe the extreme simplicity. One could surmise that much without great effort. Yet, will you believe it, *mes amis*, for three long evenings thereafter I strove against the dumb silence of that peasant who is like a cow, and only then, word by word, now and again a broken sentence, was I able to obtain this tale of moving sentiment from him. You will permit me to relate the further details in my own way, for we have only an hour, whereas I had those days otherwise unrelieved of a great tedium.

In the first year of the war this Jacques Barbosse, who had then nineteen years, had never been more than seven kilometers from his home. Since his very earliest remembrance he had played in the fields with Delphine Pardou, who was then fourteen. He was called to the colors with the first lot of conscripts, one of three boys taken from St. Pierre de la Croix, to see each other no more after that first day. The little Delphine wept bitterly when her playfellow, Jacques, was taken away.

For eighteen months, then, Jacques Barbosse was confined in a camp near Bourges, where, with many others who could scarcely understand his curious Provençal *patois*, he slowly learned to be a soldier. This was extremely difficult for him. More especially in those first months he thrived but little on the rations of the *poilu*, which lacked altogether that distinctive flavor of garlic without which all food is unpalatable, as every Provençal knows. Even today Jacques Barbosse considers this his most justified complaint against the army. It was, at first, impossible for him to keep either his uniform or his rifle clean. Try as he would, he could not stay out of the guard-house

after each gross dereliction, and this was a terrible punishment for the peasant who had never before known the lack of sunshine or open air. The rules of the army, being no more than a vast stupidity, contrived a problem which the stupidity of Jacques Barbosse could by no means solve. It needs no telling how greatly he was homesick, a grievous malady the nature of which you cannot understand.

Jacques Barbosse had never been taught to read or write. Only when his great unhappiness overcame his native bashfulness, so that he asked a comrade to write a word for him, could he send any communication to Delphine. The girl, a little more learned, wrote to him often, misspelled missives in Provençal patois, which the good Jacques treasured very carefully, finding them so precious that he could not submit them to a comrade's eyes. How, at times, he must have been devoured with uncertainty between each letter! Consider that anything might happen beyond his knowledge which would be unutterable calamity for him. Each letter was a new message of devotion, yet might have contained news of an impending marriage, for all Jacques knew. In effect, with the arrival of each letter he was able to gain pleasure only from the unread contents of the last. This, as you will perceive, *mes amis*, was consolation of a most unsatisfactory kind.

After a whole year in the army, Jacques Barbosse went home on his first leave—dise for him. It was at this time that, in such stumbling words as they could find, yet quite sufficiently expressive, these two declared their great love for each other. As a matter of course, they planned a marriage when Jacques, the hero, assisted, possibly, by a few million others, had driven the last invader from the soil of France. He did not give the girl a ring, for this is not a custom among our peasants, but at the very last, when the return to hell was imminent, Delphine gave Jacques Nenette and Rintintin.

One will not say that the puppets were made clumsily, for love directed the labor of the girl's work-stained hands. Where or how she learned the secret of the fetish is unimportant; by that time Nenette and Rintintin were omnipresent in the army. It is sufficient that Delphine sewed the love-charm carefully just inside the coat

of Jacques Barbosse, there to rest all tenderly against his heart, although, to be quite accurate, their knowledge of anatomy being nothing, they were perhaps uncertain that his heart was there.

Now, *mes amis*, I change the scene abruptly.

After two years and four months in the army, Jacques Barbosse has arrived at the front. His perception of location is deficient; one believes that he was somewhere to the west of Nancy. There were the usual trenches, in which Jacques Barbosse was not more comfortable than any other. He did not take pleasure in that life of a mole. The trench writhed through a shattered wood. The contemplation of those stark naked, tortured trees filled Jacques Barbosse with a kind of superstitious terror. Being what he was, perhaps he possessed more natural sympathy for blasted trees than for broken men.

Jacques Barbosse had become a better soldier, although, perhaps, he was not a better man. Despite all his gross stupidity, he had been taught one thing—that certain gray-clad individuals who were the enemy were not to be thought about as men. Therefore one might kill them without compunction; indeed it was a sacred, patriotic duty to do so. Those who had charge of the instruction of Jacques Barbosse, having worked before with stupid men, had shown him quite clearly that France was his mother's farm at St. Pierre de la Croix. No more was needed. What? Should the enemy reap the harvest of his land? Unthinkable! Therefore, with unceasing effort, he had even learned to keep his rifle clean, and, on occasion, to use it with blundering effectiveness.

He was no coward, thanks to Nenette and Rintintin. Only, unless surrounded by other men, he was at all times helpless as a child, for the ability to think for himself was not one of his natural attributes. Even such poor faculties as he possessed in this direction had been carefully eliminated by those who transformed the peasant youth into a soldier.

It follows, does it not, *mes amis*, that sooner or later Jacques Barbosse would encounter an accident? One night, then, he was sent out away from safety with

two or three others, commanded to clear away an entanglement of wire between the lines. There had been no bombardment for three days. Only now and then a shell screamed sullenly, fell in the sodden earth, exploded with muffled destructive detonation. At intervals a clear white light flared for a few seconds over the pitted land. Jacques Barbosse had, at all times, a wholesome respect for his own vast importance as a unit in the army and the accepted fiancé of Delphine. He took no risks that were not required by the regulations, but crawled forward slowly, snakelike, pressing his whole body against the ground, only raising his head occasionally to see in what direction progress was leading him. Those others with him were not more eager to receive the gift of a sniper's bullet in payment for their ardent patriotism.

A feeble moon, veiled by straggling clouds, scarcely cast a shadow from the broken trees. One made many detours to avoid fallen timber and pools of stagnant water in the pits. At first the men whispered cautiously to each other as they moved forward. Gradually, however, without knowing it, they drew apart. Finally, there was but one comrade near to Jacques Barbosse when the earth was flooded by a blinding, revealing radiance. The peasant buried his face in the mud. When again he dared to look about him after the light faded, the black darkness was like a heavy blanket before his eyes. He was quite alone.

He can tell nothing about the hour or two which followed after that. One imagines that he was like a deserted child struggling through the demolished forest aimlessly. Unlike a child, however, he had an extreme solicitude for the integrity of his own skin and keen apprehension of extinction that might, at any moment, fall upon him. Presently he entered an area he had never seen before—a little oasis that had escaped the shells, not more than a hectare in extent; a little portion of the forest miraculously preserved, where the standing trees screened out the watery moonlight. The low undergrowth, rising between the rocks, offered a very welcome hiding-place. Here, risk or no risk, he ventured to stand erect to relieve aching muscles by wide-extended stretching of his cramped arms.

For a moment, then, feeling quite secure, he leaned his rifle against a friendly tree.

But the tree moved! The rifle fell to the ground at a distance. A portion of the shadow detached itself; a guttural whisper fell like a hammer on the ear of Jacques Barbosse. Sharp steel scratched at his tunic, and came to an uncomfortable rest against his thigh. He understood nothing of the few words that were addressed to him. A pale face thrust nearer his own, dimly defined, made a light spot in the darkness.

"Français?" This Jacques understood.

"Oui," he answered simply, fully aware that this was probably the last word he would ever say.

The cold steel of the bayonet made more intimate acquaintance with his leg.

"I shoot!" exclaimed the German, an announcement wholly *inutile* when one considers well the situation.

Jacques Barbosse waited. One hears much about all that a man may think at such a time. This peasant, on his own authority, thought nothing about anything. But presently, because his death seemed long delayed, there crept into his stupid mind, not a thought that one might reasonably expect, but only his first grave doubt of the love of Delphine. Here was Jacques Barbosse in deadly peril. Beneath his jacket, safe against his heart, were little Nenette and Rintintin. They had failed to save him! Something, then, was wrong!

One may not account for all the foolish ideas that leap unbidden into the minds of men. Jacques Barbosse spoke.

"Will you do something for me when I am dead?" There was infinite pathos in that unintelligent request. It was sufficiently droll to make the German curious.

"What is that?" he demanded in hesitant clipped French. His accent was almost as difficult to understand at the Provençal patois of Jacques Barbosse. The pressure of the painful bayonet eased by a hair.

"They are Nenette and Rintintin," said the stupid peasant. "You will find them sewn inside my coat. After the war, if you are not killed also, I would have you send them to Delphine."

"Nenette and Rintintin? Delphine?"

the German questioned, stumbling in the pronunciation of the strange names.

"They are my *poupées*," Jacques Barbosse explained. "They are to keep a man from being hurt in this foul war. Delphine is my little friend who lives at St. Pierre de la Croix, which is near by Grasse."

Being so little intelligent, the peasant boy did not perceive the terrible, sarcastic import of his own words. Yet they were not more revealing of simplicity than those of the German speaking after him.

"I can do that; but you must give the souvenir to me now. I do not like to touch a man when he is dead."

The hand of Jacques Barbosse groped inside his jacket while the other attended suspiciously, for the enemy might so easily have had a weapon there. He tore the dolls from their safe fastening, and, reaching forward, put them into the German's extended hand.

"These little things save one from injury?" asked the German youth, feeling the bits of wool in his huge fist.

"When they are made for a soldier by some one who loves him," Jacques Barbosse explained.

"They have not saved you," the German stated bluntly. "They are not so good as my pfennig—that is my luck!"

"Your pfennig?" Here was a word Jacques found unfamiliar.

"The one that Hilda gave me. She kept the half of it when I had broken it on the anvil in our forge."

"Anvil?" The peasant forgot his peril for the moment with this new puzzle, for he knew that it was a part of the spell of *Nenette* and *Rintintin* that the tie between them should not be broken by any means.

"My pfennig, it is like a sou," said the German simply. "Hilda keeps half. I have the other half about my neck—you see?"

In that darkness Jacques Barbosse could see nothing except the pale spot of the German's hand that fumbled beneath the pale spot of his face.

"Feel," said the German. Although the bayonet never for an instant failed to threaten him, Jacques reached forth a hand to touch the broken coin, a semi-circle of thin metal with a jagged edge on the straight side.

"*Bein*," he murmured, not knowing what else to say, for he dimly understood that there was something a little embarrassing in this peculiar situation.

"So! I shall send your dolls if I am not killed too. Now, if you are ready?"

Jacques Barbosse stood still. Resistance was useless. The German had a gun. He was not armed. He might struggle, but he would be killed all the same. In such matters our peasants have a certain dignity. The German slowly raised his rifle until, as Jacques Barbosse knew, the muzzle was no more than a foot from his unprotected breast. So they waited for an interminable time, standing thus near together in that dim half-light.

All suddenly the rifle of the German boy dropped from his shaking hands.

"*Ach!*" he exclaimed, nearly blubbering. "I cannot do it! I cannot, even for the Fatherland! It is too much like killing a pig!"

The brain of Jacques Barbosse worked very slowly at all times. He was already too shaken to respond to any more surprises. There was in him only a vast sense of relief, but no particular feeling of amazement. He did not even consider how much his present salvation was the quiet work of *Nenette* and *Rintintin*. He confessed a kind of bewilderment, now that there was no end to this affair. To die had been, so obviously, the next thing to do. Now, with death averted, to know what to do with life seemed very difficult. Slowly, painfully, an odd idea intruded itself into the peasant's brain.

"But all German soldiers are murderers! Yet you spare me when I should have killed you!" He stated this quite simply, as two facts impossible to deny, puzzled that they should seem so contradictory.

"Yes, I know," said the German, his simplicity equally pronounced. "You would like to kill me. What I do not know is this—what for?"

"Because you are a German," said Jacques frankly. "Because you want to take away our land."

"Before God, I have no such intention," that other soldier denied plaintively. "And I—I do not want to kill a man."

"Then why," asked Jacques Barbosse

with peasant cunning, "are you now fighting us in France?"

"It was like this: there in the little village where I lived with my mother there arrives one morning a splendid officer. 'It is war,' he says. He gathered together five of us. Because I did not want to leave my mother, me he kicked terribly. We had to be soldiers. It was not my choice."

"But so it was with me!" cried Jacques Barbosse softly, for he did not know how near they might be to the German lines. "Only they did not kick me. They put me in jail. That was because I could not keep my rifle clean. One speck—four days! So it went with me. No more did I want to kill any one. And if you killed me, what, I ask it, would have happened to Delphine?"

"Or Hilda, if I am killed? Yes, it is all the same with us, it seems to me."

"No," said Jacques Barbosse stubbornly. "You are, perhaps, not just like other Germans. You speak French"—

"But I am like all other Germans that I know. Only our village is very near to the Swiss border. I speak French even not quite so badly as you do because my mother was Swiss from a French canton"—

"My mother," Jacques interrupted, "was from Alsace. And, now that I think of it, she was a good woman, although I have heard her speak of a German grandmother."

"Then it is that we are almost relations!"

The German boy, for he was but little older than Jacques Barbosse, welcomed this idea very eagerly. It seemed to him a very good excuse for failing to do his duty as a soldier.

"That is not quite true," Jacques Barbosse denied, for so well had his education been conducted that there was something repugnant to him in the fraternal idea. He was ashamed of his feeling an instant later. "But that makes nothing. And now, since I am not dead"—

Insensibly the two had drawn nearer to each other. The darkness about them was so wide, so pregnant with unpleasant possibilities. From time to time the night trembled with distant booming of sullen angry guns. Far overhead, scarcely penetrating the shadows of the foliage,

searching lights flared and expired, making an instant of twilight in the wood. For that instant the enemies could see each other clearly.

"I am lost," said Jacques presently, apropos of nothing he had said before.

"I am somehow separated from a party," the German volunteered. "That is how we found each other, then. I am glad you did not see me first. You would have killed me."

"Just at first—that is," Jacques Barbosse corrected. "Now I could not do it. I would not try."

"That is odd," said the German. "Tomorrow we shall yet be enemies."

"You see, now I have told you about Delphine. You have told me about your Hilda. That makes us almost friends, is it not so? Tomorrow, perhaps, I might kill you if I met you again, though I should be very sorry. I do not know why. It is all a very great puzzle. If you do not want the land, why, I ask you, should there be a war? I know that I have had nothing to do with it."

Jacques Barbosse passed a rough hand wearily across his forehead. This great effort of thinking tired him. Could it have been seen, no doubt the expression on the face of the German peasant was equally perplexed.

Without thinking much about it, obedient to some dim instinct of self-preservation, they crouched within arm's-length of each other, whispering back and forth like children telling secrets in the dark.

"It must be like this," said the German, speaking very slowly, for his thoughts came no more readily than those of Jacques Barbosse. "There is no quarrel between us. You thought that I wanted your land, but it is not so. I was happy enough before they took me. The life in our village is hard sometimes, especially when the blight is on the cabbages. For all that, we have a good little farm. My Hilda is a hard worker. We could make a living together well enough. This being a soldier is much more difficult. And one does not expect that the land will grow cabbages more easily after the war."

"That is true," agreed Jacques Barbosse. "The land is no better for lying idle. There is nothing to be gained by it. Why, indeed, should we be fighting, then?"

"Did I want to fight?" the German demanded, almost angrily. "Even when we gain the victory!"—

"That you shall never do!" exclaimed Jacques Barbosse, forgetting caution. "*Ils ne passeront pas!* Not until the last of us shall be dead" . . .

The German reached out a restraining hand.

"S-s-s-sh!" he whispered. "They—they will hear you over there! They would kill me if they knew that I had spared you. And neither of us have more than one life to lose."

"*Eh, bien!* Just the same" . . . grumbled Jacques Barbosse, and paused, embarrassed, not knowing what else to say. The German, for the first time in his life, perhaps, had a sudden flash of inspiration.

"It is '*Deutschland über alles!*' that they teach us to shout. If one is French, one is taught something else. Yes; now I see all that quite clearly. That is so we shall kill each other without thinking it is like killing pigs. But who has taught us to kill each other I do not know. Only, if I had not met you, I should have continued to hate all Frenchmen" . . .

He paused in turn, such thinking being too laborious for him. At that moment there grew a little whisper through the trees, as a wind that rose and shuddered far away. Swiftly the sound swelled to a shrill scream. The two men, heads close together, habit-bound, tried to bury themselves in the firm ground. There was a thud, a flash, an ear-shattering explosion as a great shell burst at the edge of the unscarred wood. The trembling men, lying closely side by side, were pelted with flying mud and falling debris, as hissing shrapnel tore the leaves from the green trees. For some time afterwards they huddled tight together.

"Was it French or German—that?" Jacques Barbosse quavered after a little while.

"What does it matter? It is terrible that men should do such things to each other. French or German, but a little nearer and we should not be here. French or German would matter nothing to my Hilda or your Delphine!"

"Perhaps," said Jacques, "there will be a bombardment?"

"I do not think so," said the German boy. "But if they shell this wood it is not safe for us to stay here."

"It is not safe for us, not anywhere. Perhaps there will not be another one. As for me, I am well lost. Were I to leave here, there is no telling which trenches I would tumble into, even if I were not killed on the way."

"I can tell you how you must not go," said the German frankly. "Our trenches are just over there." He pointed into the vague darkness behind him. "There will be no more of us out tonight. But should I meet any of your soldiers" . . .

"We had only myself and three others out," Jacques Barbosse assured him. "No doubt, then, I am the last of them."

"Then we have only to creep away from each other. But before we go, I should like to have you tell me that you will not think of all of us as bad men and your enemies?"

"How can I, now?" Jacques Barbosse was not a sentimental man. He said no more, but there were two hands that reached together and clung, close-clasped, for they were only two very ignorant peasant boys faced with nameless death and very much afraid.

The German, more sentimental than the Provençal put his great arm across the shoulders of Jacques Barbosse. There was a lump in the throat of the French peasant boy that effectively choked all speech in him. He felt—the good God knows how easily this might be—that, for the moment, this enemy was more dear to him than all the comrades with whom he had endured the glory of heroic war.

For an hour, then, *mes amis*, they sat thus, arms about each other like two children trying to find comfort in companionship, without understanding in the least why they were there, or why, except for their mutual fear, they dared not part.

After a long, long time, far away a cock crew, heralding the dawn from some abandoned farmyard.

"You will go now?" the German whispered breathlessly.

"And you also?"

There was a final clasp of roughened

hands. They turned away from each other, stooping, stumbling half-erect through the tangled undergrowth. But at six feet the German soldier paused.

"You have forgotten something—your little dolls!" he called softly.

Jacques Barbosse instinctively clutched his jacket just over his heart.

"My little Nenette and Rintintin!"

The German, drawing near, placed the miraculous fetish in his hand.

"Perhaps," he said, "we shall be lucky yet—I, with my pfennig—you, with your little dolls. One does not know all that love can do."

With that he was gone, somewhat careless of his progress through the wood. For a moment Jacques Barbosse stood with open mouth. It was sure, then, that Delphine was faithful! Nenette and Rintintin had proved themselves!

He moved forward, erect, fearless, wrapped about with glory. Nevertheless, at the edge of the wood he dropped down on hands and knees again. Slowly he crawled toward the French line of entrenchments. Gray, misty dawn began to lighten the inky darkness that had followed the setting of the moon. At no more than ten yards from the sandbag redoubt of the first outpost Jacques Barbosse dared to lift his head.

"*Qui vive?*" cried a voice sharply.

Jacques Barbosse staggered to his feet. "*C'est moi!*" he called—an instant too late. There was a sharp report, a flash of blinding fire in his eyes, a red-hot rod that pierced the peasant boy through the left shoulder. He fell prostrate, his head striking violently against a broken post to which a twist of rusty wire was still attached.

Three days later Jacques Barbosse awakened to consciousness beneath the canvas roof of a field hospital. His shoulder was shattered by the rifle ball. For quite three months, then, he was wholly useless as a soldier—one of the most pleasant experiences of his life. For the first time since he could remember, he had no work of any kind to do. The food was infinitely better than the food of the fighting army. He thought with

gratitude of the shot that had delivered him from a muddy hell. He looked backward to his extraordinary experience as at a dream, for he could scarcely believe in the reality of that night spent trembling in the wood. He could no more than half-believe it even when, reaching above his head with his uninjured arm, he found little Nenette and Rintintin protectingly keeping watch over him as he lay in bed.

There is but little more of this story of Jacques Barbosse that demands recording. In time, moving but stiffly that arm attached to the injured shoulder, the peasant boy was sent to light work at a dépôt of supplies. There he continued his service throughout the remainder of the war. After that he came home to Delphine. Less than a year later they were married, and in due course arrived the twins, Nenette and Rintintin.

Was it possible, messieurs, to give any other names to them? Is this not, as I promised, a sentimental tale?

Smiling, the little journalist finished his glass of bock.

I told you also, said René Guizet, that this Jacques Barbosse was a very stupid man. This tale, which it took me three whole days to get from him, serves to prove that. Consider further the infinite stupidity of his last remark to me.

"That German," said Jacques Barbosse, yet marveling as at the relation of a miracle, "will you believe it, monsieur, he looked like me! Yes; he was blonde also, and very big. I thought I looked at myself in a mirror. Monsieur, I assure you, if he had not been a German and our enemy, that German who spared me might have been my brother!"

Could anything be more stupid? Just foolish sentiment again: as droll as the superstitious belief in the efficacy of a fetish made from a twist of wool, or faith in the protective power of devoted love.

They are a simple people, our Provençal peasants. They do not suspect how absurd they are. It is left to us, with more wisdom, to realize how profound is their ignorance of everything.

THE COMMEMORATION OF GROTIUS*

By DAVID JAYNE HILL

THE three hundredth anniversary of the publication of Hugo de Groot's great work, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, at Paris, in 1625, will no doubt afford an occasion for new comments upon the value and influence of this epoch-making treatise.

In his oration delivered at the tomb of Grotius on July 4, 1899, during the first Hague Conference, the president of the American Delegation, Dr. Andrew D. White, speaking of this famous writing, said:

Of all works not claiming divine inspiration, that book, written by a man proscribed and hated both for his politics and his religion, has proved the greatest blessing to humanity. More than any other it has prevented unmerited suffering, misery and sorrow; more than any other, it has ennobled the military profession; more than any other, it has promoted the blessings of peace and diminished the horrors of war.

At the time when these words were spoken, great hopes were entertained that a new era of peace was about to dawn upon the world. The principal nations of the earth had been convoked in the interest of international amity. Armed force, it was proposed, should be diminished, and as a guarantee of national safety vast armament should give way to a general agreement to respect the rights of nations. Above all, as thought matured during the debates of the conference, the conviction grew that international law and justice might in time be so organized as to afford an effective protection of weak nations against the rapacity of the strong.

In this mood of mind Grotius loomed up above all others as the great benefactor of mankind. He, more clearly than any other writer, had proclaimed the existence of a legal authority superior to human enactment. The path pointed out by him for humanity to follow was that of sub-

mission to the precepts of reason, and every advance in social procedure seemed to confirm this counsel. Dr. White continued:

From nations now civilized, but which Grotius knew only as barbarous; from nations which in his time were yet unborn; from every land where there are men who admire genius, who reverence virtue, who respect patriotism, who are grateful to those who have given their life to toil, hardship, disappointment, and sacrifice for humanity—from all these come thanks and greetings heartily mingled with our own.

Since that time the events of history have seemed in some respects to disparage the work and the fame of Grotius. A failure to organize and render immediately operative the ideas and principles associated with his name has appeared to many a proof that they are illusory. Far from being a means of defense, it has been said, international law only keeps us living in an unreal world. The way to have peace is to enforce it by organized power.

Acting in this spirit, the Peace Conference at Paris, convoked to liquidate the results of the World War, broke violently with the traditions of Grotius and The Hague. Henceforth peace was to be enforced by political and military organization. The idea of law as a rule of right fell completely into the background. A territorial settlement was dictated by a few Great Powers and the Covenant of the League of Nations was proposed and accepted as the formal guarantee of its permanence. Article X, which provides for the preservation of the political and territorial system set up at Paris, was alleged to be "the heart of the covenant." If it fails, the whole scheme fails; for nowhere in the plan of the covenant is there any provision for the further growth and development of international law, and the so-called Permanent Court of International Justice created by the League in its own name offers no means by which a nation that is wronged may peacefully secure its legal rights.

*Reprinted, with permission of the author and of the editor, from the American Journal of International Law, Vol. XIX, No. 1, January, 1925.

The decisive repudiation of Grotius' doctrine and method seemed to have occurred when the Council of the League of Nations, on December 18, 1920, according to its official report, rejected the recommendation of the Committee of Jurists appointed to frame the statute of the court, that steps be taken for the codification and improvement of international law. Upon that occasion one of the chief authors and most famous advocates of the covenant, Lord Robert Cecil, said in the Council of the League of Nations:

That either the recommendation was submitted with serious intention of proceeding to the codification of international law, or it was a pious hope of no real value or importance. He was opposed to the recommendation because if it meant something, it was bad, and if it meant nothing, it was worse.

The departure from Grotius being thus made complete, through the rejection of the recommendation of the Committee of Jurists, the question arises, Will there be a return?

Before any attempt is made to answer this question, it may be of interest to inquire what such a return would imply; and for this purpose it is of first importance to apprehend as precisely as possible what it was for which Grotius distinctively stood.

In an introductory note to Coleman Phillipson's *The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome*, Dr. John Macdonell writes: "These volumes, with their copious and convincing details, will help to dispel the fiction, still sometimes repeated, that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a group of writers, notably Albericus Gentilis and Grotius, 'founded' international law"; and he adds that, in many matters, "there is more likeness between the international law in ancient Greece and that of today than there is between the latter and international law as described in *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*."

When, therefore, Grotius is spoken of as "the Father of International Law," it must be borne in mind that there was international law before Grotius, and an examination of what is understood as international law today will show that it is neither an integral part nor a specific

product of the doctrines laid down by Grotius in his book *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*.

In what sense, then, can Grotius be properly regarded as a "founder" of international law?

What Grotius especially aimed at was, first to establish universal principles of jurisprudence, and then to show that they apply also to sovereign States.

The first sentence of his *Prolegomena* is:

Many have undertaken to explain or summarize, either by commentaries or abridgments, the civil law of Rome and other nations; but few have dealt with that law which exists between several peoples or rulers of peoples, whether it be that derived from Nature herself or instituted by Divine decrees or created by custom and tacit agreement; and no one at all has so far discussed it generally and in systematic fashion, although it is of importance to mankind that this should be done.

Grotius then proceeds to establish, upon the basis of the general consensus of opinion, the fact that there are certain principles which involve an obligation to obey them. He then goes on to trace these principles to their source. Some of them, he holds, are inherent in Nature, and are even beyond divine omnipotence to destroy; others he speaks of as voluntary, in the sense that they are imposed either upon the whole or upon certain portions of mankind at different times.

Writing in the scholastic manner, Grotius' reasoning is not always easily comprehended by the modern mind; but his thesis is clear. Combating the doctrine which he attributes to the Greek sophist Carneades, that there is no such thing as natural law or natural justice, Grotius contends that there is in the nature of things an essential justice and morality, and that they apply to nations as well as to individual men. Natural law is the dictate of right reason, and is therefore permanent and unchangeable. Over against the eternal standards of rectitude are the customs and conventions of men, thus bringing into contrast the "law of nature" and the "law of nations." But, as the law of nature—that is, the principle of right or justice—never ceases to be man-

datory, the law of nations—that is, the practice of States in relation to one another—should be unceasingly measured, judged, and ameliorated by reference to the permanent standards of rectitude and not based on mere temporary utility and expediency.

It must be conceded that the drift of thought in the realm of legal philosophy has in recent times not been in the direction of Grotius' doctrine. It should not, therefore, be regarded as singular that international organization has not adhered to the theory which Grotius advocated, namely, the pursuit of the ideal of justice in conformity with law, but has aimed rather, with little regard for the question of justice, to secure the material advantages of peace under the protection of power.

It is worthy of attention that Grotius nowhere in his writings denounces war as intrinsically wrong. To his mind it is so far from being a crime that it is the only means of preventing the criminal aggression of one nation upon another, until justice is so organized that such injustice can be suppressed without war. To his robust intelligence, the fundamental question is, When, and in what manner, is the use of force rightful? In other words, what is the *jus belli*, or right of war?

It is further to be noticed that Grotius nowhere suffers himself to be imposed upon by the illusion that disarmament, which involves the incapacity to resist the violation of rights, is of itself in the interest of justice. You cannot exterminate crime by abolishing the police. You suppress crime only by inducing obedience to the law.

The teaching of Grotius, therefore, centers about the law. First of all, there is a law of rectitude which is incorporated in the nature of man as a rational creature. That law, not being a human enactment, is impartial and in the interest of all, and is an obligation resting equally upon all. Obedience to it requires that it first be clearly declared, in order that it may not be subject to perversion. Thus declared and assented to, it becomes a part of the law of the nations thus assenting to it, and should therefore not be considered as a foreign or arbitrary rule, imposed by irresponsible power.

Although Grotius warmly commends the pacific settlement of international disputes by arbitration, we look in vain in the writings of Grotius for any proposal or commendation of an international court of legal justice. To the present age this may seem strange. It is, however, readily accounted for from the point of view that a court of international justice depends for its value and efficiency upon three conditions:

1. The existence of a recognized law to be applied by the court, to the end that a decision may be an application of an accepted principle of justice and not a mere act of will;

2. General accessibility to the court by a State that is wronged, in order to secure a judgment against the wrong-doer; and

3. Such a relation of the parties in action to the court that each may feel that he is being judged by his own court and his own law, and not by a law and a court in which he has not an equal part.

In the time of Grotius these three essential conditions were so far from fulfillment that the question of a court of international justice in the legal sense, if it had been proposed, would have been rejected as chimerical.

To what purpose may we speak of legal justice when there is no clear and generally accepted law? What useful purpose is served by a court to which a claimant who is wronged cannot bring the oppressor who has wronged him? Finally, what confidence is to be expected, either in the law or in the court, if the parties in action have not an equal part in it? And, in general, what is to be expected of courts when it is laid down as a principle that the clearer and more exact formulation of the law is "bad"?

It is, however, a notable fact that Grotius, in all his writings, advocated the ideas on which a real World Court of International Justice must be founded, namely, the rule of law, the settlement of differences without war, and the juridical equality of all responsible sovereign States.

It is the great merit of Grotius that he endeavors to build international law on principles of jurisprudence, and these ultimately on ethics. The true foundation was for him "justice," not "expedi-

ency." It is in this sense that he is entitled to be called a "founder" of international law. It is upon this doctrine that his fame must rest.

But his method is also of importance. Grotius never dreamed that his doctrine could stand alone, as a mere construction of the mind. The essential to its fruitfulness was the collaboration of the nations, their consent to make the principles of jurisprudence the rules of law. This method was adopted at The Hague, but for political and military reasons its results were frustrated. Inevitably there will be a return to both the doctrine and the method of Grotius.

During the present year much, it is hoped, will be written about Grotius and his *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*. The new translation of this work, now in press by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, by furnishing in English an accessible and authoritative text, should do much to promote a better understanding of Grotius and a new interest in his ideas.

The question of war and peace involves many phases and many interests, but at

bottom it is a moral question affecting the consciences of all civilized peoples. Such issues cannot be brushed aside by mere dogmas. The important matter is for the nations to accept, and agree to follow, rules of action so clear as to render misunderstandings unnecessary. When, in spite of all, we are brought face to face with "the ruthless aggression of the mighty," we solve no problem by the mere assertion that "war is a crime." The ultimate question is, as Grotius contended, What may a nation rightly do? To answer that, we need not only ethics, but the law—the formulated expression of the will and conscience of mankind, sustained by the pledged honor of governments to obey it. And in commemorating Grotius, let us not forget his closing prayer:

May, then, the Almighty, Who alone can do it, inscribe these lessons in the hearts of those who control the affairs of Christendom; and may He enlighten their minds with a sense of justice, both human and divine; and may He lead them ever to feel that they are His chosen ministers for the government of Man—the dearest of His creatures.

A PLAN OF EDUCATION TO DEVELOP INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND FRIENDSHIP

The Raphael Herman \$25,000 Award

By DAVID STARR JORDAN

AS THE history of the future shall be written in the schools of today, it is vital that the teacher lay in the minds of children the foundation of a sane and wholesome background from which to develop international amity and intelligent abhorrence of war.

The plan of education for peace foreshadowed in the organization of the World Federation of Education Associations, established at San Francisco in 1923, looks courageously toward the ultimate abolition of international war as a legitimate sequence of disagreements between nations or between individuals of different countries. Its central purpose is the mobilization of teachers in all lands, most immediately in America, in order that their combined influence and that of

their pupils may be thrown solidly on the side of peace.

It is accordingly recommended that the World Federation make intensive studies of certain matters pertinent to world amity through the continuous operation of appropriate committees on education for peace, these to report at stated meetings to the Federation and to the various national organizations corresponding to and including our own National Education Association, indicating at the same time lines of action likely to contribute towards international concord. Meanwhile, however, one must admit that any specified procedure can be at best only a step towards the development of enlightened public opinion and co-operation in effecting mutual understanding among peoples.

Certain lines of hopeful activity within the scope of the World Federation are indicated as follows:

Education for Peace

I. The formation of a general world committee on education for peace, to function in connection with the several educational groups in the different nations, and to co-operate with many already-established organizations for peace in all parts of the world.

Teaching of History

II. A committee to investigate the present teaching of history the world over, reporting also on textbooks used, their virtues and their delinquencies from the standpoint of international amity, and stressing the need that history, whether elementary or advanced, should be just and true so far as it goes. Above all, history should not be perverted in the supposed interest of national "honor" or partisanship.

In this connection should be considered the teaching of intelligent patriotism with an attempt to define its true nature, expressing its values, its limitations, and its perversions.

International Athletic Sports

III. A committee to consider special plans of promoting mutual international understanding on the part of students of various ages, including the possibilities of better relations through the international use of athletic sports, especially those games which involve co-operative action or "team play," as distinguished from individual competition.

Bureau of Conciliation

IV. A committee to consider the possibility of a continuous effort to commit the visible influence of the Government of the United States to definite activity in behalf of peace by means of a Bureau of Conciliation in the Department of State.

Military Preparedness

V. A committee to consider "preparedness" in regard to its educational, economic, and social aspects. Even admitting that a large and well equipped military force (land, water, and air) will make for victory in case of an attack by

jealous neighbors or other "imaginary enemies," to what extent does it also invite war?

Such committee should, furthermore, consider without prejudice the question of military training in school and college, its possible advantages to the individual and the nation, with the alleged accompanying drawbacks and dangers. This group should also deliberate on standing incentives to war, and the possibility of their abatement through legislation, the influence of public opinion, or otherwise.

War as a Cosmic Necessity

VI. A committee to investigate and encourage others to investigate the current arguments for war as a cosmic necessity.

Court of International Justice

VII. A committee to study The Hague Court of Arbitration; also the present Permanent Court of International Justice, and the relation of these two judicial activities to world education.

General Machinery for International Co-operation

Such research would also involve a scrutiny of the League of Nations and the problems concerned in our acceptance or adhesion to that organization, with special reference to its bearings on international education.

The foregoing propositions may be reviewed in detail, as follows:

I. General Peace Committee

The educational groups of the world should be bound together in mutual effort to promote international amity and understanding. Furthermore, the Federation should be broadened and strengthened by co-operation with all the varied instrumentalities for peace throughout the world. It should keep in touch with religious bodies, scientific associations ("technocracies"), Women's Peace Parties, and the multitude of other organizations in society at large.

II. Teaching of History and True Patriotism

A. The ruling ideas of most men and women are largely fixed in childhood and youth. In nearly all textbooks of history and school readers war has been glorified,

its braveries being set forth as the acme of heroism. The real progress of nations in science, art, and intellectual development is scantily treated. Advances in conciliation, with the many triumphs in sanitation, transportation, commerce, and enlightenment, which gave a millennial aspect to the beginning of the twentieth century, are not dramatic. Even the Rush-Bagot Agreement to demobilize the Canadian boundary, our greatest diplomatic achievement of the last century, is scarcely brought to the attention of our own students.

In most lands the youth for generations have been taught to believe that wars are the chief realities in history, that "our country" has been mostly victorious and always in the right, that war is in itself heroic, invigorating—at the worst only the "growing pains of a progressive nation"—that victory is a noble aim, that its "fruits" are sources of national strength as well as of individual profit, that the welfare of other nations, alien or inferior, is opposed to our own, and that they are persistently, arrogantly, insidiously, or treacherously engaged in plotting against us.

The World War had its primary inception in fear of the loss of power on the part of dominant groups in more than one nation, but it owes its too prompt acceptance by public opinion in most cases to the wrong education of the people.

It has been asserted that, next to avowed militarists, teachers are most responsible for tolerance of war. In an eloquent passage, the late Prof. Henry Morse-Stephens appeals as follows for a higher ideal in the teaching of history:

Every generation writes its own history of the past. The historian is influenced by the prevailing spirit of the age, and he feeds the spirit of national intolerance today as his predecessors fed the flames of religious intolerance in days gone by. Woe unto us, professional historians, professional historical students, professional teachers of history, if we cannot see, written in blood, in the dying civilization of Europe, the dreadful result of exaggerated nationalism as set forth in the patriotic histories of some of the most eloquent historians of the nineteenth century! May we not hope that this will be but a passing phase of historical writing,

since its awful sequel is so plainly exhibited before us, and may we not expect that the historians of the twentieth century may seek rather to explain the nations of the world to each other in their various contributions to the progress of civilization?

While the past may have seemed to show that "history is one long bath of blood," its significance does not center in the record of brutal crudities. It is rather the "biography of man," the story of man's efforts to throw off the mental and moral shackles which, from out remote ages, have impeded his progress.

B. Patriotism is the emotional expression of nationalism. It involves love of country and devotion towards its interests. But patriotism has two aspects, quite distinct—often contradictory.

Some twenty years ago a high-school class was asked, "What is patriotism?" "Killing Spaniards," came one confident answer. True patriotism—love of one's country, and the desire to make and keep it worthy of love and honor—is in every way to be encouraged. But love of the fatherland does not depend on killing anybody, anywhere. The welfare of our country does not demand abasement or injury of any other. Ours is indeed "the land where hatred dies away"—a fact to be constantly kept in mind by the teacher of patriotism. It is well "to love the cities where we were born and the little hills that bear these cities up." It is evil to distrust and hate the people of other cities or other lands, or to endeavor by personal or official means to do them needless injury.

III. Special Arrangements for Training Youth in World Amity

Various plans or devices to this end appear possible. Children may be brought to sympathize with life in other lands through the promotion of correspondence between the youth of nation and nation. With students of more advanced age, international scholarships, exchange professorships, university departments of international relations, are active agencies for better understanding. Essays, orations, forum discussions of one sort or another serve a useful purpose, and other features of like character will be devised from time to time.

One particularly effective method of inducing thoughtful study of international problems by the youth of the world would be that of a series of competitive orations or discussions, its geographical extent being limited only by practical considerations of utility and expense. A plan to this end may be outlined as follows:

Students under twenty-one years of age or of some specified grade of educational advancement would be encouraged to prepare competitive essays or orations of a definite length on some chosen topic or topics relating to international peace. Judges in every case should take account, perhaps equally, of composition and delivery on the one hand, and of mastery of the subject on the other. The winner from each school would then meet and compete with winners from similar schools comprised within a fixed geographical area; and so on, with progression from smaller to larger groups, up to a final nationwide or even international contest.

Specifically, the contest might be limited to the United States and Canada, or to English-speaking countries; or, if funds are available, it might be made world-wide. In any case a definite and worthy prize should be awarded to each national victor. Preliminary contests would involve little outlay. For other trials, expenses of contestants should be met and at times those of judges also. Finals, whether held at Washington, London, or elsewhere, would necessitate a considerable expenditure.

To carry out such a plan, a general director, with a secretary and temporary assistants, would be required. Provision should be made for adequate publicity, also. The total outlay would, of course, depend on the territory covered.

The writer may add that the value of this suggestion has been emphasized by the marked success of a similar plan to promote study of the Constitution of the United States. This oratorical contest, completed at Washington on June 7, was inaugurated and promoted by various journals throughout the United States. In connection with it, 1,250,000 young men and women wrote essays or orations on the Constitution after weeks of more or less enthusiastic study.

The importance of such a contest lies

in the education of the coming generation, and incidentally that of their parents and friends. Similar studies, taken seriously, would give the young people of the nation or of the world a background of knowledge and mutual understanding which might be of inestimable value in any future crisis of civilization.

Some results of importance can be secured through athletic relations, it being a notable fact that competitive games involving team work are among the influences which tend to bring young men of different regions into better mutual understanding. It is also true that the military spirit has been most active and virulent in countries where cricket, football, baseball, boating, lacrosse and the like are scarcely known. This matter certainly deserves careful study from the standpoint of education for peace.

IV. Pledging the United States to the Service of Peace

To this end I would suggest that a committee of American teachers should consider the propriety of using our collective influence in favor of an official "Council of Peace" or "Bureau of Conciliation" within the Department of State. A "Council of Peace," as recently proposed by William S. Culbertson ("Ways to Peace," Bok Prize, p. 89), would be a new but very desirable organization. That of a "Bureau of Conciliation" (suggested in the same work, p. 257) might involve mainly the addition to the department of an "assistant secretaryship of conciliation," corresponding to the position of solicitor on international arbitration as maintained from July 1, 1910, to March, 1911, during the administration of President Taft, under the direction of Dr. James Brown Scott. It was at that time occupied mainly with perfecting the Court of Arbitration at The Hague. Such a bureau or council, however, might work to further world peace in a multitude of ways. Properly organized and continuously maintained, it should be commensurate with the general staff of the army or the parallel general board of the navy—not less influential than either, because peace is beyond comparison the highest need of every nation. The existence of such an official group (one or both of them) would bring about two impor-

tant results: first, positive achievements through official activities; second, furnishing a central axis for work for peace by committing the general government to its maintenance—a matter of the greatest importance in the formation and education of public opinion.

The proposed bureau or council should maintain close relations with the Bureau (or Department) of Education and its activities for peace, as well as with all other organizations throughout the world having for their purpose international understanding and co-operation. It should co-operate with similar official groups which may be developed in other countries. It should also constitute a clearing house for all international activities.

It may be further noted that while nearly every civilized nation has vast military and naval establishments, costing more yearly than the entire school system, and while the influence of these organizations as a whole (many individual officers excepted) is on the side of war preparation, and, in a crisis, for actual war, there is not as yet in any country any official organization which stands for or pledges support for conciliation and peace.

A distinguished soldier, General John F. O'Ryan, himself an earnest advocate of peace, makes this graphic statement:

The world has never been organized for peace; it has always been organized for war. . . . While you are in this apathetic state of mind regarding peace, there are men in high command today who do nothing else except plan carefully, minutely, studiously, just how your manchild, born or unborn, shall be utilized in the next war, how he shall be clothed, fed, strengthened, shipped away, moved into the line of battle, replaced by your younger child if he falls, and just how his body can be disposed of most conveniently. All these details are being thoughtfully worked out, and it is about time you were doing something for yourselves. . . . Organization for war is a cold, accurate, disinterested business, that deals with facts and moves with mathematical precision. It has the strongest leadership possible. It has unified leadership. Is it any wonder that unorganized efforts for peace seem puerile in comparison?

Suppose, however, that the huge war machine, instead of standing at the center

of government, with thousands or millions of employees, and holding a first lien on all the resources of the nation, were left out in the cold, without official recognition, dependent alone on voluntary gifts of the few that believe its maintenance vital to national existence. Under such conditions how long would the organization endure? Would it not drop at once (as in Germany) to a matter of plots and counterplots directed against the government itself?

Suppose, again, on the other hand, that our nation were officially organized for peace, could it not only guarantee its own security, but through its example and influence maintain the peace of the world?

V. Preparedness; Military Drill in Schools; Standing Incentives to War

As to the first, many volumes have been written covering both sides of the question, which, with that of drill in schools, demands the careful attention of the teacher; the second, nevertheless, needs no special discussion here. Coming to the third, however, it must be emphasized that the united influence of the educational world should be bent on the abatement of "standing incentives to war." These are of many kinds, some removable by administrative action or by national legislation in one or more countries, others of a more complex character, arising from unwholesome tradition or from faulty education beyond the reach of direct effort on the part of any single government. For these, as for most other great evils, the only final remedy lies in public opinion, "the court sitting supreme in the darkness, the heart and conscience of universal humanity." That this great court may be intelligently informed and directed is the loftiest purpose of public education, and the public opinion of the many rests on the matured and enlightened convictions of the few.

In this connection we should commend to the teachers in all countries the study of the conditions and policies which made it possible to bring on the World War. In the same connection each teacher of history should endeavor to be accurately informed on those elements of danger which now surround Germany, Russia, the Balkan States, Turkey, India and China.

The old veneer of stability is everywhere broken up, and it will demand the collective wisdom of the world to ensure the "safety to democracy" involved in its primary precepts—freedom, order, and justice.

VI. Is War Necessary?

The lines of argument intended to show that war is a supreme necessity of man are in the main three, as given by General von Bernhardi, in 1912, and accepted by hosts of others. These are (a) the "historic argument" that "there have always been wars, and therefore wars must always be"; (b) the "psychological argument" that "war is ingrained in human nature," for man is a "fighting animal"; and (c) "Social Darwinism," the survival of the fittest among races and nations, it being the right, and therefore the duty, of great and strong races to extirpate or subdue the tribes that are weak, small, or peaceful. But "Social Darwinism," as thus defined, is a gross perversion of the teaching of Darwin. This, in brief, asserts that individuals—plants, animals, or men—who have successfully run the gauntlet of life, leave, in the main, descendants competent and adaptable like themselves. That fact, now obvious, in no way justifies national manslaughter or conquest. In any event, the importance of a sane answer to these problems demands the careful attention of every teacher with a forward outlook.

It is not the belief of the present writer that modern wars rest on man's pugnacity. They are matters of statute, and are forced on peoples by their rulers. War, as we know it, is not "ingrained in human nature." It is an acquired vice, a product of lust for power. Human nature changes very slowly, but the point of view may alter very suddenly when people are ripe for it. Education prepares for just such a new vision, and sudden changes in point of view have repeatedly taken place, every great collective wrong having been vanquished when enough men began to realize its true character, to see it nakedly for what it is.

Toward such final end and outlawry of war the teacher should contribute, directly in his relation to the young, indirectly in his relation as a scholar and

patriot to the adult generation; for the world still faces a perilous emergency. The coming generation, even though better trained, is not yet here, and the men and women of today on whom we rely for the saving of civilization are the same people who allowed militarists and diplomatists to plunge them into war. The condition is critical; it admits of no delay. Every teacher should therefore do his part towards that mental and moral disarmament which must precede and accompany military disarmament. The present generation, however confused and exhausted, will determine the immediate future.

It is hopefully true, however, that no single generation can finally wreck or even finally save civilization, because in the long history of man we have built up an enduring organization for the common welfare. Yet no good result comes about of itself, only through the long concerted effort of good men and women.

VII. General Machinery for International Co-operation

The relations of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague, and those of the Permanent Court of International Justice, now functioning, should be understood by the teachers of the world. As to the League, the United States will doubtless ultimately enter the comity of nations—from which it has never been wholly isolated. The World Educational Federation should exert its energies to bring this about and on terms satisfactory to the treaty-making power of the nation. In fact, the necessary reservations have been practically obtained, and the features most objectionable—the propositions looking towards coercion of any kind, and those connected with the "sanctions" of the Treaty of Versailles—have met with general disapproval and are already virtually obsolete.

It will be noted that the League of Nations thus modified would differ materially from the covenant included in the Treaty of Versailles. Being without "teeth" and not at all of the nature of a superstate, it is more nearly analogous to the Joint High Commission—a device used throughout history for averting war. It would constitute at Geneva a Joint High Com-

mission in practically continuous session, with virtually all nations represented, but having only power to adjust, not to coerce. Such an organization should take the lead-

ing place in the many official forms of international union, of which the Postal Union, the oldest and most indispensable, serves as the model and type.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

DRAFT FOR A CODE OF PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL LAW *

By ANTONIO SANCHEZ DE BUSTAMANTE Y SIRVEN

Judge, Permanent Court of International Justice
(Translated from the Spanish for ADVOCATE OF PEACE by M. O. Carpenter)

Introduction

The movement in favor of a codification of private international law, which was initiated officially in Europe shortly after the middle of the last century, is now in our day growing extraordinarily in strength. On March 30, 1863, the Chamber of Deputies of Italy, on motion of the illustrious Mancini, recommended that their government undertake diplomatic negotiations looking toward this end. From that beginning, Mancini, the first President of the Institute of International Law, continued his work, carrying it on among the diplomats and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of his country, albeit with little success, until June 28, 1885 (date of his fall as Premier). In this task he encountered many obstacles, sometimes the indifference, sometimes the lack of faith and enthusiasm on the part of the majority of the statesmen and government officials of the various nations to whom he communicated his plans and proposed the means of carrying them into effect.

In the meantime negotiations were being carried on by Holland, beginning in 1874; but these also failed to bring practical results until 1893, when the first European conference of an official character devoted to discussions of private international law

met at The Hague, on September 12, under the presidency of that distinguished professor of the University of Amsterdam, Mr. Asser.

Due to the efforts of Holland, four of these conferences were held in that country between 1893 and 1905. As a result of their deliberations, several treaties were drafted, dealing with conflicts in the laws regulating marriage, divorce and legal separations, guardianships, injunctions, and also with certain regulations of civil procedure, which were accepted by various European nations.

America, meantime, was struggling along the same road. The Congress of Jurists, meeting in Lima in 1878, drafted a treaty, in sixty articles, covering a multitude of matters, from the status of individuals and their legal powers, their property and contracts, marriage and inheritance, down to certain crimes and the execution of sentences and other matters of judicial procedure. The principles upon which this draft was based were not in accordance with prevailing doctrines in another part of America; whereupon a most competent Uruguayan, Mr. Gonzalo Ramirez, initiating efforts for the holding of another congress, published in 1888 a draft for a code of private international law, divided into 17 chapters and 101 articles, designed to serve as a basis for the deliberations of the official congress. This congress met in Montevideo, August 25, 1888, and remained in session until February 18 of the following year.

From the deliberations of this important congress there resulted drafts of treaties on penal law, judicial procedure, copyright (literary and artistic), trade-marks, patents, civil law, commercial law, and the practice of the learned professions, as well as a protocol upon the application of the laws of foreign countries. Various of the American

* This volume of 269 pp. has just appeared, March, 1925, from the press of *El Siglo XX*, Havana, Cuba.

republics ratified these treaties and put them in force, and even the representative of Spain in Montevideo signed them *ad referendum* on November 11, 1893, acting under authority from the Spanish Minister of State.

When the holding of Pan American conferences began, it was natural and necessary to consider this subject again. Therefore, at the first of these conferences, held in Washington in 1890, all the American republics were urged to adopt the treaties drafted by the Congress of Montevideo, and none of the succeeding conferences have ceased to work on this plan.

At the third conference, held in Rio de Janeiro, an especially marked interest was taken in this matter, and on August 23, 1906, a resolution was approved which provided for an International Committee of Jurists, composed of one delegate from each American republic, for the purpose of drafting codes of public and private international law.

This Committee of International Jurists was to have met in Rio de Janeiro in 1907; but, as at that time the convention creating the committee had not been ratified by all the governments, a supplementary agreement was adopted, on January 15, 1912, due to the efforts of the Pan American Union, providing that the committee should meet during that year in Rio de Janeiro, and that each nation should send two delegates instead of one, although still having but one vote.

At the preliminary session, attended by the representatives of fourteen republics of America, the committee considered the draft, in 120 articles, prepared for it by the eminent Brazilian jurist, Mr. Lafayette Rodríguez Pereira, now deceased. The committee decided to separate into two subcommittees, to be located respectively in Lima and Montevideo, dividing between them the work on private international law.

The European war and other international events constituted an insurmountable obstacle to the work of this committee, though it did not discourage those who were resolved to carry out this necessary work.

When the Fifth International American Conference met, in Santiago, Chile, in 1923, it was agreed, by a resolution of April 26, to ask each government of the Americas to name two delegates as members of the Committee of Jurists of Rio de Janeiro, with the following instructions: To recommend the reappointment of the subcommittees already

created by the committee; to ask these committees to take up their work and to go over it again in the light of the experience gained in the last few years and of the resolutions of the American International Conference; to call a meeting of the International Committee of Jurists in Rio de Janeiro, in accord with the Brazilian Government; and, among several other matters, to present to the Sixth Pan-American Conference the resolutions of the Committee of Jurists, in order that, if approved, they might be communicated to the various governments, to be ratified as treaties.

The governing board of the Pan American Union, at a meeting in Washington on January 2, 1924, believing that the work of the American Institute of International Law would be of great service to the International Committee of Jurists in their task, resolved to suggest to the executive committee of that Institute the holding of a meeting of the Institute in 1924, in order that the results of their deliberations might be submitted to the Committee of Jurists.

The Institute, highly honored by this invitation, accepted it at once, and planned to hold official sessions in Lima in 1924, at the same time as the Pan American Scientific Congress.

For various reasons, this meeting in Lima was reduced to an exchange of informal conversations, in which, however, the Institute adopted several important resolutions. Among them was one authorizing the preparation, for discussion, of a draft for a code of private international law, naming for this work a committee of four members—Messrs. Matos, Octavio, Sarmiento, and the author of the draft to which this is an introduction.

All this has not interfered with the plans of some of the European nations and of some learned societies for work of the same kind. The International Academy of Comparative Law, on meeting in Geneva in September, 1924, named a committee to codify private international law, of which committee also the writer is a member; and it is said that the Government of Holland is preparing to resume its conferences, which have not been held since the death of Mr. Asser.

It is necessary, therefore, to gather together in definite form all the material requisite for the beginning and for the carrying out of this international work. The work cannot be begun, however, until its authors agree upon certain fundamental ideas as to

the plan and scope of private international law and the principles upon which its rules of practice shall be based. These are not matters to be treated in the articles of a code; they constitute the basic problem, the solution of which is indispensable for the drafting of the code.

Private international law must be considered as the embodiment of those principles which, taken as a whole, determine the limits of the legislative competence of States when such legislation affects juridical relations which are susceptible of submission to more than one legislative jurisdiction. Thus understood, it is differentiated from public international law by its object and by its procedure or means of execution. The latter treats of the external life of a State as a member of the society of nations, and the former delimits the legislative power of the State within the sphere of its national or internal life. Public international law has, as its origin, source, and normal form of rules, the expressed or tacit will of the States parties to the juridical relations of which it treats, over which States there is no common superior power. Private international law takes its definite, normal, and usual form in national laws and national customs, which define the limits of its application and which sometimes aid and sometimes make difficult or impossible a common agreement. Public international law is devoid, in so far as it constitutes the law ruling the society of States, of executive power for its enforcement as a whole, while private international law is under the protection of the same executive power as are all national laws. Public international law has not long had other direct sanction than arbitration or war. It is but now beginning to develop the forms and institutions of justice, while private international law has always enjoyed the sanction of the judicial power of each State. Both rest, however, upon the common legal principles of all peoples; they permit the peaceful coexistence of all nations and uphold on the part of each the acknowledgment of and respect for the legislative powers of the others.

With this conception of private international law, distinguishing it clearly from public international law, we see that the former may, and should, contain all the rules covering the efficacy and scope of national laws within and without the terri-

tory of the nation, in respect to citizens and in respect to aliens, not only in civil and commercial matters, but also in political, administrative, and penal matters and in questions of procedure. Although, in the cases of political and administrative matters, this classification is also made in another way by including in private international law provisions on what is known as the status of foreigners, this does not apply to legal procedure and criminal law, especially in respect to the latter.

In our opinion, in order that penal law may be in conformity with public international law, it is necessary to define it in such a way that its concepts may cover such widely differing matters as the provisions dealing with a war between two or more States and those in regard to the punishment of individuals counterfeiting the currency of their country in foreign territory. In treating of the punishment of a crime committed in a foreign country, the question is this: Does the scope of the legislative power of the State in which the crime is committed cover the case of such a criminal, or is the crime subject rather to punishment by other sovereign power? Hence, from the point of view of international relations, the problem is solved by the definition of the scope of national law.

In extradition cases the same problem arises, giving rise to hesitation among those surest of their convictions. There exists a habit of seeing in extradition only that which first strikes the mind—that is, its forms—and of overlooking those aspects of it which are in reality the essential points for its classification, its inherent nature, and its object. The documents in which one nation solicits from another the delivery to its authorities of an accused person or condemned criminal are commonly transmitted through diplomatic channels, and the entire proceeding is sometimes carried out without recourse to the courts of justice of the nation upon which such demand is made; and this action of the State through diplomatic channels and by means of its political organizations seems to set aside the fact that extradition is merely a matter of simple questions relating to the international application of national laws. And yet no one would declare that a suit between individuals comes within the purview of public international law simply because its documents, in order to be

in proper form in one country or the other, require legalization by ministers or secretaries of state or by diplomatic or consular officials. The mere fact that a nation makes use of its only organized international service in requesting and consummating extradition or legalizing a signature does not change the nature of the demand or the contents of the private document. Extradition is but the means of bringing a criminal before the competent judge in order that sentence may be passed upon him in accordance with law. States aid each other in this way in order to make effective the jurisdiction of their criminal courts, and the use of their political organizations for this service does not affect the legal classification of the case. Extradition, whether or not in public form, belongs, essentially and because of its object, to that branch of international law treating of procedure, which is a section of private international law.

All these rules of a code which is to delimit the scope of the legislative powers of States must rest on the presumption that every individual may exercise, outside of his own country, various rights; that is to say, the assumption of the legal equality of States has as its corollary the civil equality of citizens and of aliens, supplemented and completed by identical political guaranties.

A man possesses within the State two classes of rights, which may be called respectively social rights and political rights. The former pertain to his individual and private needs and to his natural relations with the other individuals composing his social group. These in turn must be subdivided, according to whether they affect only the persons exercising them and those upon whom they are exercised or whether their influence or results affect the whole social order. The first of these may be called voluntary or personal rights, and the second essential or inherent rights, since the former are subject, in their execution and application, to the will of those interested, and the latter presuppose a certain uniformity in origin and result and certain obligatory safeguards, settled and inviolable, on the part of society itself in its organized form as a State. As an example of the former may be cited contractual rights, and of the latter guardianship.

The second class of rights, which we have denominated political rights, since they origi-

nate with the State, are also subdivided into public and civil rights, because the former confer on all men the protection and powers necessary to a free existence within the social system organized for political purposes, while the latter confer the power to contribute to this political organization in its creation, its amendment, and in the exercise of its powers. An example of the former is the inviolability of domicile, and of the latter the right of suffrage.

It may easily be seen that man, as a member of international juridical community life and as a cosmopolitan entity, may not be denied either the enjoyment and exercise of those social rights which we have called voluntary or the simple enjoyment or acknowledgment of those which we have called necessary or inherent rights, nor the complete exercise of those of a political nature which we have called public rights. On the other hand, when he does not belong to the social group in which he resides, and is not connected with it by certain ties, such as nationality or legal domicile, it is not logical to make applicable to him the special forms of protection which maintain the social cohesion of the group, nor to concede to him the right, reserved to citizens, of taking part in its political activities. This last constitutes the insurmountable barrier separating the citizen from the alien—a barrier, however, which, when limited to its true meaning, in no way conflicts with the doctrine of the equality of citizen and of alien in the enjoyment of civil rights and of identical personal security.

It is true that this equality, upheld as an ideal from a technical point of view, may be limited in practice by the necessity of preventing States from taking advantage of it for the benefit of their own citizens sojourning outside their territory, while denying its benefits to their alien residents. The defense against such conduct is reciprocity, to be provided for in a treaty.

Restating the foregoing classification from our point of view, it may be said that juridically the society of nations classifies human laws as national and international. With the former is maintained the homogeneity of the social group and the identity and unity of the political group. Under the latter the social group is enlarged to include all men and all human purposes, and the political group is widened so that within it and under its pro-

tection there may dwell in peace elements of other similar groups. In the latter the international community acknowledges the cosmopolitan nature of man, and in the former it accepts the doctrine of the equality of States.

An examination of the practical situation in which his cosmopolitan nature has placed man in the modern world, at once the cause and the result of the juridical community of nations, will at once confirm and interpret the foregoing exposition.

While a man resides in his own country all the provisions of law of the State are not applicable to him with equal force and weight. Each citizen knows that certain laws rule his actions inexorably, commanding or prohibiting the performance of certain acts under pain of personal punishment, civil liability, or defeasance. Legal precepts of this nature are superior to man, ruling and controlling him. He must respect the right of others to live; he may not have legal power to perform certain acts while a minor, for no one can advance, by one minute, the time of attaining his majority, except in cases prescribed by civil law; and it would be useless for him to agree, with all the legal formalities imaginable, that certain periodical payments should be perpetual or irredeemable, if the legislation of the nation had established obligatory provisions limiting the duration and conditions of such payments as one of its fundamental points.

On the other hand, a large number of matters are left to the personal decision of the individual. Under many systems of legislation one may decide before marriage that the property of himself and of his wife shall be held under one of the widely differing arrangements between absolute separation of property and the form where all property and income are held in common; and at his death he may dispose, without restriction of any kind, of all or any part of his patrimony.

In other terms, and without going into the causes of the distinction, the laws of his country are reduced, for the citizen living within its borders, to two great categories—mandatory and voluntary.

The foreigner residing in the country will have a very different practical idea of the divisions of local law. He will observe, undoubtedly, that he may not evade the precepts of certain laws, and that he has in them as efficient and binding a guaranty as does

the citizen. If he breaks the law, its penalties will fall upon him with the same force as upon a subject of the realm. If a mortgage is made in his favor upon real estate in the nation, his rights are the same as if the mortgage were made in favor of a citizen. Liberty of conscience is preserved for him as sacredly as for all others. Mandatory laws, ruling his conduct in their dual capacity of guaranty and of sanction, apply to his acts and leave him no freedom for arbitrary action.

He will see also, as does the citizen, that other provisions of law are subject to his will and follow his preferences. If he forms a mercantile company, he may freely agree with his partners upon his share of the profits and losses. If he arranges a lease, he may decide whether it shall be subject to all the provisions of the civil code, or whether this or that article of the code shall not be applicable. Local legislation, which is to him foreign law, offers to him, as to its citizens, a great number of potential or voluntary provisions.

But right here analogies end and differences begin. In vain would the alien wish to take part in local political elections on the ground of residing in the country; the electoral law does not apply to him. It would be useless for him to aspire to hold public office involving the exercise of authority; the laws regulating the requirements for holding such offices do not include him. It is impossible for a mere resident or person passing through a country to demand the protection of the State in such matters as the appointment of guardians, *consejo de familia*, in the same way as for citizens or legal residents; such institutions are not needed or desired. There are, therefore, in every nation, some provisions of law which may not be invoked in favor of or against a resident alien.

For this foreigner, therefore, local law is divided into three large groups of laws—the mandatory, the voluntary, and the inapplicable.

What, then, is his position in respect to the law of his own country, in which he is not residing? It is impossible for him to divorce himself from certain laws peculiar to his own country, for they follow him as the shadow follows the body, to use the conventional phrase of the statutes. Upon accepting an official position with the government under which he is residing, without per-

mission from the proper authority of his own country, he loses his citizenship through the force of a legal provision which applies to him, though he may be at the greatest possible distance from his native land. And we choose this case among a thousand, for it is a typical one and unquestionable, whatever be the result, theoretical and practical, of the conflict between residence and citizenship. We may cite another, of a distinct order, but generally accepted; the laws under which treason is punished, for example, are applicable to a citizen when outside his own country.

In contrast to this, if a foreigner commit, in the place of his residence, the crime of theft, no one would consider him punishable under foreign statutes, but under the local law. It would be laughable if the speed at which one is permitted to drive an automobile should be regulated by the law of one's native country, and not that of the country in which he is driving. And in vain, if the local law makes no provision for registry of deeds, would he apply for registration of the purchase of real estate because his own law requires such registration. All this would be in conflict, not alone with principles, but also with the practical, well-known, and unavoidable exigencies of daily life.

The contrary happens with other provisions of law. It is admissible for an alien to make a holograph will in accordance with the laws of his own country, that he provide for the inheritance of his possessions according to the codes of his nation or of his legal domicile. In certain cases he is presumed, in law, to have had the intention, in determining certain acts, of following the provisions of the law of personal rights of his country.

Summarized, the laws of the country of his legal domicile or of his citizenship, for one who is sojourning in a foreign country, are necessarily of three classes, from the point of view of their force—territorial or inapplicable laws; personal; and voluntary laws.

He who has returned to his own country or he who has never crossed its borders is very much mistaken in affirming that foreign law does not matter to him nor affect him. There is a portion of the legislation of the rest of the world which has nothing to do with him—those laws which guarantee the rights of

men, or punish crimes committed within the country, or fix the date of coming of age, or determine the scope and purpose of the laws of parental power. But, on the other hand, all legislation punishes certain crimes, such as those which affect the public credit of the State, without respect to the place in which committed or the nationality of the criminal. And enlightened States prohibit the traffic in slaves, although the slaveholder may have his legal residence and actually live in a foreign country.

There remain the enabling laws, whose application depends upon motives having nothing to do with the fundamental interests of the State. In their two sides or forms, of voluntary law and of supplementary law, either a citizen or an alien may accept their provisions. Nothing would prevent a man living in Buenos Aires from expressly placing matters concerning maritime shipping between Vera Cruz and New York under the provisions of Cuban law.

In this way foreign laws are grouped also in a triple series for him who has not left his country. Some are found to be inapplicable, others mandatory, and others voluntary or supplementary.

These analytical classifications, which are somewhat confused, have certain fundamental points of coincidence which permit their simplification and realignment for the purposes of the delimitation of the scope of legislative power. Although within the boundaries of every State there may dwell citizens, aliens, legal residents, and transients, and outside the State there may dwell the same classes, for the enforcement of local law upon the four classes we have mentioned, there exist but three classes of laws: First, there are enabling laws, in which the State gives way to private will—express, tacit, or presumed—and determines, by it and for it, the legal forms to be observed; second, others of a public nature, but of internal public nature, based upon the State obligation to protect its citizens or aliens having legal residence within its borders, by virtue of considerations in no way applying to mere residents or other persons having no political or administrative connection with it; and, third, laws of an international public nature having inexorable force over all within the territory, citizens and aliens alike. The first determine, in every country, the legal forms most usually taken by personal

desire, in matters which do not affect the collective interests of the State or its higher duties of protecting the individual. The second class regulate personal legal relations, whose efficacy and object have nothing to do with territory or the material existence of the State. And the last have the State itself as their object, and they constitute its laws, so much so that to violate them or fail to enforce them is equivalent to injuring its sovereignty and destroying or injuring its foundations and organization.

The classification which we have just explained holds, strictly, the whole of international private law, and therefore is the sole classification which, in a certain technical sense, is used in the draft of a code to which this is the introduction. Every country, nevertheless, has the undeniable right to determine, according to its own rules, the designation of the various organizations or legal relations, so as to place them in their respective group of laws, just as they have the right to formulate such classification by means of international agreements, as is done in this draft in a great number of cases and as will have to be done by States which may definitely adopt it.

This right (of classification) and other considerations which have been expressed in part make it necessary to proceed with great care and in a spirit of compromise, not only in order to harmonize conflicting opinions of States as to the international enforcement of laws, but also in order to exclude every problem rendering such harmony impossible or extraordinarily difficult to attain.

In accordance with the latter idea, we have not included in the project, and mention it merely as one of the cases of exclusion, provisions in regard to the manner of determining nationality of origin—that is, the conflict between diverse States of the *jus soli* and of the *jus sanguinis*.

Two reasons have demanded this omission. The first, strictly technical, is that perhaps the problem of determination of nationality pertains to political law or internal constitutional law, as is held in America, and not to international private law, since in the application of these constitutional or civil precepts cases arise of double nationality or of individuals without a country.

The second reason, more practical and positive, is the fact that, nationality being regu-

lated by provisions in the political constitutions of the greater part of the countries of America, it could not be hoped that any of them would undertake to amend their constitutions for the mere purpose of ratifying an agreement as to private international law; and the really unfortunate result would be that the agreement would fail of ratification and its other provisions, as to which there does not exist the same obstacle, would not be accepted and enforced.

These three paramount rules for the application of national or foreign law, which declare all its provisions, either of private nature, of internal public nature, or of international public nature, require, in the draft of a code, certain affirmations which we should discuss somewhat.

In the first place, the laws of an internal public nature raise the following question of great importance among the countries of America and among all the nations of the world: How is the legal status of a person to be determined, by nationality or by domicile? The efforts of a great many thinkers have been devoted to the search for some formula of compromise between the two systems, owing to the impossibility of obtaining uniform national legislation, since these provisions are not due to arbitrary decision, but to the social constitution or historical background of each one of the States.

Among these formulas of compromise the best seems to be one suggested in the Conference of The Hague and modified by a competent South American writer. According to this formula, it would either be stated in the code that each State will apply its own national law without prejudice to the acceptance of that of domicile for the citizens of those countries whose laws prescribe it, or that each State accept the law of domicile without prejudice to the acceptance of a different law if the national laws of the foreigner's country so prescribe. This formula is good when considered in connection with the codification of private international law; for then, considered from the point of view of the national code, it is efficient and of practical importance. But when one comes to an international code, enforced by treaties between various nations, this formula has to be put aside, or else it will turn out for some of them to be but an illusion or deception. In fact, if ten States, some of which define personal status by

nationality and others by domicile, sign a treaty stating that they all accept one of these principles, either that of nationality or that of domicile, in determining legal relations of a personal character, it would be useless to make an exception in favor of the opposite principle; for, from the time the treaty becomes law, the latter principle ceases to have force with any of the contracting parties and the exception serves no practical purpose.

This brings us necessarily to another solution, which leaves to every country the sovereign right to regulate as it pleases the personal status of its citizens, within its borders and in foreign countries, but obliges every country to respect the same sovereign right and the same exercise of power in other countries. The formula consists simply in declaring, as is done in our draft, that each State will apply to the citizens of other nations the laws of an internal public nature, of domicile or of nationality, according to the system adopted by the State to which such aliens belong. It would not be correct to say that by this method every individual alien is to be ruled under a different principle, according to that adopted by his own nation; for, even subjecting all to the principle of domicile, mere residents or those domiciled in a foreign country will also be ruled by different principles, according to their domicile. And this variation in law is but the acknowledgment of the complexity of human life, to the different problems of which the same solutions may not be applied.

In the public international class of laws no problem of this kind arises. Its rules are on matters within territorial limits, and local law defines them. The only thing that matters is the practical decision as to what provisions belong to this group, which are, with some exceptions, provisions of private international law, political law—administrative, penal, and executive—the civil and commercial laws of an essentially moral and economic character, and the civil laws of an essentially political or juridical character. Those are sometimes invoked to require an alien to follow their precepts, and at other times to prevent him from participation in their institutions.

As to the third group of laws, of a private nature, whose sole purpose is the expression, interpretation, and presumption of the desires of an individual, it has seemed to us necessary to fix the laws to which the inter-

pretation of such desires is subject, in cases where the interested parties have not decided them. It seems to us that these rights are to be sought in provisions of supplementary or presumptive legislation to which the act or contract must be submitted, in cases where there is no explicit statement in this matter by the parties. It is a case, in fact, of a legal point undetermined by the parties, in either expressed or tacit form, and it is necessary that the laws supply this omission in the form of a legal presumption. If, later, the rule established by the law presumably applied in the interpretation of the contract entails the application of a voluntary law distinct from other laws applying to its elements or circumstances, this will bring about no difficulty whatever.

As to the presumption of desire, we have believed it proper to classify legal acts in two groups. In the first group are those acts which in law are called unilateral—*i. e.*, acts performed by one person which create rights for another or others. It matters little whether this be a human act, such as the making of a will, which creates an inheritance according to the desire of the testator, or a natural act, like death, which creates an inheritance by presumption, commonly called intestate.

It will be observed that we are discussing unilateral acts and not unilateral contracts. In the former the acceptance follows the act. From this fact arises the predominance of the national law of the author, since he is presumed to know its provisions and the legal consequences which his act or failure to act may produce.

There belong also in this group the contracts known as those of adhesion. These are a modern form of certain services and obligations contracted for and rendered for the benefit and in the service of many persons, unidentified at the time of the offer and determined only when they come upon the scene, simultaneously or successively, sometimes transitively. Contracts for transportation—marine, land, or aerial—furnishing identical tickets for every passenger and identical forms of bills of lading for every piece of merchandise, require, in the nature of things, that the same law govern the transportation conditions for all, conforming to the law governing the personal status of him who renders the service, and not influenced in the least by the place of contract

nor by the various legislative provisions applicable to the persons of those who afterward become parties to the contract. In the same way, an issue of bonds made out to the bearer may not be considered as governed by as many different codes as there are persons who buy them or exchanges which deal in them.

In the second group are included, in the first place, all legal relations originating in contracts all parties to which are governed personally by the same laws. This is the easiest presumption and at the same time the most usual.

All other legal relations originating in voluntary permissible acts are governed, as a definite presumption, by the laws in force at the place where the act is performed. It is not possible, in view of the difference in laws governing persons, to seek a system of legislation reciprocally known and accepted; and, under such conditions, local law has on its side the largest element of probability, the widest scope for the weighing of proof. It is at the same time the easiest law to consult and the simplest in its application. It has, altogether, more advantageous conditions than any other which it is possible to consider. In the usual situations, and when undisturbed by international conditions, it is the system most commonly chosen by individuals.

We shall not try, because it would require more than one volume, to present the reasons for each of the solutions in the various cases provided for in this draft of a code. We leave that task for oral discussion, which is its proper place.

It has seemed to us that the various committees mentioned in the beginning of this introduction would be able to work with more facility and obtain results more quickly if they have a draft upon which to base their work, even if an imperfect one. To this end we have prepared one which is not based in all its solutions upon the technical opinion of its author, but in which we have sought to harmonize conflicting opinions or to adjust its provisions to common practice, where, in one or the other case, there is no serious inconvenience.

Permit us, before we conclude, to mention one point which may be useful to our readers: Since the project sets down, in its various books and in some of its chapters, the general rules which apply to each group of

legal relations, we have not considered it necessary to repeat them in connection with each particular institution belonging to such groups. In respect to these, we have limited ourselves to stating the cases in which a different rule should be followed—one might say an exception—and those other cases in which it seems wise expressly to confirm the general principle, since disputes over technical or practical points have arisen in their application.

We do not consider this a perfect work. Far from it. When the committees meet, we shall be one of the first to offer more than one amendment. If the other members do the same, there will be drawn up, due to their knowledge, talent, and ability, a definite draft for a code which will merit the approval of the nations and the applause of learned men.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE GENEVA PROTOCOL

Mr. Austin Chamberlain's Speech in the House of Commons

(NOTE.—On March 24, at a sitting of the House of Commons, Mr. Arthur Henderson, former member of the MacDonald Cabinet and one of the framers of the Geneva Protocol, in a speech dealing with the British foreign policy, charged the present government with having practically destroyed the Geneva Protocol. In reply to this speech, Mr. Austin Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, delivered the following speech, in which he set forth at length the attitude of the present British Government toward the question of the Protocol and the whole problem of security.)

I wonder whether the right honorable gentleman [Mr. Henderson] took with him to Geneva a copy of the document which my predecessor as Foreign Secretary had addressed on July 5 to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in regard to the proposed treaty of mutual assistance. "No greater calamity," said the British Government, "to the cause which they have at heart can be imagined than that any scheme adopted by the League should, when submitted to the test of reality, fail owing to defects which ought to have been foreseen in advance. We must ask these questions: Are the guarantees contained therein sufficient to justify a State in reducing its armaments? Are the obligations to be undertaken towards other States of such a nature that the nations

of the world can conscientiously engage to carry them out." Did the right honorable gentleman ask himself those questions? When he was a party to the framing of the Protocol did he apply to the Protocol those tests? I am afraid they were forgotten.

I am sorry to trouble the House with one more quotation. Of this proposed treaty of mutual assistance my predecessor wrote on behalf of the then government, "It is the considered opinion of the British naval staff that a treaty such as is proposed will, if properly carried out, necessitate an increase in the British naval forces." Did His Majesty's Government consult their naval advisers and receive an assurance from them that that objection did not apply to the Protocol?

Genesis of the Protocol

I think it is worth while to consider for a moment what is the genesis of this Protocol. It can be traced back to the negotiations which took place between Mr. MacDonald and M. Herriot earlier in the year. They agreed—the right honorable gentleman who was then Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary and the President of the Council of Ministers in France—that they would together go to the Assembly of the League of Nations and open a discussion of this great problem of security.

They did so. They came, they saw, they conquered. They made speeches which were received with immense enthusiasm by the Assembly. I am told the right honorable gentleman's speech sounded even better and was even more enthusiastically applauded when it had been translated from the English in which it was delivered into the French language. Nothing could have been better until the gentlemen themselves and the Assembly which they had addressed began to reflect upon the speeches, and then it was at once apparent to everyone that the two prime ministers in their joint friendly gesture were irreconcilably opposed one to the other in the advice which they were tendering to the Assembly. Then followed some hours and, I think, one or two nights of hectic, feverish movement in search of a formula, and presently a formula was produced, and I suppose the two prime ministers thought that when, with the help of very active and very clever friends, they had reached a formula upon which they could

agree they would really agree about something of substance. But it was evident, even then, to skillful observers that even at the moment when they thought they were most agreed they were as far as the poles asunder, and that the principles which underlay and inspired the policy of the right honorable gentleman were neither believed in nor accepted by the leader of French opinion and the representative of France.

The right honorable gentleman who has spoken has made it plain that the idea of the British Government was that you could supersede individual pacts or regional agreements by one vast universal scheme of international insurance. That was the policy of the British Government, but that was never the policy of the foreign governments with which they were negotiating. Never for one moment did those governments mean to abandon the local alliances or regional pacts into which they had entered if the Protocol were accepted. On the contrary, they regarded the Protocol as something which might give additional security to the world, I do not doubt, but also as something which must be followed, as it had been preceded, by special subsidiary complementary alliances and agreements.

A "Patched-Up" Formula

The two distinguished visitors—both busy men, who could ill be spared from their own countries—having, with the aid of friends and with much burning of midnight oil, patched up a formula, returned to Paris and to London, and left their representatives to put into the form of an international agreement the opposite ideals which were embodied in the formula upon which they had agreed. The deputation went to work, and in some six weeks' time in that Assembly was undertaken for the whole world a piece of legislation with which it is impossible to compare in its extent or importance even the largest projects which could come before a domestic legislature like our own, and that agreement, that legislative project, was framed, discussed, and passed in less time than we should take over an electoral reform bill, whether in Cabinet or in the House of Commons. Is it wonderful that, in those circumstances, when we came to examine it we found it so full of danger apparently, we found its principal causes and effects apparently so little appreciated and so little

foreseen, and its obligations so great for an empire of such a peculiar character as our own, scattered in every portion of the world, based primarily upon sea power and not upon land power, as was the case of most of the nations who were there assembled—is it wonderful, when we came to consider this document, we found it impossible to recommend it to Parliament?

The right honorable gentleman has complained that we announced our decisions not to recommend it before we had consulted Parliament. Was it a more serious step to take to declare our decision not to recommend it than to do as he did and to recommend it, to be a party to it, without having given Parliament the least information of what he was doing or the obligation he was undertaking?

Liberty of Action

I do not propose to go at length into the objections to the Protocol. I have too much other work to do. I beg the House to observe that the right honorable gentleman himself is not a wholehearted and unconditional supporter of the Protocol. The right honorable gentleman labored a great deal to sustain the point that he and his fellow-representatives of Great Britain had preserved full liberty to the British Government and Parliament of free action in any emergency for the British nation. There is a passage in the report of one of the committees which is a rather interesting gloss upon the observations of the right honorable gentleman. In the report of M. Benes he goes so far in agreement with the right honorable gentleman as to observe that it is true that it remains with our government to decide what they will do, but it is no longer left to them to decide what they ought to do. You observe the right honorable gentleman's complete liberty means that you have a liberty not to discharge your obligations, but that there is no doubt that the others have a right to impose the obligation on you. That is not quite the liberty that might have been inferred from the speech of the right honorable gentleman. But the whole terms of the Protocol, as shown in the declaration which I made in Geneva, are framed not with a view to a naval power and not with proper regard to the interests or the necessities or the position of a naval power. They are framed for the special purposes of States with land

forces and land frontiers who are anxious about those frontiers. The right honorable gentleman says it would be easy to deal by amendment with all the criticisms which His Majesty's Government had made of the Protocol.

Logic and Politics

We made some study of the Protocol from that point of view. If the right honorable gentleman will do the same, he will find that very little remains of the Protocol when he has made the necessary exceptions, and when to the necessary changes you add the reservations which the right honorable gentleman would have put in for his government and the reservations which other representatives would have put in for their governments when signing, the Protocol would have shrunk to a very small document indeed and one which would not have materially increased the security of the world. I am really not sure what the right honorable gentleman himself thinks of it. At one moment he declares that we undertake no new obligation, and at another moment that it is merely the logical conclusion of the Covenant. I profoundly distrust logic when applied to politics, and all English history justifies me. Why is it that, as contrasted with other nations, ours has been a peaceful and not a violent development? Why is it that, great as have been the changes that have taken place in this country, we have had none of those sudden revolutions and reactions for the last 300 years that have so frequently affected more logically minded nations than ourselves? It is because instinct and experience alike teach us that human nature is not logical, that it is unwise to treat political institutions as instruments of logic, and that it is in wisely refraining from pressing conclusions to their logical end the path of peaceful development and true reform is really found.

Security and the League Covenant

After all, what is our crime? The signature of the Covenant is barely six years old, and we are to be condemned by the right honorable gentleman because with only six years' experience to guide us we are not prepared to rewrite the whole document or to superimpose upon it a vast structure which might easily destroy both Covenant and League. There has been a good deal of talk

of late in this country about the safety and security of St. Paul's Cathedral. A great many experts have been consulted, and not all of them, I understand, have taken the same view. But, as far as I know, no expert, however eminent, has thought that the security of that building would be promoted by putting another dome on the top of the existing dome, and, whatever their differences have been, they have all agreed that it is by underpinning the foundations that the building will be best preserved. That is our view in regard to the Protocol. We do not think that it would add to the strength of the League, or that it would add to the security given by the Covenant. The right honorable gentleman spoke at one moment as if we were opposed to the objects of the Protocol. It is not with the objects, but with the effects, that we find fault. Speaking on behalf of His Majesty's Government, I expressed our full concurrence with those objects at the beginning of my declaration at Geneva. The right honorable gentleman thinks that it would have promoted security and thus have led directly to disarmament. What evidence did he bring to bear for either of those theses? Our own experts advised us that the obligations which it would have imposed upon us we should be unable to fulfill without increasing our existing forces. I suspect that some other nations would find themselves in the same position.

Effect on American Policy

Then I wonder whether the late government gave much thought to the effect of the Protocol or its adoption upon the policy of the United States of America. As far as I know, the United States have made no official declaration in regard to the Protocol, but I have tried to inform myself as to the trend of American opinion, and, unless I am wholly mistaken, the Protocol would have been viewed rather as a possible cause of war than increased security for peace across the Atlantic. And what about European opinion? I say without fear of contradiction that those powers most immediately concerned would not have felt that their security was so guarded against by the Protocol, if we had signed and ratified it as it stood without alteration, as to have been content to treat that as a settlement of the question of security and proceed to disarmament at once. The Protocol without subsidiary pacts would

not have been accepted in those quarters which think themselves threatened as a guarantee for their safety of a kind justifying them in disarmament. In the eyes of Mr. MacDonald, the Protocol was to supersede and render unnecessary any special pacts. In the eyes of those with whom he was negotiating the Protocol was not only to have been preceded with pacts, but was to have been accompanied or followed by pacts. His Majesty's Government find themselves unable to sign the Protocol. They find themselves in that respect in the same position as the great dominion governments and the Government of India. They do not think that it is apt to promote security and by promoting security to lead to disarmament, but they do feel, as the right honorable gentleman said, that they had an obligation to contribute, if they can, to that great aim, and they believe that it is in the power of this country and this empire to do it. But let me remind the House of what our existing commitments are.

Obligations to France and Belgium

We have, as a member of the League of Nations and a signatory of the Covenant, the obligations of every member of the League and signatory of the Covenant to every other State within the League, and we propose loyally and faithfully to observe them. These are obligations of general, of almost universal, application; but we have other obligations which are partial and local. We have an interest in the eastern boundary of France and Belgium which is more direct, more vital, and to which we are more closely pledged by our signed word than to the general obligations of every signatory of the Covenant and member of the League. Mr. Lloyd George dealt with this matter at Cannes, and Mr. MacDonald dealt with it in a letter which he addressed to M. Poincaré soon after he came into office. The need of France for security is great and is recognized. Her right to expect something from us in that respect is recognized; our interest and our duty to contribute to provide that security is recognized as a common policy to us all. There is nothing I more earnestly desire than to find a basis for a national policy in which we can all agree and heartily co-operate. These declarations give us a special interest in the western frontiers of Germany, and all history points the same

way. All our greatest wars have been fought to prevent one great military power dominating Europe and, at the same time, dominating the coasts of the Channel and the ports of the Low Countries. Our ancestors fought Spain in her heyday, our grandfathers fought Napoleon, and we ourselves only a few years ago fought Germany. It is an issue which challenges our security; it is an issue which we have never shirked and never can afford to shirk. But that is not all. There are treaty obligations at this moment. There are Articles 42 to 44 of the Treaty of Versailles—articles which deal with the left bank of the Rhine and with the demilitarized zone on the right bank. We have these treaty obligations, and the peace of the world, and with it the peace of the British Empire, depends on their preservation and maintenance.

The German Proposals

I come at this point to the German proposals, to which allusion has already been made in debate in this House. I think I can now, without injury to any prospects that they may contain, speak with greater frankness than I felt myself able to do before I went to Geneva; and if I can do so, I am certain it is my duty to the House to do so. The German proposals were, very properly, put in a somewhat liquid shape. They have not been the subject of any precise or rigid definition. They are put forward as a possible basis for discussion, not as a thing to be taken or left, or an agreement already put into a form in which it might be signed. They did not come to me fully in the first instance. They came to me in circumstances of attempted secrecy, which, as I have already admitted, caused me to feel some suspicion about them, but I am convinced—and I say so from my place here—from what has passed since that the German Government are making a sincere and honest attempt to lead to a better state of things, and it is in the hope that we may assist to carry that effort to a fruitful conclusion that we have engaged in our serious discussion of their proposals.

I would outline the German suggestion as follows: Germany's interest is in the establishment of a special treaty foundation for a peaceful understanding with France. Germany is prepared to consider a comprehensive arbitration treaty and to enter into a mutual pact with the powers interested in the Rhine. Similar arbitration treaties may be concluded with other States which have common bound-

daries with Germany if those States desire. Further, a pact universally guaranteeing the present territorial status on the Rhine would be acceptable to Germany, and a pact may further guarantee the fulfilment of Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles. I think the House will agree with His Majesty's Government that it is a signal advance that such proposals should have reached us, even in a vague form, and on her own motion, from Germany. They amount, if I understand it rightly, to this: that Germany is prepared to guarantee voluntarily what hitherto she has accepted only under the compulsion of the treaty—the *status quo* in the west; that she is prepared to eliminate war, not merely from the west but from the east, as an engine by which any alteration in that treaty position is to be obtained. She is prepared to disavow and abandon any idea of recourse to war for the purpose of changing the treaty boundaries of Europe. She may be unwilling, she may be unable, to make the same renunciation of all hopes and aspirations that some day, by friendly arrangement and mutual agreement, a modification may be introduced in the east which she is prepared to make in regard to any modifications in the west.

British Policy in Geneva

I am coming to that. What were the instructions which I carried with me from His Majesty's Government for the purposes of my interview with M. Herriot and with the other foreign ministers whom I met at Geneva? I was charged with a message which I frankly say it was not wholly agreeable to me personally to deliver. I see that sometimes I am accused of being pro-French. I have even seen it stated that I told M. Briand that I was accused of being in his pocket. I thought he looked a little regretfully at the size of his pocket and wished it were larger, so that he might have me more safely deposited. But though I have deep sympathies with the French people, a great appreciation of what France has done for the world, and, incidentally, for ourselves, I owe to France the frankness of a friend, and the very fact that I use that frankness will perhaps carry a conviction that would not come from one who was not known to be as warmly her well-wisher as the present Foreign Secretary is. What was the message I gave? I had to tell M. Herriot and the other foreign ministers that His Majesty's Government

were unable to sign the Protocol. I had to add that while we appreciated all that was involved for France in the failure, through American abstention, of the Anglo-American pact of guarantee, after what had occurred in Cannes, and after what had occurred in the troublous years that followed, it was not within the power of a British Government to offer to the French Government or the Belgian Government, a one-sided pact of guarantee of their frontiers directly pointed against Germany. But I told them, and I told others, that we attached the highest importance to these German suggestions, that we thought they should be examined most carefully in order to see whether they did not, in fact, open the door to a new and better state of things, and close the door not merely on actual military operations, but on that war-like atmosphere which has endured ever since the Peace of Versailles. I found myself in agreement with the representatives of all the foreign governments whom I met that these proposals could not be lightly turned down or rejected, that we must examine them carefully and see what advantage could be drawn from them, that we must work with good faith and good will in the hope that we might make them the basis of a real security and a real peace. I found myself in agreement with them on certain broad principles, that any arrangement we might make should be, in the words of the declaration which I read at Geneva, "purely defensive in character, that it should be framed in the spirit of the Covenant, working in close harmony with the League and under its guidance, if possible."

Poland and Germany

It is equally obvious that our obligations could not be extended in respect to every frontier. That is one reason, the main reason, why we rejected the Protocol. It was because it was a universal extension of our obligations of the most serious kind. But we thought that what we could not do in every sphere, we might properly undertake, and advise our people to undertake, in that sphere with which we were most closely connected. But it must be made quite clear that in trying to underpin the Covenant and to stabilize peace in the west, we were not licensing or legitimizing war elsewhere, that to enter into a fresh engagement of a mutual character, turning into a friendly agreement,

voluntarily made on both sides, what is now a peace imposed by the victors on the vanquished—that that must not be held to be an encouragement to those who were defeated yesterday to try and reopen conclusions in other spheres. On the contrary, we held that by the mere fact of stabilizing peace in the west we would give an additional guarantee to the frontiers of the east. After all, who is it who has an interest in disturbing those frontiers? No country has a profounder interest in stabilizing peace or in promoting good relations with her great neighbor than Poland, and no impartial person, who can judge Germany's interest with a clear mind, unclouded by prejudice or passion, can fail to see that Germany can gain no real advantage and no additional security by attacking her eastern neighbor. Time and friendly adjustment, the force of economic ties and obligations, the freedom of commercial interests, should lead those great nations to cultivate an ever-growing, an ever-closer friendship, once they can get away from the atmosphere of yesterday and turn to what should be the attitude of the future.

The essence of such an agreement, in my opinion and in the opinion of all with whom I have spoken, is that Germany should enter the League of Nations, taking her place, as she would assuredly do, in the counsels of the League on a footing of equality, both of obligations and of rights, with the other great and small nations. I know that Germany has raised objections to particular articles. We discussed them at a council meeting of the League the other day and we replied. The real answer is that it is of the essence of the League, without which there is no League, that all the nations within the League are equal—owing equal obligations, possessing equal rights—and that if you once begin to make exceptions in the obligations, you, of course, at the same time make exceptions in respect of the rights, and the equality which lies at the root of the League, which is of the essence of its spirit, would be destroyed, and the League itself would be paralyzed and defeated. Let me add one other word about these proposals. As I understand, as I can well foresee, no fruitful issue can come of them unless we can deal successfully and expeditiously, on the one side and the other, with the remaining obligations of disarmament and with the evacuation of the Cologne area; but it is no part of the German pro-

posal and no condition, that the period of occupation fixed for the remaining zone by the Treaty of Versailles should be shortened or altered in any way.

"A New Armageddon"

I hope I have made the conditions clear as I see them. I venture to put the choice to the House which I believe lies before us. Ever since peace was signed, no less than when war was still being waged, Europe has been ranged in two camps, divided as were the combatants in the war. Fear—haunting, restless, brooding fear—haunts the councils of every nation and the homes of every continental people; fear that warps the judgment and affects the policy, which leads to irritating acts, to fresh provocation, which renews day by day the offenses of the war, the bitterness of the war, the rancors of the war. If this continues, sooner or later Europe will march to a new Armageddon. It will not be in my time, it may not be in the time of most of those whom I am addressing; but unless you can get away from this atmosphere of fear and suspicion, from this attitude of armed camps, then, if not in my time, in my children's or my grandchildren's time, Europe will be given up to a new struggle, and a generation which has to pay the penalty of that unnecessary war will judge harshly the statesmen of today who failed to take in time the measures by which it might be presented.

The statesmen of this country have some responsibility. Our policy, not wholly through our own fault, has been wavering and inconsistent. Our influence—nobody can move, as I have done, among the statesmen of Europe and of more than Europe and not feel it—has lost something by our hesitations and our inconsistencies. A new chance is given to us. I see in these proposals the possible dawn of a better day. Without our help nothing will be done; without our help we shall march surely, though slowly, to a new disaster. With our help the war chapter may be brought to a close and a real triumph of peace may begin. The British Empire, detached from Europe by its dominions, linked to Europe by these islands, can do what no other nation on the face of the earth can do; and from East and West alike there comes to me the cry, "After all, it is in the hands of the British Empire; if they will that there shall be no war, there shall be no war."

News in Brief

JUNIOR RED CROSS MAGAZINES are published by twenty-one national societies and reach about eight million children. Three ideals are especially emphasized in all these journals in the hope of realizing a future better than the past. These are "robust health, fine character expressed in socially valuable deeds, and better understanding the one of the other." A Yugoslavian professor, who was speaking recently about child membership, said: "The Red Cross brought bread to our starving children, and that was good; now that they are no longer starving, it brings them ideals, and that is even better."

AN INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT CONGRESS will be held in Madrid, Spain, in May. Effort will be made to frame uniform laws on copyright, especially for musical and dramatic works, looking to the protection of authors whose works may be used in broadcasting.

A PAN-AMERICAN COMMERCIAL CONGRESS, with an exposition in connection with it, is to be held in Houston, Texas, May 9-15 of this year. On account of this the *London Times* of March 31 published a 16-page supplement on Texas.

THE FRANCO-AMERICAN BRANCH of the Good Will Association is promoting an oratorical contest among high school students on the subject, "French Pioneers in America." The eight winning orators are to be awarded a six weeks' educational tour in France during July and August.

SHAKESPEARE'S BIRTHDAY was observed April 23 by the various branches of the English-Speaking Union. The purpose of the observance, according to John Daniels, national executive of the Union, is "by this means to publish and impress the self-evident truth that all the people of the world who now speak the English language have the priceless advantage of being able to understand one another, and the consequent opportunity and moral responsibility of working together to help establish and maintain lasting peace throughout the world."

INSPIRED BY THE UNITED WORK of Ellhu Burritt, former Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, and of Henry Richard, of Wales, in organizing international peace conferences in the last century, some 400,000 Welsh women recently signed a "Memorial," which they delivered to a representative group of American women in New York. In the "Memorial" the women of Wales earnestly urge American womanhood to direct the whole force of their energy to the promotion of world peace.

A SUM OF \$10,000 WAS SENT TO PERU, through the United States Ambassador to Peru and the Department of State, as a donation from the American Red Cross to the flood sufferers in Trujillo, Peru.

IT HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED in French papers that the French Minister of Education intends to inaugurate a "Peace Day" in French schools—that is, a day on which schools will devote themselves to glorifying peace.

AN INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS CONGRESS of eleven faiths, to discuss world peace, has been called for August, 1928, in Geneva.

IN THE NEWLY ELECTED MOSCOW SOVIET, which opened its session April 10, non-communist parties have 34 per cent of the total membership.

A SPORTSMANSHIP BROTHERHOOD is suggested to bring about international understanding. Captain Creel, of England, said recently: "The founding of the brotherhood is America's contribution to democracy." The code of a sportsman is that he shall keep the rules; keep faith with his comrades, play the game for his side; keep himself fit; keep his temper; keep from hitting a man when he is down; keep down his pride in victory; keep a stout heart in defeat, accepted with good grace; keep a sound soul and a clean mind in a healthy body. It is believed by those organizing the brotherhood that, with such a code as a basis, it will succeed where other agencies for peace seem to have made scant headway.

THE ALIEN LAND LAW WAS PASSED by the Japanese House of Peers in March. The law liberalizes conditions under which foreigners may obtain land in Japan and bars from land ownership citizens of countries in which Japanese are prohibited from owning land.

LA NACIÓN, OF BUENOS AIRES, one of the important newspapers in Latin America, asserts that the "surrender" of the Isle of Pines to Cuba by the United States "definitely and effectively means recognition of the rights of the weak."

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS ANNOUNCES that Germany will be represented by some thirty parliamentarians at the annual congress of the Interparliamentary Union, which will meet at Washington beginning October 1. Although Germany in the Union's deliberations has only nineteen votes, interest among Germany's lawmakers is so intense that the official nineteen delegates will be accompanied by a dozen or more ordinary members.

These delegates include Paul Loebe, president of the Reichstag; Professor Schuecking, one of the negotiators of the Versailles Treaty and chairman of the German delegation; former Chancellor Joseph Wirth, former Colonial Governor Albert Hermann Schnee, former Colonial Minister Bernard Dernburg, former Minister of the Interior Eduard David, who won the Filene Peace Prize; the Socialist leader, Rudolf Breitscheid, Otto Hoetsch, and former Finance Minister Hans von Raumer.

THE PERUVIAN NEWSPAPER LA PRENSA, which is the organ of President Leguila, receives the reply of President Coolidge to the protest of Peru on the Tacna-Arica award in a favorable spirit. The paper calls attention, in its discussion of the President's note, to its "courteous tone, at times even cordial. It is evident that the same mind which dictated the decision prepared the reply, but the latter lacks the austere tone of the decision."

BOOK REVIEWS

SECURITY AGAINST WAR. By *Frances Kellor and Antonia Hatvany*. Two volumes. Macmillan & Co., New York, 1924. Price, \$6.00.

In the preparation of this carefully organized mass of material Miss Kellor, with the aid of her collaborator, has done an enormous amount of careful research. She has

gone to sources, "visiting twenty-one countries, crossing seven seas." The result is a body of documented facts, carefully analyzed and grouped, stretching through two volumes and divided into four parts.

She assumes that a detailed knowledge of significant events since the war is necessary to any practical plan to abolish war. She attempts to canvass this field in an impartial and detached manner. However, it is obvious that she finds the League of Nations quite inadequate to the tasks assigned to it. She shows many instances when the sanctions of the Covenant of the League have not functioned. One evidence of the impotence of the Covenant she finds in the League's effort to bolster it up by the Treaty of Mutual Assistance and by the Geneva Protocol.

She shows that, as a source of international justice, the League has functioned weakly when it has functioned at all. She says, after enumerating eight aggressions of territory of member States, seven of which were dealt with by powers separately and not via the League, "It is apparent that if the principal allied powers do not elect to prevent aggression through Article X, but prefer to act separately, through their own foreign offices, the article will remain impotent."

Part I of the work describes the peace machinery outlined by the Treaty of Versailles, as it is found in action. These are the Conference of Ambassadors, the Reparations Commission, and the League of Nations.

Part II narrates the history of each dispute and its settlement through the peace machinery. This part summarizes not only Dantzic, the Saar, the Ruhr, and other problems, but also some Asiatic matters and South American affairs, including the Tacna-Arica dispute up to the spring of 1923.

Part III records in an orderly manner the evolution and work of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Part IV analyzes pending proposals for future peace.

She concludes her exhaustive and valuable record with a proposition for a third Hague Conference, which alone, she thinks, can expect full co-operation from the United States.

MANHOOD OF HUMANITY. By *Alfred Korzybski*. Pp. 264, including three appendices. E. P. Dutton & Company, New York. Price, \$3.00.

"What is man?" This question, propounded by the Psalmist of old, remains still unanswered. During the few centuries of recorded history, his activities reveal the fact that "man has ever been the greatest puzzle to man."

Alfred Korzybski, in his book entitled *Manhood of Humanity*, attempts to solve the puzzle called "man" by presenting some novel conceptions. The basis upon which he builds his work is his classification of life. This classification is as follows: (1) Plants, with the one capacity of growth, which may be represented by a "one dimensional line"; (2) animals, with capacities of growth and movement in space, which may be represented by a "two dimensional plane"; (3) humans, with capacities of growth, movement in space, and activity in time, which may be represented by a "three dimensional region."

Calling attention to the fact that humanity's childhood has been very long—some 300,000 to 500,000 years—Mr. Korzybski believes that "humanity is still in its childhood." He believes, however, that the attainment of the "manhood of humanity" will be hastened by the realization of man's true nature—his capacity for "time binding"—and the intelligent pursuit of the science and art of human engineering.

The reduction of the problems of human life to a strict mathematical basis, the widespread application of mathematical laws to the production of the world's goods, upon which the adequacy and happiness of human life depend—these are rather staggering matters. They lead us out over our heads. The reader naturally asks himself the question, what are the practical processes by which such conceptions can be translated into realities? The book is, however, an interesting presentation of a novel point of view.

THE NINTH OF NOVEMBER. By *Bernard Kellermann*. Translated from the German by Caroline V. Kerr. Robert M. McBride, New York, 1925. Pp. 443. Price, \$2.50.

Like unrelated fragments of brittle glass, the scenes of this story shift and rattle together in apparent disorder. They are glar-

ing pictures of battles, balls, socialist plots, sordid dives, bureaucracies, hurried love scenes, hospitals, characters crashing to ruin, and again the roar and smoke of battlefields, with corpses raining from the sky. Gradually, however, one discovers that, like a kaleidoscope, the bits of vivid color are forming a pattern. At the center of it are two contrasting characters—two old men whose life dreams have fallen about their ears. These are a certain general, call von Hecht-Babenberg, and the drunken father of a young soldier who was blown to bits because of an error in the general's judgment. Through the eyes of these two, neither very noble, but both altogether human, we see the downfall of the German army and the revolution of November, 1918.

It would be a mistake to assume that the section of society slashed through by this book is a fair sample of all Germany, even war-mad Germany. Nevertheless, there is something typical about the main characters. The setting seems to be unnecessarily degenerate.

Herr Kellermann is a realist with an almost uncanny command of language, which is astonishingly preserved by his translator. He has also accomplished a feat extremely difficult of performance—accomplished it almost casually and by the way. This is the production of a real conflict in the reader. One's mind follows, always, the action of the revolutionist, the denier of the old order in Germany; but one's emotion and, at times, admiration go with the old general, who suffers and does not understand; whose domestic fires have turned to ashes, and who feels his life's ideals slipping from under his feet. At last comes the blow of the Kaiser's abdication. "Fled!" "Deserted!" Beyond this nothing matters to him.

After this the boiling sea of the revolutionists, the retreating army, the released prisoners, the sick and starving rabble of Berlin, roll through the streets of the city like a tide no man can stay. It is all a fitting accompaniment of the broken spirit of the old Germany.

It is a disturbing, yet a powerful, book.

CALLINICUS. A DEFENSE OF CHEMICAL WARFARE. By *J. B. S. Haldane*. E. P. Dutton Co., New York, 1925. Pp. 84. Price, \$1.00.

Here is a discussion, not of the cause of war, the need of war, or the iniquity of war.

Mr. Haldane is an Englishman who says he shares the objection to war of those who would prefer to prevent international strife. "But I doubt," he goes on to say, "whether by objecting to it we are likely to avoid it in the future, however lofty our motives or disinterested our conduct." He evidently believes that we shall have to evolve from one type of war to another less horrible, till we are entirely out of it. His arguments, however, are not about any general theory of progress, but about the particular theme of chemical warfare and its advantages to the race. These advantages, of course, are compared to the old method of fighting by steel and iron.

With this to start with, he proceeds to show how the use of certain chemicals, such as "tear gas," for instance, is more humane than the use of explosives. If regulations of future wars are to be made in the interest of humanity, he thinks it would be only necessary to prevent the use of goggles or other eye-protectors; to prohibit all shells containing anything else than some lachrymatory compound. He does not suppose that such regulations will ever be adopted, but to forbid the use of these chemicals is "a piece of cruel and ridiculous sentimentality." "But the British," he says, "are a tired people; they like to rest in breathless quiet after all their ills, and to pin their faith in the promises of leaders whose eyes are fixed on the past."

He goes on to review the use of chemicals in the recent war, following up statistics to their logical conclusion. For instance, in the British army, of those incapacitated by mustard gas, only one in forty died, while only one in two hundred became permanently unfit. Yet the Washington Conference solemnly prohibited this comparatively merciful chemical, while permitting the use of bayonets, shells, and incendiary bombs.

Mr. Haldane holds that the terrors pertaining to chemical warfare are due to ignorance, and through ignorance alone the populace, as well as the soldier, fears the use of chemistry on a large scale. To the enlightened he feels that it offers a way of making battles decisive with no more than temporary suffering to the enemy.

So war would become merely a game. Is this the logical next step?

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

Limited numbers of the following pamphlets are available at the headquarters of the American Peace Society, the price quoted being for the cost of *printing and postage* only:

PAMPHLETS

ETHICAL AND GENERAL LITERATURE:

	Published.	
Butler, Nicholas Murray:		
The International Mind.....	1912	\$0.05
Call, Arthur D.:		
Cumber and Entanglements.....	1917	.10
Carnegie, Andrew:		
A League of Peace.....	1905	.10
Crosby, Ernest H.:		
War From the Christian Point of View	1905	.05
Franklin on War and Peace.....	....	.10
Gladden, Washington:		
Is War a Moral Necessity?.....	1915	.05
Morgan, Walter A.:		
Great Preaching in England and America	1924	.05
Stanfield, Theodore:		
The Divided States of Europe and the United States of America...	1921	.10
Tolstol, Count Leon:		
The Beginning of the End.....	1898	.10
Wales, Julia G.:		
"The Conscientious Objector"....	1918	.10
Christ of the Andes (Illustration), 7th edition	1914	.05
Palace of Peace at The Hague (Illustrated)	1914	.05

PEACE AND EDUCATION:

Darby, W. Evans:		
Military Drill in Schools.....	1911	.05
Military Training for Schoolboys: Symposium from educators.....	1916	.05
Taft, Donald R.:		
History Text Books as Provocatives of War.....	1925	.15
Walsh, Rev. Walter:		
Moral Damage of War to the School Child	1911	.05
Oordt, Bleuland v.:		
Children Building Peace Palace; post-card (sepia).....	....	.05

HISTORICAL PEACE LITERATURE:

Kant, Immanuel:		
Perpetual Peace. First published in 1795, republished in.....	1897	.20
Call, Arthur D.:		
Federal Convention, May-September, 1787. Published 1922, republished	1924	.25
The Interparliamentary Union....	1923	.10
The Will to End War.....	1920	.15

Published.

Dealey, James Quale:		
Contributions of the Monroe Doctrine to International Peace....	1923	\$0.10
Emerson, Ralph Waldo:		
"War." Address before the American Peace Society in 1838. Reprinted	1924	.15
Estournelle de Constant:		
The Limitation of Armaments (Report at Interparliamentary Union Meeting, London)	1906	.10
Hocking, Wm. E.:		
Immanuel Kant and International Policies	1924	.10
Levermore, Charles H.:		
Synopsis of Plans for International Organization	1919	.05
Penn, William:		
Peace of Europe. First published in 1693, republished in.....	1912	.10
Scott, James Brown:		
The Development of Modern Diplomacy	1921	.10
Trueblood, Benjamin F.:		
International Arbitration at the Opening of the 20th Century....	....	.05
William Penn's Holy Experiment in Civil Government.....	....	.10
Trueblood, Lyra:		
18th of May, History of its Observance .....	....	.05
Tryon, James L.:		
A Century of Anglo-American Peace	1914	.05
The Interparliamentary Union and its Work	1910	.05
New England a Factor in the Peace Movement	1914	.05
Washington's Anti-Militarism .....	....	.05
Worcester, Noah:		
Solemn Review of the Custom of War. First published Christmas, 1814, republished in.....	1904	.10

BIOGRAPHY:

Beals, Charles E.:		
Benjamin F. Trueblood, Prophet of Peace	1916	.10
Call, Arthur D.:		
James Brown Scott. Sketch of his services to the cause of international justice	1918	.10
Hemmenway, John:		
William Ladd, The Apostle of Peace	1891	.10

JAPAN AND THE ORIENT:

	Published.	
Deforest, J. H.:		
Conditions of Peace Between the East and the West.....	1908	\$0.05
Is Japan a Menace to the United States?	1908	.05
Kawakami, Isamu:		
Disarmament, The Voice of the Japanese People	1921	.10
Sakatani, Baron:		
Why War Between Japan and the United States is Impossible....	1921	.10
Tolstol, Count Leon:		
Letter on the Russo-Japanese War	1904	.10

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:

Call, Arthur D.:		
Three Facts in American Foreign Policy	1921	.05
Governed World, A. Three Documents	1921	.10

FOR SALE ALSO:

Permanent Court of International Justice	Julia E. Johnson, Compiler.....	1923	.90
--	---------------------------------	------	-----

	Published.	
Ralston, Jackson H.:		
Should any National Dispute be Reserved from Arbitration?....	1908	\$0.05
Root, Elihu:		
"The Great War" and International Law	1921	.10
Scott, James Brown:		
Organization of International Justice	1917	.10
Public Opinion <i>versus</i> Force.....	1915	.05
Should There be a Third Hague Conference?	1925	.10
Snow, Alpheus H.:		
International Reorganization	1917	.10
International Legislation and Administration	1917	.10
League of Nations According to American Idea	1920	.10
Stanfield, Theodore:		
A Coercive League.....	1920	.05
Trueblood, Benj. F.:		
A Periodic Congress of Nations...	1907	.05
Tryon, James L.:		
The Hague Peace System in Operation	1911	.10

BOOKS

Books For Sale At Reduced Prices; Some of Them Slightly Shelf-worn

	Published.	
American Foreign Policy. Statements of Presidents and Secretaries of State. Introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler. 132 pages	1920	\$0.90
Angell, Norman:		
Arms and Industry. 248 pages...	1914	.50
Problems of the War,—The Peace. (paper). 99 pages.....	1914-18	.15
Bacon, Corinne:		
Selected Articles on National Defense. 243 pages.....	1916	.50
Balou, Adin:		
Christian Non-resistance. 278 pages. First published 1846, and republished	1910	.50
Crosby, Ernest:		
Garrison, the Non-resistant. 141 pages	1905	.25
Dymond, Jonathan:		
Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with Christianity (paper). 182 pages. (1892 edition)....	1834	.50
Janson, Gustaf:		
The Pride of War (novel). 350 pages	1912	.25
Jordan, David Starr:		
War and Waste.....	1914	.50
La Fontaine, Henri:		
The Great Solution. 177 pages...	1916	.70
Lynch, Frederick:		
The Peace Problem, 127 pages....	1911	.50
Through Europe on the Eve of War. 152 pages.....	1914	.25

	Published.	
Scott, James Brown:		
Grotius on the Freedom of the Seas. (Grotius, first published in 1608.) 83 pages.....	1916	\$0.90
Peace Through Justice. 102 pages	1917	.70
Second Pan-American Congress. The Final Act. Commentary by James Brown Scott. 516 pages.....	1916	1.00
Trueblood, Benj. F.:		
The Federation of the World....	1899	.50
Von Suttner, Berthe:		
Lay Down Your Arms (a novel). 435 pages	1914	.50
White, Andrew D.:		
The First Hague Conference, 123 pages	1905	.50

REPORTS:

13th Universal Peace Congress, Boston. Cloth	1904	.50
Paper	1904	.30
New England Arbitration and Peace Congress, Hartford	1910	.50
First National Arbitration and Peace Congress, New York	1907	.50
Second National Peace Congress, Chicago	1909	.50
Third American Peace Congress, Baltimore	1911	.50
Fourth American Peace Congress, St. Louis	1913	.50
Fifth American Peace Congress, San Francisco	1915	.50
Twenty-first Annual Conference on International Arbitration. Lake Mohonk	1915	.30

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

Edited by ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

1815-1828

Suite 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

(Cable address, "Ampax, Washington.")

PUBLISHED MONTHLY EXCEPT SEPTEMBER

Sent free to all members of the American Peace Society. Separate subscription price, \$2.00 a year. Single copies, 20 cents each.

Entered as second-class matter, June 1, 1911, at the Post-Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917; authorized August 10, 1918.

It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

CONTENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD..... 315

EDITORIALS

A New Conference of the Nations—An American Article Ten—United States Initiative in World Peace—Academy of International Law at The Hague—The Paris Exposition—Editorial Notes..... 317-325

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

Great Britain Returns to Gold Standard—President Hindenburg—Soviet Foreign Policy—Reform of Italian Constitution—The World Wheat Balance—French and British Taxes—Rule in Egypt—Re-awakened Greece—Constitutionalism in Canada—Important International Dates (April 16-May 15, 1925)—Coming Conferences, 1925..... 325-344

GENERAL ARTICLES

Development of International Law..... 344
By Charles Evans Hughes
Hugo Grotius and the Spirit of Neighborliness among Nations..... 354
By Esther Matson
The Grotius Tercentenary..... 359
By Edwin D. Mead

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Ambassador Houghton's Speech..... 368
Germany and the League..... 370

IN LIGHTER MOOD..... 371

NEWS IN BRIEF..... 372

BOOK REVIEWS..... 374

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.

Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.

It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.

Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.

It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.

FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is two dollars;

Sustaining Membership, five dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of ADVOCATE OF PEACE, Washington, D. C.

Hon. P. P. CLAXTON, Ex-United States Commissioner of Education, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Senator from Illinois, Washington, D. C.

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN, 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, Esq., Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

HENRY C. MORRIS, Esq., 1155 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, California.

Prof. ARTHUR RAMSAY, Ex-President Fairmont Seminary, Southern Pines, North Carolina.

THEODORE STANFIELD, 126 W. 74th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Hon. HENRY TEMPLE, Representative from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS

HENRY C. MORRIS

THEODORE STANFIELD

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D.

Hon. HENRY W. TEMPLE

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE

OFFICERS

President:

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

GEORGE W. WHITE, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Washington, D. C.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

A. T. BELL, Esq., Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.

GILBERT BOWLES, Esq., Richmond, Indiana.

Dean CHARLES R. BROWN, New Haven, Conn.

Pres. E. E. BROWN, New York University, New York.

GEORGE BURNHAM, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston, Mass.

Rt. Rev. Bishop J. DARLINGTON, Harrisburg, Pa.

Dr. W. H. P. FAUNCE, Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.

GEORGE A. FINCH, Washington, D. C.

EVERETT O. FISK, Esq., Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM P. GEST, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hon. CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Washington, D. C.

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D. D., New York, N. Y.

Dr. DAVID STARR JORDAN, Stanford University, Calif.

GEO. H. JUDD, Washington, D. C.

Bishop WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Mass.

JOSEPH LEE, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM H. LUDEN, Reading, Pa.

L. H. PILLSBURY, Derry, N. H.

Judge HENRY WADE ROGERS, New York, N. Y.

Hon. ELIHU ROOT, New York, N. Y.

Mrs. FREDERIC SCHOFF, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. RUTH H. SPRAY, Salda, Colo.

Senator THOMAS STERLING, Washington, D. C.

EDWARD STEVENS, Columbia, Mo.

*Pres. M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

*Pres. C. F. THWING, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pres. MARY E. WOOLLEY, South Hadley, Mass.

*Emeritus.

Suggestions for a Governed World

(Adopted by the American Peace Society, May 27, 1921)

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference

for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council in the performance of their respective duties whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment whenever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council

of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that.

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for and, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instructions in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
87

JUNE, 1925

NUMBER
6

EDITORIALS

A NEW CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONS

THERE is no occasion for surprise that our American press should view with favor the possibilities of a third conference of the nations to take up the work begun at The Hague in 1899, and continued through the conference of 1907 up to the outbreak of the war in 1914. When Senator William B. McKinley, President of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, returned recently from Paris, he is reported by the press to have said that the Interparliamentary Union will take up this question at its meeting in Washington next October. Such a conference, if called, would be but the natural development of repeated suggestions by the President of the United States, and by Senator Borah, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate. It would be the fulfillment of the specific suggestion of Mr. Elihu Root and of the unanimous recommendation of the advisory committee of jurists meeting upon the request of the Council of the League of Nations at The Hague in 1920 in order to form the permanent Court of International Justice. Such a conference would enable the League of Nations commission on the codification of international law to co-operate with the commission of jurists set up by the fifth international conference of American States. It would be a conference to which

all nations could send delegates. The possibility that the Interparliamentary Union may ask the President of the United States to call such a conference is of transcendent importance, for many people believe, including many in public life, that it is the next essential step toward the establishment among the nations of the reign of law. This is probably why the American press is favorable to the suggestion. As said by the Washington Post, May 18, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the meeting of the first Hague Peace Conference: "The only practicable method of international legislation thus far suggested is that of a conference resulting in a convention that will embody a code of law, to be ratified by governments."

The history of international relations is quite favorable to such a proposal. The Hague conferences themselves contemplated successive conferences. The first Hague conference of 1899 referred specifically to "a conference in the near future" and to "a subsequent conference." The delegates to the second Hague conference of 1907—there were forty-four governments represented—recommended the assembly of a third peace conference and appointment of a preparatory committee to shape a program. Practically all of the governments had appointed committees to draft instructions for their delegates to such a conference. Our De-

partment of State was at work on the conference when the war broke out in 1914.

It was natural that Mr. Elihu Root should suggest and that the advisory committee of jurists of which he was a member should unanimously recommend a new conference of the nations in continuation of the first two conferences at The Hague. These distinguished jurists, selected by the League of Nations, friendly to the League of Nations, saw the necessity for restating the established rules of international law, for formulating and agreeing upon amendments and additions to that law, for reconciling divergent views and securing general agreement upon that law, and for declaring and accepting new rules of international law.

It is fortunate that the League of Nations refused to adopt the recommendation of its advisory committee of jurists, for it has left the way open for a conference to which all the nations, including the United States, can send delegates.

The American press has been quick, therefore, to grasp the importance of the coming conference of the Interparliamentary Union in Washington. Our people have not forgotten that this same Interparliamentary Union meeting in this country in 1904 requested President Roosevelt to invite all nations to send representatives to a second Hague conference. President Roosevelt acceded to the request and took the initiative which ended in the conference of 1907.

Two distinguished Secretaries of State, Mr. John Hay and Mr. Elihu Root, underestimated neither the Interparliamentary nor The Hague conferences. When Secretary of State, Mr. Hay referred to the first Hague conference as "an epoch in the history of nations." His references to the Interparliamentary Union are also of interest. To our diplomatic representative accredited to governments signa-

tory to the acts of the first Hague conference, Secretary Hay said:

Among the movements which prepared the minds of Governments for an accord in the direction of assured peace among men, a high place may fittingly be given to that set on foot by the Interparliamentary Union. From its origin in the suggestions of a member of the British House of Commons, in 1888, it developed until its membership included large numbers of delegates from the parliaments of the principal nations, pledged to exert their influence toward the conclusion of treaties of arbitration between nations and toward the accomplishment of peace. Its annual conferences have notably advanced the high purposes it sought to realize. Not only have many international treaties of arbitration been concluded, but, in the Conference held in Holland in 1894, the memorable declaration in favor of a Permanent Court of Arbitration was a forerunner of the most important achievement of the Peace Conference of The Hague in 1899."

After mentioning the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union at St. Louis, and quoting the terms of its resolution, Secretary Hay continued:

"On September 24, ultimo, these resolutions were presented to the President by a numerous deputation of the Interparliamentary Union. The President accepted the charge offered to him, feeling it to be most appropriate that the Executive of the nation which had welcomed the conference to its hospitality should give voice to its impressive utterances in a cause which the American Government and people hold dear. He announced that he would at an early day invite the other nations, parties to the Hague Conventions, to reassemble with a view to pushing forward toward completion the work already begun at The Hague by considering the questions which the first Conference had left unsettled with the express provision that there should be a second conference."

When Secretary Root submitted the Hague conventions of 1907 to the United States Senate, he took occasion to say:

"Let me go beyond the limits of the customary formal letter of transmittal and say that I think the work of the Second Hague Conference, which is mainly embodied in these Conventions, presents the greatest advance ever made at any single time toward the reasonable and peaceful regulation of international conduct, unless it be the advance made at the Hague Conference of 1899.

"The most valuable result of the Conference of 1899 was that it made the work of the Conference of 1907 possible. The achievements of the two Conferences justify the belief that the world has entered upon an orderly process through which, step by step, in successive Conferences, each taking the work of its predecessor as its point of departure, there may be continued progress toward making the practice of civilized nations conform to their peaceful professions."

The opportunity facing the Interparliamentary Union, therefore, is quite plain. In 1904 the Interparliamentary Union expressed the view that enlightened public opinion and modern civilization alike demand that differences between nations should be adjudicated in the same manner as disputes between individuals, namely, by the arbitrament of courts in accordance with recognized principles of law. Surely it is no backward step to reaffirm this position. The Interparliamentary Union still stands for the principle that the security of States and the well-being of peoples urgently require the extension of the empire of law and development of all international agencies for the administration of justice. It is, therefore, reasonable to hope that the Interparliamentary Union, meeting in the Capitol building at Washington in 1925, should repeat its happy and fruitful suggestion of 1904 that a new conference of the nations in continuation of the first two conferences at The Hague be held as soon as practicable, at a time and place to be agreed upon.

It is unreasonable to predict opposition

to such a conference from such a body in view of its record in relation to international conferences. While the League of Nations has refused to call such a conference, it could not reasonably object to the President of the United States calling it, for it would be in the interest of international law which the League itself has now recognized as worthy of study. And of course the Permanent Court of International Justice cannot be expected to come unto its own without a gradual development of that international law which it exists to administer. Governments not members of the League would naturally welcome the opportunity to co-operate with all governments for a purpose so directly related to their interests. There was no objection to this method of international conference in 1899, in 1907, or at any time since. All governments profess willingness at any appropriate time to send delegates to an international conference for the purpose of agreeing upon international laws with the understanding that such laws shall become operative only when ratified by the governments in accordance with their constitutional practices. This has been the practice of all the nations heretofore, including our United States; there seems to have arisen no new fact in human nature to warrant doubt of its practicability now.

Speaking of the Hague conferences, one of the world's leading authorities in international law has recently written: "We are a long way from those conferences, and we have had a bitter experience in the interval; but we live in the same world—a world, after all, very like the world with which we began the century—and therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that when the waves of war have subsided, the nations will resume their labors at the point where they were interrupted in 1914. History is a continuous process, and sudden changes are usually short-

lived. Should this happen, the conferences of The Hague type will again come to honor." "The conferences themselves belong to history—their work is unaffected by subsequent events. They may, however, influence the future—a future which may perhaps be nearer at hand than we imagine."

In short, there is no apparent objection to the calling of such a conference, and there are many reasons why such a conference should be called.

AN AMERICAN, ARTICLE TEN

A STATEMENT that article ten of the covenant of the League of Nations can be phrased to meet the approval of American opinion will probably fall upon incredulous ears. That article provides that members of the League shall respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of threat or danger of such aggression the Council of the League advises what the other members of the League shall do. Mr. Wilson considered this the heart of the League. Our United States repudiated it. In practice the League does not consider the article seriously. If the Council were to advise Great Britain to furnish armies for the protection of the new boundaries in eastern Europe, Great Britain would refuse. If the United States were a member of the League, the United States would also refuse. The same thing is true of Canada, of South American States, China, Japan, and of any other State not now in alliance with France. Article ten is one of the dead letters of the covenant.

And yet it is quite possible to phrase this article in a manner acceptable to all the powers. It has been so phrased. Number thirty of the projects submitted by the American Institute of International Law to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, March 2, 1925, reads: "In

the future territorial acquisitions obtained by means of war or under the menace of war or in the presence of an armed force, to the detriment of any American Republic, shall not be lawful." Here is an article ten that requires no force to carry out its provisions. It contains no threat or danger. It requires no body of men to advise governments as to the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled. The only "sanction" required is the sanction not of action but of inaction. It is an article ten to which the United States could profitably subscribe, and without violation of any principle, constitutional or otherwise. It does violence to the avowed policy of no nation.

This article is no new thing. Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State in a letter of instruction to William Carmichael in 1790 said: "Conquest is not in our principles. It is inconsistent with our Government." Shortly after he wrote to William Short, saying: "If there be one principle more deeply rooted than any other in the mind of every American, it is that we should have nothing to do with conquest. Twenty-seven years later he wrote to M. Barbé Marbois: "I have much confidence that we shall proceed successfully for ages to come, and that, contrary to the principle of Montesquieu it will be seen that the larger the extent of country, the more firm its republican structure, if founded, not on conquest, but in principles of compact and equality." At the first international conference of the Americas at the beginning of the year 1890, the Secretary of State of the United States, James G. Blaine, was favorable to the principle that the right of conquest be excluded from the practice of the American Republics. Indeed, the conference officially recommended to the governments: "That the principle of conquest shall not, during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration, be recognized as

admissible under American public law." As Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, and a few days later as president of the American Institute of International Law, expressed himself as in accord with this principle.

Here again the work of the friends of peace seems clearly defined. It is to show how an American Article Ten can be made to heal some of the blows of sound pouring from our pits of difference.

AMERICAN INITIATIVE IN WORLD PEACE

THE fifth International Conference of American States, held at Santiago, Chile, in the spring of 1923, requested each government of the American Republics to appoint two delegates to constitute a Commission of Jurists for the codification of American international law. The Pan American Union has announced that these delegates are being duly appointed and that they will meet in the city of Rio de Janeiro, August 2, 1926.

When this congress of jurists meets, the delegates will be present under instructions from their governments. It is reasonable to suppose that these instructions will not be wholly unrelated to the thirty projects for the codification of public international law already drawn by the American Institute of International Law and submitted to the governments through the Governing Board of the Pan American Union. Projects for the codification of private international law are also under way. With these two sets of projects in hand, the governments will be greatly aided in instructing their delegates.

Here is American initiative of prime importance to every worker for international peace. The edition of the projects for the codification of public international law is already exhausted, and a new edition is about to appear. We have already called attention to the importance

of these projects. Under date of May 1, 1925, Mr. Elihu Root wrote to the Director-General of the Pan American Union as follows:

"MY DEAR MR. ROWE:

"I am obliged to you for sending me the copy of the draft codification prepared by the American Institute of International Law for the Commission of Jurists to meet at Rio de Janeiro. I think this will be very useful in two ways, first because the discussion of the present condition of international law has been going on so long that I think it has reached a point where further progress requires that something be put into print as a basis for further consideration. The other is that this draft has been the product of real and effective co-operation between representative men of North and South America and everything of that kind is very valuable as compared with mere talk."

That Mr. Root should approve this American initiative will surprise no one acquainted with his long and consistent interest in international affairs. When the third conference of the American Republics was held in Rio de Janeiro in the summer of 1906, upon the eve of the second Hague peace conference, Mr. Root, although burdened with his duties as Secretary of State, took the pains to go to Rio de Janeiro where he was made honorary president of the conference. Through Mr. Root's efforts, all of the American Republics were invited to the second Hague peace conference. At that conference in the capital of Brazil he recognized the dissimilarities between the States of this hemisphere, but he was quick to point out that we are all engaged under new conditions "free from the traditional forms and limitations of the Old World in working out the same problem of popular self-government. . . . The rule of law supersedes the rule of man. . . . The right tendency is not exceptional; it is continental. . . . Let us help each

other to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war." Referring to Mr. Root's address from which these sentences are taken, Mr. Ruy Barbosa, the Brazilian delegate to the second Hague conference said: "These words reverberate through the length and the breadth of our continent, as the American evangel of peace and justice." It was Mr. Root who led the commission of jurists meeting at The Hague in 1920 at the call of the League of Nations for a plan upon which to build a permanent court of international justice to recommend the calling of a third conference of the nations to take up the further codification of international law. It is with no disparagement of the efforts of the League of Nations, after a delay of four years, to take up the advancement of international law that we call attention to this distinctively American initiative. Of course the important thing is not that we should glorify the initiator. Glory is a mere incident. The vital matter is that men are finding time at last to think more in terms of the processes of peace and justice and less of the devastating method of force and ill-will.

THE ACADEMY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AT THE HAGUE

THE third session of the Academy of International Law at The Hague will be divided into two parts, the first period extending from July 13 to August 7, the second from August 10 to September 4. The meetings are held in the Palace of Peace. During the first period the lec-

tures will deal with the development and history of international law, public and private, administrative international law, commercial, economic, financial and penal international law, international organization and international jurisprudence, and American problems of international law. Similar subjects will be dealt with but by different instructors during the second period. During this second period there will be an additional course on international law affecting Asia and Africa.

At the first meeting of the Academy, 1923, there was organized the "*Association des Auditeurs et Anciens Auditeurs de l'Académie de Droit International de la Haye*." This association publishes a bulletin periodically, dealing with affairs of the Academy. The first of these bulletins appeared last February. There is about to appear another. Dr. James Brown Scott has been asked to write an introduction to this bulletin. We have obtained the consent of the author to print this illuminating statement. It reads:

"Recently, I received with astonishment and read with delight a *Bulletin* of the Association des Auditeurs et Anciens Auditeurs de l'Académie de Droit International de la Haye: astonishment, because it hardly seemed possible that the little seed planted but two years ago should already have taken root; delight, that the dream of years had assumed visible form and shape.

"The Hague Academy of International Law is not a building—brick and mortar have nothing to do with it. It is a demonstration that, separated into nations by artificial lines, the young men and women of all countries are one at heart, with the same hopes and aspirations, and that, coming together from some thirty different countries, they find themselves at home at The Hague in the pursuit of that justice which shall one day control the conduct of nations, as it already does the

conduct of the young men and the young women coming together in the Peace Palace to study its principles and to diffuse a knowledge of its rules.

"The Hague Academy is a further demonstration that however the practice of international law may vary in different countries because of local conditions, it is, in fact as well as in theory, one and indivisible; and professors of international law drawn from some sixteen or seventeen different countries likewise find themselves at home in The Hague, comparing their conceptions of international law, of international relations, and finding themselves one at heart, although outwardly there may be differences suggesting far-off countries and local conditions.

"In a word, The Hague Academy is the student body attending it and the professors imparting its principles, and, in fact if not in name, the Academy of International Law is three conferences: a conference of students coming from the four quarters of the globe, young men and young women who by contact learn that however much they may seem to differ, the difference is infinitesimal in comparison with the things which they have in common, and that above the nations is humanity; a conference of professors of international law, coming from many countries and leaving behind them their differences at The Hague; and a conference of students and professors, their elders showing what the past has been, the younger with a vision of the future and a hope for its realization. Yet the young men and women, and indeed the professors, are students; they all belong to the Association des Auditeurs et Anciens Auditeurs de l'Académie de Droit International de la Haye, of which the students are the active and the professors honorary members. This is as it should be—"Young men for action and old men for counsel." And one form of action of the young

men and women is the publication of this *Bulletin*, showing that there is an Academy of International Law at The Hague, listing its courses and professors, and furnishing prospective students with the information which they may need to enter into and to take possession of the promised land of international law."

THE PARIS EXPOSITION

THE International Exposition of Decorative and Applied Arts, was officially inaugurated in Paris, April 28, by President Doumergue, accompanied by the Ministers of Fine Arts, Commerce, Public Works, members of the Paris Municipality and other prominent Parisians.

France has made up her mind to show the world what she is able to produce in the fields of modern art, and to prove that she has lost nothing of her ancient mastery of good taste. All the nations participating have vied with each other to bring their very best to Paris. Pavilions of the great nations stand open, side by side, in a magnificent "roadway of nations" along the Seine, but America is not among them. The general aspect of the fair, which spreads from the Place de la Concorde alongside the Champ Elysées as far as the Grand Palais, then across the river to the famous Esplanade des Invalides, is a magnificent one, and there seems no doubt that those responsible for the scheme really have contributed something to the new history of art and architecture. Many faults may be found, but the general view of this city within a city makes a very fine picture.

It is interesting to note that the French Government has not contributed a single franc toward the thirteen millions spent so far, all the costs of the exposition being covered by the issue of a lottery bond loan, to which the public enthusiastically subscribed. The central situation, which places the fair within practical walking distance of the hotels in the center of Paris, ought to help considerably toward making it a financial success.

While twenty-one nations are exhibiting, France has done her utmost to pro-

duce an exceptionally high standard of exhibits of the greatest interest to visitors and nothing has been left undone to provide amusement of every variety. Special pavilions are devoted to French culinary art and French wines. A varied program of plays from different countries will be given at the theatre, including a number of plays in English.

ON APRIL 1, the stores of food provided by American donors for the feeding of children in Germany was, with the exception of a few insignificant remnants, completely used up. This marked the end of a foreign relief enterprise which, in point of volume as well as effect, must be regarded as one of the greatest feats of charitable welfare work.

During the five years ending on that date a total of about 687 million meals were furnished to applicants in all the various parts of Germany, an average of 500,000 meals on each feeding day. At certain times, as, for instance, last summer, the average number of meals per day rose to more than one million. In April there were still more than 800,000 persons benefited by the feeding. The February statistics show that the average number of participants was 810,000 in 2,352 different urban and rural communities. This number included 713,204 school children—a category which from the very start made up about 90 per cent of the participants, owing to the fact that they were particularly in need of nourishment and comparatively easy to reach. In addition, the feeding comprised small children from 1 to 6 years of age (74,251 in February), and juveniles from 14 to 18 years of age (5,398 in February). It will doubtless become necessary in the future to increase materially the care bestowed upon the last-mentioned age group, because the children who were born during the period of the worst suffering from the war will soon be gradually passing be-

yond the compulsory school age. Finally, the feeding was extended also to expectant and nursing mothers (17,228 in February), in due consideration of the fact that care for the upgrowing generation must begin prior to birth. Here is another evidence that our American people support no policy of selfish isolation.

THE TRUTH AND sympathy would remove every prospect of international war. Both of these are lacking in our attitude toward Russia. That great people are a constant source of anxiety. The ADVOCATE OF PEACE does not favor the recognition of the Soviet Union of Soviet Republics, for that is a political entity which contemplates the absorption within it of all other governments, including ours. Outside of this Union, however, there is no Russia with which we can have treaty relations. Neither truth nor sympathy can overcome this fact. One wonders what effect Russia is to have upon the future development of international relations. The British Home Secretary is satisfied of the existence in Europe of a definite effort to enforce communistic ideas and propaganda in every country, even by riot if necessary. French opinion is greatly angered over the activities of Soviet emissaries throughout France. Any attempts to control the traffic in arms are, of course, greatly embarrassed by the refusal of Russia to co-operate. President Calles of Mexico has felt it necessary to notify Russia that Mexico will not tolerate any interference in her national affairs, nor permit Russia to use her legation as an outpost to "turn the Americans into communists." But of course any reform of Russia must develop upon Russian initiative. We can afford to wait upon the truth, of which we seem to be powerfully ignorant. We can keep our sympathies on draft against the time when they can be profitably employed.

IT IS difficult for the larger nations to understand the attitude of the smaller powers toward problems of war and peace, yet the inhabitants of the smaller nations think and feel about the same as those of the larger. But naturally the smaller nations are quicker to see the incongruity of reserving to the powerful nations the unlimited use of armaments. The motives behind such a reservation are neither humanitarian nor disinterested. Thus, quite appropriately, *La Prensa*, N. Y., speaking editorially May 12, pointed out that those who want to cen-

tralize in a group of nations the power of producing and selling arms "do not sufficiently hide the fact that, in the last analysis, this would only be a vast scheme for exploiting the military necessities of weaker nations." Quite so. There is nothing more pathetic in our international life than the attempt on the part of the big powers to disguise this fact. We are inclined to agree, further, with this distinguished Spanish journal that the smaller nations are "much more liberal" than the greater powers with policies affecting domination and imperialism.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

GREAT BRITAIN RETURNS TO THE GOLD STANDARD

WINSTON CHURCHILL, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Baldwin cabinet, has scored a real triumph on the occasion of his presenting to Parliament his first budget. He made two announcements of far-reaching significance, one of which dealt with an internal financial problem, while the other was concerned with a world problem of the first magnitude. This second announcement signified Great Britain's return to the gold monetary basis.

British Money Now Exchangeable for Gold

The return to the gold basis in Great Britain comes after nearly eleven years of paper money. Prior to the war, Great Britain was a strongly entrenched gold-standard nation. Her currency was not only secured with gold, but it was redeemable in the precious metal, and there was a general freedom of gold export. In this manner, British currency was equivalent to gold in the settlement of international accounts, since the metal it represented could at any time be moved from Great

Britain to whatever country in which British bills might be held.

This situation underwent a change after the outbreak of the war. The exigencies of war finance made it necessary to give up the practice of gold redemption, and with it the freedom of gold exports. British currency during the past decade has fluctuated with various factors that determined the rates of exchange, rather than with the price of gold.

From now on Great Britain returns to the situation that existed before the war. By action of the Government, the Bank of England has been given a general license to export gold. The British gold reserves are at the present time equal to £153,000,000, besides a special fund of \$106,000,000 in gold, held for payments due to the United States.

New Insurance Scheme Announced

In the course of his Budget speech, Mr. Churchill announced a new insurance scheme, worked out by the Government. This scheme, which is to start next January, will cover, with the dependents of the workers, 70 per cent of the population.

To the present health insurance rates employers and employed would pay an additional fourpence for men and twopence for women, with further additions in the tenth, twentieth, and thirtieth year of the scheme. The State's liability capitalized had been estimated at £750,000,000.

Widows of all men under national health insurance who died after January 4, 1926, would receive 10s. a week for life, and for the eldest child 5s., and other children 3s. until they reached the age of 14. Old-age pensions would eventually be payable at 65 without a means limit.

From July next year the present restrictions and means tests on old-age pensions for insured persons at 70 is to be abolished.

Mr. Churchill paid full tribute to the expert committee which has been working out the actuarial basis of the scheme, not for this government but for any government that might happen to be in office when their work was completed. The scheme is, in fact, common ground among all the three parties.

Important Changes in Taxation

The Churchill Budget introduces the following important changes in the system of taxation:

Death duties on estates of from £12,500 to £800,000 are increased from one to six per cent.

Super-tax is reduced approximately to the same extent—so that the new relief and the new burden will cancel out. On the first £500 over £2,000 the rate is reduced to 9d. instead of 1s. 6d., and on the next £500 (to £3,000) to 1s. instead of 2s. Above £15,000 the rate is unchanged.

The standard rate of income tax is reduced from 4s. 6d. to 4s. in the pound.

Instead of one-tenth allowance on earned income the allowance is increased to one-sixth, and the maximum deduction for earned income is increased from £200 to £250. This concession thus applies to all incomes up to £1,500 a year.

Investment income pays as before, except that taxpayers of 65 or more with a total investment income of not more than

£500 will pay as if their income were earned.

A series of "duties on luxuries," which the Chancellor said might be called sumptuary duties since they were taxes no one need pay, are imposed:

Silk.—A revenue duty on a graded scale on all imports of silk, natural and artificial, and partly manufactured or manufactured. On the manufactured article the duty will be ad valorem; on others a specific duty, the basic rate being 4s. a pound upon raw silk.

Hops.—A protective duty of £4 a cwt. limited to four years.

McKenna Duties.—Every one of these is to be reimposed. The Chancellor hopes they will be in force on July 1. These duties cover imported kinema films, and (at the rate of 33½ per cent) motor cars and motor bicycles and parts and accessories, pianos, gramophones, and other musical instruments, clocks and watches.

Those preference concessions recommended by the Imperial Economic Conference which do not involve duties on food are adopted for ten years. Duties on dried fruits of all kinds are to be removed, the preference on Empire wines and tobaccos is to be increased, and the preference on Empire sugar is restored.

The Budget thus gives a sixpenny reduction in the standard rate of income tax and further notable relief on earned incomes of under £1,500 a year. Ninety per cent of income-tax payers have incomes under £1,000, and for these the total average relief amounts to 1s. in the pound on the standard rate.

Churchill's Defense of New Tariff Duties

The preliminary discussion of the Budget in the House of Commons centered around the protective duties proposed by Mr. Churchill, especially the McKenna Duties, imposed during the war, repealed last year by the Labor Government, and now re-imposed by the present Government. Replying to attacks by Labor and Liberal members, Mr. Churchill insisted that the re-imposition of the duties does not signify a profound change in the fiscal policy of the country. He said:

For the six months before the repeal of the duties the monthly average of imported clocks

was 177,000; for the six after the repeal the monthly average was 523,944. For gold watches the figures were:—Before, 10,476; after, 41,207; for silver watches—before, 17,000; after, 72,457; other watches—before, 174,075; after, 460,957. The figures for watch-cases were:—Gold—before, 29,461; after, 14,717; silver—before, 49,807; after, 33,124. Those figures showed that there had been an enormous increase in the foreign importation of the finished article and a noticeable decline in the importation of the parts, showing that the work of assembling had been done outside the country, which, under the duties, had been done inside the country. A new factory had been set up in Switzerland for the purpose of fitting parts of watches into the cases. These duties were now reimposed, with an ample majority and a full mandate and authority from the country, for purposes which were essential for the ordinary revenue of the year.

He thus argued that it is a grave mistake on the part of his opponents to raise the question of free trade and protection, since, in his opinion, those immense issues are not involved, one way or the other, by anything that may happen to the McKenna duties.

PRESIDENT HINDENBURG

THE second Presidential election in Germany, held on April 28, gave results that were strikingly different from those of the indecisive election of March 29. At the first election none of the numerous candidates received the requisite majority of votes. At the second election there were only three candidates in the field. The Nationalist and other conservative parties united in upholding the candidacy of Field Marshal von Hindenburg, while the liberal and republican parties supported former Chancellor Marx. The Communists persisted in maintaining the candidacy of their leader, Thälman.

The results of the election were as follows:

Hindenburg (Nationalist)	14,639,395
Marx (Republican)	13,752,642
Thälman (Communist)	1,931,951
Nationalist majority	886,753

About three million more electors voted than on March 29, and the majority of these extra votes seem to have been given to Hindenburg, who also captured the main portion of the women's vote.

First Statement of Policy

The new German President has so far shown himself very cautious in his attitude toward the problems that confront him. One of his first acts was the expression of a desire that the Cabinet headed by Chancellor Luther remain in office. He has also shown an inclination to interfere as little as possible in the conduct of national affairs, leaving the government of the country practically in the hands of the Chancellor.

Soon after the election, Chancellor Luther made an important political pronouncement in the form of an address before the German Association of Trade and Industry. After dealing at length with the prospective policy of the Government regarding the maintenance of stabilization, currency, taxation, revision of customs, tariff revaluation, depreciated paper mark claims, and all kinds of trade treaties with foreign countries, the Chancellor turned to make his eagerly awaited statement about the Government's intentions regarding foreign policy. Stripped of all qualifying phrases, the purport of Dr. Luther's speech was that the policy of the German Government will undergo no change as the result of the election of the new President. By the phrase "foreign policy" Dr. Luther's speech clearly showed that he was thinking mainly of the question of the Security Pact proposals.

Plea for Peaceable Understanding Among Nations

In the course of his address Chancellor Luther made the following striking plea for world peace and understanding:

If one were to summarise the whole international situation into one formula one might perhaps say that the nations of today are conscious of an ever-growing need to see that uncertainty and ambiguity are eliminated from their attitude to great political questions. Policy must unquestionably be dominated by law and continuity, and cannot be arbitrarily changed in direction. The

fact, for instance, that there exists any question about the evacuation of occupied German territory is not a sign of progress but rather a proof of what serious restrictions have still to be overcome.

For over three and a half months we have waited in vain for substantiated proof of the reasons given for non-evacuation. According to all appearances it has needed months of discussion in the inter-allied camp even to formulate the reproaches to be made against Germany. It is simply indefensible to subject any country to reprisals for alleged breaches of contract and at the same time to deny that country the possibility of defending itself against the charges and the possibility of impartial discussion. Notwithstanding this the German Government has not hesitated to contribute to the full extent of its powers to the solution of other outstanding European questions, and in particular that of the formation of a safety pact.

Germany neither desires nor is capable of engaging in war. No German statesman can neglect to promote endeavors to find a way by which existing tensions may be eliminated. Our attitude in this question is so clear and distinct that no doubt as to our intentions at any point should exist. It does not need to be said that the standpoint already taken by the German Government will remain unchanged. Neither German statesmen nor German industrialists will fail on their part to contribute towards united co-operation among nations for peaceable understanding.

Reactions in France and Great Britain

In France, Hindenburg's election was greeted with ironic gratification. The press has been almost unanimous in claiming that everything that has been said in France about Germany is now shown to be true, and everything France has done shown to be justified; the mask of a false democracy has been dropped and Germany's real and repulsive features are shown grinning with hate and lust for revenge against the simple minds and sentimentalists that had sought to put faith in her.

In Great Britain, on the other hand, it is pointed out that there is no reason to assume that the election need have any effect on, for instance, the present position of German disarmament and military control. All that the report of the

Versailles Committee needs is editing. This document shows certain German defaults, some important and some not, and endeavors are now being made to separate one class from the other and also to make demands from Germany which she can carry out.

It is considered in well-informed British quarters that the election of Hindenburg will not interfere in the least with the carrying out by the German Government of the engagements that it has already made.

THE SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

IN HIS report to the recent meeting of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets—which was a dress rehearsal for the Congress of Soviets now in session in Moscow—George Chicherin, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, devoted a considerable amount of attention to the question of recognition of Soviet Russia by the Government of the United States. He stated frankly that he does not expect recognition to come soon, in spite of the fact that at the present time the United States is the only great power that still refuses to take official cognizance of the government at Moscow. So far as the United States is concerned, the Soviet Government still finds itself “before an interrogation mark.” Chicherin followed this, however, with a very significant statement:

But in the meantime we have succeeded in establishing diplomatic relations with a neighbor of the United States, Mexico, which gives us a political base in the New World. The Soviet Republic is very popular in Mexico. Our plenipotentiary, Comrade Peotkovsky, has met in Mexico with a most enthusiastic reception, and receives constantly from all sides expressions of a most friendly, and even enthusiastic, attitude toward the Soviet Republic. Mexico thus affords us a very convenient political base in America for the establishment of further contacts.

Bid for Negotiations with the United States

What Chicherin means by “further contacts” is perfectly apparent from the portion of his speech which immediately precedes his declaration with regard to

Mexico. There he makes a definite bid for the inauguration of negotiations between the United States and Soviet Russia. He recalls the incident which took place in 1922, when the Harding Administration suggested the sending into Russia of a non-official commission for the purpose of studying at first hand the situation existing within the Soviet frontiers. The Soviet Government then refused to admit such a commission, unless the United States admitted a similar commission sent by the Soviets to investigate American conditions. At that point the whole attempt was dropped.

At the present time, according to Chicherin, the Soviet Foreign Office is in receipt of various bits of "semi-official" information, according to which the Coolidge administration has in contemplation the appointment of a commission of an entirely different sort. This time it will be a commission which will meet with delegates appointed by the Soviet Government for the purpose of conducting preliminary negotiations looking toward the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Chicherin hastens to state that all this is still in the realm of rumors. He does not commit himself to a definite acceptance of such a proposition; he says, "If we receive an official proposal, we shall have to see how it is formulated." Nevertheless, it is perfectly clear from his speech that the proposition would be thoroughly acceptable to Moscow. His dwelling upon it so prominently is, in fact, a very definite bid for just such a proposal.

It is obviously for the promoting of such an eventuality that the Soviet Government needs "further contacts" on the American Continent, for which Mexico is to be used as a political base. American recognition may not be immediately in sight, but the Soviet Foreign Office is determined to let slip no opportunity for its promotion.

The establishment of "contacts" from the Mexican base is one of these opportunities. But there is another one, which looms very large, indeed, in the development of the Soviet foreign policy. This one is concerned with the Far Eastern

situation, and here the Soviet leaders see a real opportunity in several directions.

Chicherin on the World Political Situation

At the beginning of his report Chicherin sketched a picture of the world political situation, as it concerns the Soviet foreign policy. Altogether he considers the position of Soviet Russia quite favorable, in spite of the reverses which resulted from the change of government in Great Britain. He finds very few elements in the international situation which are definitely hostile to Soviet Russia, and a good many which, by the force of circumstances, are definitely friendly.

Great Britain, in his estimation, is still the most important of the world powers, mainly because of the far-flung spread of her imperial frontiers. The importance of Great Britain, however, has undergone serious modifications since the war, because of the changes in the relations between Great Britain proper and the British Dominions. In these changed relations Chicherin perceives a great weakening of British world prestige. He characterizes these changed relations as follows:

At the present time the Dominions are determined that world policies should not be made without their participation. Yet their position in this regard is a very uncomfortable one so far as Great Britain is concerned. When Great Britain shows an inclination to draw them into her own affairs, they decline consultation. When Great Britain attempts to conduct her policy without them, they protest. In other words, they do not wish to assume any unnecessary commitments, yet to have their say in questions which interest them directly. And they hinder the British Government from drawing the Empire into questions in which they have no direct interest.

British Dominions Hostile to Soviet Russia

It is to this influence of the overseas dominions that Chicherin attributes very largely the sharp change of the British policy toward Soviet Russia after the last elections. He considers the Dominions much more hostile toward the Soviets than Great Britain proper. The question which interests the Dominions most of all is that of the world supremacy of the white races.

The Soviet policy, directed toward an equalization of the races, goes directly counter to the interests of the Dominions. Hence, according to Chicherin, the pressure of their influence making for a hostility between Great Britain and Soviet Russia.

This hostility found its expression in the sharp difference between the policies pursued by Ramsay Macdonald and by his successor, Austin Chamberlain, but even more so in the alleged attempt of Premier Baldwin's Secretary for Foreign Affairs to create a united European front against the Soviets, made soon after his accession to office, and accepted as a fact by Chicherin. Whether or not Chamberlain made the attempt attributed to him, the fact remains that no such front has been created. This Chicherin ascribes not to any change of heart on the part of the British Government, but rather to the fact that conditions on the continent of Europe are such as to militate against any open hostility toward Soviet Russia.

Russia and Europe's Continental Powers

Of the three important continental powers—France, Germany, and Italy—Chicherin considers France as bound more than the others to the British policy, but chafing under this condition. He finds French foreign policy fundamentally at variance with the British on practically all important questions, especially with regard to the Near East and to Soviet Russia. As far as the latter is concerned, Chicherin is convinced that France is eager to pursue an independent policy of friendly *rapprochement*, but is prevented from doing so by her financial dependence upon Great Britain and by her need of remaining on good terms with the other powers of the Entente for the sake of assuring the maintenance of the Treaty of Versailles. The best that she can do is to reject a policy of open hostility toward Soviet Russia.

The same is essentially true of Italy, which finds herself at odds with both Great Britain and France in the development of her imperialistic policy in the Mediterranean region, and finds it definitely to her advantage to avoid antagonizing Soviet Russia.

As for Germany, Chicherin is certain that she will never permit herself the luxury of open hostility toward Soviet Russia. He considers the crux of her present policy the establishment of her international position on a par with the Entente powers. And this dictates inevitably a policy of friendship with Russia: "One may be certain that, whatever agreements Germany may make with the Powers of the West, the German leaders will always recognize the need of securing their rear in the East."

These are the principal factors in the European situation, as they affect the Soviet foreign policy, from Chicherin's point of view. The smaller European powers are not important enough in themselves to make a serious difference. So far as Europe is concerned, therefore, Soviet diplomacy is quite content to follow the lines of watchful waiting, dealing with individual problems as they arise, centering principal attention there upon the present leisurely negotiations with France.

Russia's Problems in the Far East

Soviet Russia's really important problems lie elsewhere, and the focus of her diplomatic work is in other parts of the world. For the immediate future they are in the Far East, where she is determined to follow up the diplomatic successes she has achieved in the last few months in establishing diplomatic relations with China and Japan.

The negotiation and signing of the Russo-Japanese treaty is considered by the Soviet leaders as their greatest single achievement. Premier Rykov has characterized it as the largest asset in the balance-sheet of the Soviet foreign policy. Chicherin sees in it a circumstance of far-reaching significance.

Japan, according to Chicherin, finds herself today in an increasingly precarious international situation. Like the United States and Great Britain, Japan, in his view, is an essentially imperialistic power. But her imperialism is, of necessity, on a much smaller scale than that of the two great Anglo-Saxon powers. Japan labors under the additional handicap of being a racially colored nation. This brings her

into a more or less acute conflict with those nations, which are determined to maintain the world supremacy of the white race, especially in the Pacific. These nations are the United States and the British Dominions.

To Chicherin it is as clear as day that a color conflict in the region of the Pacific is not only possible, but really inevitable. In this conflict Japan will find herself pitted against the colossal strength and resources of the United States and the British Empire. He thinks that, as a matter of fact, the conflict has already begun. The resumption by Great Britain of the Singapore project, the Japanese exclusion policy of the United States, and the attitude of the Dominions toward the immigration features of the Geneva Protocol, are the manifestation of the impending conflict. Under these circumstances it would be sheer folly for Japan to permit herself to be surrounded by enemies on all sides. Hence the change in her relations with Soviet Russia, expressed in the agreements embodied in the recent treaty.

Implications of the Russo-Japanese Rapprochement

A *rapprochement* with Soviet Russia offers Japan the advantage of friendship with an essentially white power, which nevertheless pursues a policy of racial and color equality. It creates an alignment in Asia which may, perhaps, equalize the chances of a struggle at least in this part of the Pacific region. The great powers which have thus far practically dominated the situation there, now find themselves face to face with a new situation.

The position of these Powers is further strongly affected by what is going on in China. The Chinese turmoil of the past few years appears to Chicherin essentially as a struggle against interference and domination by the imperialistic powers; he considers it as one of the most gigantic factors in the history of the world.

In further analyzing the various factors inherent in these Far Eastern developments, Chicherin is inclined to see the beginning of an important rift in the hitherto united policies of the great powers, notably as between Great Britain

and the United States. He interprets Minister Schurman's recent speeches in Peking as indicating that the United States is gradually taking a position with regard to China fundamentally similar to that assumed by Soviet Russia, viz., that the existing international treaties binding China are incompatible with that country's independent development. The difference between the way out suggested by Minister Schurman and that urged upon the Chinese Government by the Soviet Ambassador, Karakhan, is one of method, not of principle.

Importance for the United States

Recognizing the fact that the United States has paramount interests in the Far East, Chicherin readily deduces from this proposition the idea that Washington cannot but be disturbed by the growing *rapprochement* between Soviet Russia and Japan. And being disturbed, Washington cannot help being forced into an abandonment of the present American position with regard to relations with Moscow. Chicherin argues, in effect, that, as far as the United States are concerned, the question of relations with Soviet Russia now becomes one of very practical politics. What, indeed, is the purely formal matter of recognition next to a growing menace to tangible American interests in the Far East inherent in the growing intimacy between Soviet Russia and Japan?

That is the crux of Chicherin's argument. In the light of this it is easy enough to understand why, in negotiating the treaty with Japan, Moscow had been willing to make very important concessions. Japan's compromise consists in renouncing her sovereignty over northern Sakhalin, in exchange, however, for far-reaching economic privileges there, which, after all, was precisely what she sought there when she originally occupied that part of the island. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, recognizing the validity of the Portsmouth treaty, made an extremely important concession, in exchange for nothing tangible. She did it because she was determined to have Japanese recognition at any price—principally for use elsewhere.

Through her diplomatic successes in dealing with China and Japan, Soviet Russia has projected herself into the Pacific situation as a factor of vastly greater importance than ever before. As an immediate result, this gives her, for the first time, what she considers a powerful weapon in the real part of her diplomatic game—her unceasing efforts to gain American recognition and establish diplomatic relations with the United States.

With Mexico as their political base for the establishment of "contacts" in the United States, and with their newly acquired prestige in the Far East as a direct weapon, the Soviet leaders are now entering upon what they consider as the last and the most important lap of their long struggle for world recognition—the admission by the Government of the United States of their government to a parity with itself.

REFORM OF THE ITALIAN CONSTITUTION

FOR some time past, a Commission of Eighteen created by Premier Mussolini, has been engaged upon the preparation of a scheme of reforms which are intended to introduce important changes into the Italian Constitution. The Commission has now concluded its preliminary studies, and its report is ready for presentation to the government.

Principal Changes Suggested

The reform of the Italian Constitution is not to be so radical as many intransigent Fascists had desired or so many Liberals had feared. Important innovations are to be introduced, but fortunately not of a restrictive character or such as to destroy the liberal spirit of the Constitution granted by King Charles Albert to his subjects 75 years ago.

The prestige and authority of the Crown will remain unaltered and the King's prerogative to nominate Senators for life will be maintained. The principal modifications affecting the Senate will consist in the power, hitherto reserved only to the elected Chamber, to present money bills in both Houses of Parliament. A vote adverse to the government in the

Lower House will not necessarily cause its downfall. The Prime Minister will be at liberty to go before the Senate, and in case of dissension between the two Houses he may convoke an assembly composed of Senators and Deputies, who will give their definite judgment on the policy of the government.

The question of votes of confidence has also been regulated in a way to prevent surprise attacks on the Cabinet or secret parliamentary manoeuvres to provoke a downfall. Not only is the government empowered to postpone the vote of confidence to a fixed date, but no such vote will have a real value unless it is the expression of the whole elected Chamber.

The Chamber of Deputies will be composed of 600 deputies, 300 of whom will be returned by "territorial colleges" and the remaining 300 by a system similar to that adopted in France for the election of Senators.

Proposed Ministry of National Defense

The Italian Government is devoting a great deal of attention to the idea of creating a special Ministry of National Defense, which will unite the Ministries of War, Navy and Air. At the present time, the work of both the War and Navy Ministries is directed by Premier Mussolini himself. His Minister of War, General di Giorgio, resigned early in April, while the Minister of the Navy, Grand Admiral Thaon di Reval, tendered his resignation at the beginning of May. Both portfolios were provisionally assumed by Signor Mussolini, pending the creation of a unified Ministry of National Defense.

The project of creating such a Ministry has been well received by the press, and the name of Marshal Cadorna is freely mentioned as the most likely first holder of the new office. The leading Fascist newspapers, headed by Signor Farinacci in the *Cremona Nuova*, urge that Signor Mussolini himself permanently assume the responsibility of War Minister, as they consider he is the only man who would be able to "Fascistizzare" the army. With Signor Mussolini as Minister, says the *Impero*, the military spirit of the nation would be intensified and the army and militia would be united.

Continued Criticism of Mussolini

In the meantime, Mussolini's opponents continue their bitter criticism of the Premier. For example, Senators Lusignoli and Albertini, in a recent session of the Senate, criticised bitterly the internal policy of the government.

The public liberties, said the former, had been suppressed, the Executive has gradually been taking the place of the legislature, and the freedom of the press was practically nonexistent. He went on to draw the attention of the Senate to the warning recently given to the editor of an opposition newspaper in Rome by the prefect of Rome because it had criticised and attacked the work of the government and of its chief.

Senator Albertini reviewed the events that had taken place since last January. The government, he said, had lost the confidence of the majority of Italians, and to prove his assertions informed the Senate of what happened at Reggio some time ago. One day a report reached Reggio that the Fascist Ministers had resigned and this led to manifestations of joy. Anxious people waited all night for confirmation of the rumor, which "unfortunately" never came. The case of Reggio is very typical, and represented, in Senator Albertini's view, the state of mind of practically the whole nation. If the country were to express its will freely there would be no doubt what the result would be. The majority of Italians read only opposition journals and when these were not available the many clandestine papers that are being circulated all over the country.

The Government, added Senator Albertini, was fully aware of this extraordinary situation, for Signor Mussolini himself, after having declared that he assumed the historical, moral, and political responsibility of all the acts of Fascism, had made it impossible for his opponents to criticise his assertions. If, said the Senator, the freedom of the press were restored, and if Parliament could really function without its members being subjected to continual threats, then the end of the Fascist Government would not be very far off.

Emigration a Serious Problem in Italy

Every year Italy is faced with the problem of providing for about half a million new inhabitants. The powers of absorption of the country itself are limited. Though very remarkable progress has been made in the field of industry, especially in the motor and artificial silk trades, during the last two years, the industrial development of the country is still backward and is almost entirely limited to the northern half of the peninsula.

From the beginning of the present century the fever for emigration had been spreading like a plague in Italy. It originated in the latter half of the 19th century in Liguria, and from there spread over the northern provinces, finally working south through Tuscany, the home of the traveling performers and the organ-grinders. Sicily, which succumbed to the disease in the end, only did so after a hard struggle, for its inhabitants were loth to exchange their native sunshine for the unknown hardships of American winters. It was not Naples, as is generally imagined, but the more backward districts of Apulia and Calabria, that provided the great masses when Italian emigration was at its height. Immediately after the war there was a great rush to emigrate to the United States. At the time there was a dearth of ships, and three old transports were used to herd about 90,000 emigrants over to the States. It was said that 250,000 were ready to go at that time had there only been ships to carry them.

Today the ships are available—the Italians have one of the finest fleets of emigrant-carrying liners in the world—but the doors are no longer open on this side of the water. The United States (which has the greatest Italian city in the world, in New York) has reduced the emigrant quota for Italy from 42,000 to 3,845; Canada, Brazil, and Australia have all adopted exclusive immigration policies. Australia, however, evidently has openings for Italians, as the number admitted last year was five times that of the preceding year. Even Argentina, which has received so many Italian emigrants with open arms, appears to have undergone a

labor crisis, and has consequently decided to admit only a carefully selected type of immigrant, giving the preference to skilled handicraftsmen and experienced agricultural laborers with families. In the first six months of 1924, 25,000 Italian immigrants were admitted into Argentina.

Of the 270,000 Italian emigrants who did not cross the ocean a very large number found employment in French territory, either at home or in Africa.

Emigration Policy of the Italian Government

The policy of the Italian Government at the moment is to do all in its power to favor emigration under suitable conditions. The strictest regulations are enforced in respect of emigrant-carrying ships sailing from Italian ports. An interesting novelty is the introduction of professional and technical courses specially designed to meet the requirements of the immigration laws in various countries; these make a point of encouraging the traditional craftsmanship of the various provinces and are already in operation at 46 centers. To aid them, and generally to educate and inform the inhabitants of the more remote districts upon the possibilities of emigration, traveling professorships have been instituted. Colonization schemes have been proposed for Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, and South Russia, among other regions. Actual experiments have been made in Argentina, Mexico and Canada (in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario). As yet no definite data as to their success seem to be available. To meet the inevitable financial difficulties the government has promoted the formation of a Credit Institute for Italian Work Abroad.

The great aim and ambition of the Italian emigration movement is to see the United States quota for Italy return to a high figure.

THE WORLD WHEAT BALANCE

FOR the next few weeks not only farmers and the grain market, but also all those who realize how much the price of bread depends upon the world balance between the supply and the de-

mand of wheat, will scan with unusual interest the reports of weather conditions in various parts of the world; for it is upon the weather of the coming few weeks that depends largely the grain situation which will confront the world during the next cereal year.

The current cereal year will end July 31, having begun August 1, 1924. During the remaining months of this period the world wheat supplies will be made up of the remainder of the 1924 crop in the Northern Hemisphere and of the 1924-25 crop below the Equator. After that the new crops of the Northern Hemisphere will come into play. For the cereal year which will begin August 1, 1925, there are two factors that hold particular interest: the outlook for the carry-over stocks from the current year, and the condition of the 1925 crops.

World Wheat Supply, 1924-25

Now that we have fairly accurate reports on the Southern Hemisphere crops, it is possible to make at least a rough approximation of the world wheat situation during the current cereal year. On the basis of calculations made by the International Institute of Agriculture and of other available data, it is possible to say that the apparent supply of wheat in the world almost exactly balances what is taken to be as the probable consumption during the year.

With the wheat production in the exporting countries of Europe more or less shot to pieces in 1924, the import requirements of the "deficiency" countries of the world are now supplied almost wholly by the five great "surplus" countries—the United States, Canada, Argentina, Australia and India. It is estimated that the total quantity of wheat in these five countries, available for consumption and export during the cereal year 1924-1925, is 1,990 million bushels, of which 139 millions represent stocks on hand on August 1, 1924. The amount required for consumption in these five countries during the twelve months under discussion is taken as 1,227 million bushels. This would leave 763 million bushels as the amount available for export between August 1, 1924, and July 31, 1925.

To this amount must be added 22 million bushels constituting the export surplus during the year of the other exporting countries. The total amount is probably somewhat larger than that, in view of the fact that the 1925 harvest in India, where wheat is harvested earlier than elsewhere in the Northern Hemisphere, may make a few more million bushels available for consumption in the "deficiency" countries, bringing the total up to somewhere around 800 million bushels.

Requirements of Importing Countries

What are the requirements which these supplies are expected to satisfy?

Figures are available for the production and imports of the "deficiency" countries during the past three cereal years. United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, France and Belgium are the principal importers of wheat. To a smaller extent, most of the other countries also import some wheat. Detailed figures exist for nineteen countries, and these figures show that the consumption of these countries was, between 1921 and 1924, on the average equal to 1,430 million bushels per cereal year. Of this amount, about 40 per cent represented imports, and 60 per cent, home production.

The production of these countries in 1924 amounted to 778 million bushels, which was considerably less than the average for the preceding three years. Assuming that the apparent consumption in these countries will not exceed during the current year the three-year average (which would bring it noticeably below the stocks available for consumption during the year 1923-24), the import requirements of these nineteen countries would be equal to 652 million bushels.

This is not all, however. There are other countries importing wheat. In 1923-24 these other countries purchased over 200 million bushels of wheat, though during the preceding two years their purchases averaged only 142 million bushels. The unusually heavy purchases last year were, undoubtedly, stimulated by the low price of wheat, and it is safe to assume that these other countries would scarcely bring their purchases this year to over the average for 1921-23. They must, besides,

have some stocks left over from the large purchases of last year.

Finally, there is Russia. During the year 1922-1923, she was exporting grain. This year she is importing it. Her requirements for the remainder of the current cereal year ought to be equal to no less than fifteen million bushels.

World Supply Balances World Demand

Bringing all these figures together, we find that the world import requirements for the current cereal year total about 810 million bushels. As we saw above, the amount available for the satisfaction of these requirements is somewhere around 800 million bushels. Allowing for errors in calculation and for some left-overs from the preceding year not taken into account in these figures, we find that the world supply of wheat very nearly balances the world demand.

It is a very close balance. It is close enough, probably, to keep the price of wheat for months to come somewhere around the general price index. It will be remembered that at the beginning of 1924 the price of wheat lagged considerably behind the general index, selling, in terms of other commodities, for actually less than it had fetched before the war. The peak reached in the sensational rise of wheat prices last winter carried them above the price index, while the no less sensational drop this spring brought them somewhat below the index.

So close, indeed, is the world wheat balance that there is scarcely any hope for considerable carry-over stocks at the termination of the current cereal year. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the next cereal year will start on August 1 with hardly any stocks of wheat left over from the current year.

Increase in Acreage of Winter Wheat

The outlook for the winter wheat so far can be judged principally in terms of the area sown last fall. On the whole, the winter wheat acreage is this year greater than it was last year, and considerably greater than the average for the preceding five years. There is, however, considerable variation from country to country, especially in Europe.

France and Italy, two of Europe's largest producers of winter wheat, report favorable conditions with regard to the acreage. Spain, on the other hand, another important producer of winter wheat, has a small decline of acreage, by comparison with the preceding year. Great Britain shows a considerable decline. Bulgaria and Rumania, also important wheat producers, show a slight decline of winter acreage by comparison with 1923-24, though the acreage reported still exceeds the average for the past five years.

In spite of this variety of conditions, the total winter wheat acreage in the Northern Hemisphere is estimated as about 3 per cent larger than it was last year. That being so, the really important factor in the situation is the probable yield per acre.

The year 1924 was very unfavorable from the point of view of the yield, except in Australia.

Europe, which in 1923 had a slightly larger yield per acre than before the war, dropped in 1924 to only 87 per cent of the pre-war yield. North America, with the 1923 yield practically equal to that before the war, declined in 1924 to about 96 per cent of the latter. Argentina, which in 1923 had an enormously larger yield than before the war, declined in 1924 to only 75 per cent of the 1923 figure, though the yield last year was still nearly 20 per cent above the pre-war. Australia alone showed an unqualified increase: her yield in 1923 was 11 per cent above the pre-war, while in 1924 it was 18 per cent above the 1923 figure.

Favorable Outlook for the Yield

Judging by the indications available just after the plants emerge from under the snow, the outlook for the yield of the winter wheat is favorable practically all over the world, with the sole important exception of Russia. There the situation is distinctly poor, because of the weather prevailing last winter. Elsewhere in Europe there is, so far, little reason for anxiety.

The spring weather in Europe has generally been reported as favorable, both to the growth of the winter plants and to the spring seeding. Early in the spring the

situation looked rather doubtful in the Danubian valley, but later on an abundance of rain there dispelled the doubts.

The outlook for the world balance of wheat for the next cereal year now depends almost entirely on weather conditions. There is no reason to believe that the acreage of spring planting will show any contraction by comparison with last year, and with the winter acreage actually in excess of the year before, the yield per acre is the crucial factor now.

The probabilities of large carry-over stocks at the end of the current year being what they are, it is the weather of the coming few weeks that will determine the world wheat balance for the cereal year 1925-26—so far, at least, as the production of the Northern Hemisphere is concerned.

World-wide Agricultural Census

The interest aroused by the recent fluctuation in the price of cereal grains has given a new emphasis to the need of better world-wide agricultural censuses, the idea of which has been under discussion for some time. In 1923 the International Statistical Institute recommended that all countries should undertake a periodical census of area and live stock—if possible, every five years, or, in any case, every ten years—and that this census should be taken simultaneously all over the world in 1930 or 1931, and thereafter every ten years. The International Institute of Agriculture at Rome in 1924 called attention to the great advantages which would result if a general census of agriculture could be taken throughout the world on a uniform plan and at the same time, the date suggested being 1930-31. The International Institute, however, carried the matter very much further by recommending that steps should be taken by its executive to induce different governments to adopt the proposal. It also directed that the question should be thoroughly investigated by the staff of the institute, with a view to the preparation of a considered plan which could be submitted in 1926 to a conference of experts nominated by the governments adhering to the institute. It was hoped by this means to bring the proposals in detail before the

officers who would actually be entrusted by their governments with the duty of carrying out the census, and thus to obtain some general agreement on broad principles beforehand. The proposals embodied in this considered plan, after revision by the conference, would then be submitted to the governments for adoption.

The International Agricultural Institute allocated a sum of 100,000 lire toward the cost of this investigation, and, in addition, the American organization known as the International Education Board has made a grant of \$50,000, spread over the five years 1925 to 1929, for the purpose of defraying the salary and expenses of a director and an assistant, who would take charge of the work to be undertaken by the institute and would aid in the promotion of a uniform agricultural census in 1930.

This work would in the first place, consist of an exhaustive study and analysis of census schedules now in use in different countries, and the preparation of a uniform census schedule, and would include also the preparation and publication in several languages of a lexicon of agricultural terms intended to prevent confusion in the use of agricultural terms in the classification. After the scheme had been prepared and submitted to the International Conference, the task would consist in encouraging governments which already take a decennial census to modify their schedules with a view to international uniformity, and more important still in inducing governments who had not hitherto taken a decennial census to do so for the first time in 1930 and to adopt the uniform schedule.

FRENCH AND BRITISH TAXATION

THERE is scarcely another problem connected with the international financial situation that arouses so much comment as the question of French taxation by comparison with other European countries, especially Great Britain. British statesmen, economists, and financiers are very fond of quoting comparative figures to show that French taxation is considerably lower than British. During the

existence of the Labor Government, its Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Snowden, was particularly fond of pointing out the difference.

A very interesting discussion of the question was recently contributed to the *London Times* by M. François-Marsal, Minister of Finance in the last Poincaré Government. The French statesman takes up the three principal arguments that are usually adduced to prove France lax in her taxation policies and disposes of them one after the other.

Increase of Taxation Since Before the War

The first argument is that while Great Britain has trebled her pre-war taxation, France has only doubled hers. On this point M. François-Marsal says:

It cannot be disputed that Great Britain has almost trebled her taxation since the war, and that we have only doubled our own. If we take the figure of 100 to represent taxation in 1913-1914, we get a coefficient of 262 for Great Britain in 1924 and 196 for France. But in comparisons of this sort everything depends on the point of view. In Great Britain the taxes raised by the State, together with fiscal monopolies, amounted to £163,029,000, as against a national income of £2,250,000,000 (*Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, July, 1919); that is to say, they represented 7.24 per cent of the national income. In France the same taxes amounted to 4,134,600,000*f.*, as against a national income of 35,870,000,000*f.*, or 11.52 per cent of the national income. It follows that at the beginning of the war Great Britain was less heavily taxed than France, and that consequently she was able more easily than we to accomplish the fiscal effort which the circumstances demanded.

Per Capita Burden of Taxation

The second argument is that the per capita burden of taxation is much heavier in Great Britain than it is in France. M. François-Marsal quotes a statement to this effect made by Mr. Snowden, and insists that such conclusions as those which Mr. Snowden arrives at need considerable qualification. He says:

Mr. Snowden has declared that the British taxpayer at present pays £15 18*s.* in taxes (against £3 11*s.* in 1914), while the French treasury only collects from the French tax-

payer £6 18s. (as against £3 7s. before the war). Conclusions of this sort undoubtedly depend on the method of calculation adopted. Professor Seligman, of the Columbia University, New York, has estimated in the *Political Science Quarterly* that the burden of taxation per head in the United Kingdom was \$96 58c. in 1922-23, and \$99 43c. in 1923-24, whereas in France it was respectively \$107 61c. and \$94 23c. In other words, according to this estimate, each British citizen paid an average of \$98 in taxes during the last two years, and each Frenchman \$100 92c. One sees how results may vary according to the author.

As a matter of fact, it is incomprehensible that so many persons, in making comparisons of this sort, forget to take into consideration first the incomes of Great Britain and France. It is surely clear that the average taxation per head of the population ought to be proportionate to the wealth of the country. Professor Seligman estimates the total gross income of the United Kingdom at 209 milliards of dollars, and that of France only at 106 milliards of dollars. For my own part, taking "actual incomes" as a basis, I think one may estimate the national income of Great Britain at £3,700,000,000 at the lowest estimate. The approximate national income of France may be obtained by multiplying the amount of the income in 1913-14 (35,870 millions of francs) by the coefficient of the depreciation of the franc (4), which brings it to 143 milliards of francs. It follows that, even without taking account of the present rate of the pound, but basing our calculations on the actual purchasing power of the two currencies, expressed by the average rate during 1923 (£1=68f.), the national income of Great Britain is twice as large as that of France. This is exactly the conclusion at which Professor Seligman arrives. If Mr. Snowden had taken this fact into consideration he certainly would not have come to the conclusion previously referred to; for, to ask the French taxpayer to pay, not £6 18s., but £15 18s., would be equivalent to making the British taxpayer pay at least £30, which would clearly be absurd.

Question of Income Tax

Closely allied with the question of the per capita burden of taxation is that of the income tax. On this point M. François-Marsal says:

It has been said and repeated that our general income tax in particular does not yield as much as in Great Britain. Yet we expect it to produce three milliards of francs in 1925. Granted that the national income of Great Britain is double that of France, the British supertax, to which our general income tax corresponds, ought by rights to produce six milliards of francs. Mr. Snowden reckoned the yield from supertax in 1925 at £65,000,000 which is considerably less than six milliards of francs, if one compares the two currencies, not by the rate of exchange, but by their respective purchasing power.

One must not forget that France is a country of average incomes, Great Britain one of large incomes. If the French fiscal system collected, as is the case in England, all the special direct taxes, such as tax on salaries, tax on profits from commerce and industry, tax on profits from agriculture, tax on invested income, etc., under one heading of "income tax," the comparison would be easier. But our direct taxes are scattered all over the place. For instance, the tax on income from investments comes under the heading of "registration." It should be noted that these direct taxes under special headings (*impôts cédulaires*), if allowance is made for the comparative wealth of the two countries, yield, altogether, as much as the British income tax (£150,000,000).

The writer further calls attention to the fundamental differences that exist between the British and the French systems of income tax, and to the difficulty of making any sort of comparison between the per capita tax burdens of the two countries, in view of the fact that Great Britain draws only one-fifth of her total revenue from income taxes, while France obtains in this way over one-third of her total receipts.

Fiscal Fraud and Tax Evasion

Lastly, M. François-Marsal takes up the question of fiscal fraud and tax evasion in France. He denies that this is a serious matter in France:

If there really were much evasion of taxation in France, how can one explain the fact that the yield of our taxes in 1924 largely exceeded the estimates? Our fiscal system is certainly more complicated than the British, but none the less, it makes deception

very difficult, if not impossible. All salaries, all payments or commissions for services, have to be declared; all investments have to be registered. The system has become so personal that it is impossible for fraud to assume very large proportions.

In conclusion, the French statesman mentions what he considers perhaps the most important difference between taxation in Great Britain and in France. In the former, the taxpayer has the satisfaction of seeing his contributions go toward a reduction of the national debt, while in the latter the sacrifices made by the taxpayers have gone into expenditures which should have been covered by payments from Germany, with the result that the national debt has been increasing, rather than diminishing.

RULE BY DECREE IN EGYPT

EGYPT has just established the world's shortest Parliament duration record. The new Chamber of Deputies, elected after the dissolution of the Parliament which sat at the time of the assassination of the Sirdar, was opened by King Fuad on the morning of March 23. The Parliament was dissolved and a new election ordered less than ten hours after the official opening of the chamber.

Speech from the Throne

The speech from the throne, with which King Fuad opened the Parliament, expressed the deepest regret for the assassination of Sir Lee Stack. It explained how Ziwar Pasha's first cabinet made efforts to alleviate the effects of the consequent British ultimatum, and declared that the present cabinet desired to return to the situation as it existed before the ultimatum by cultivating a good understanding with Great Britain and other powers. The speech added that when normal conditions were re-established the cabinet would work by means of negotiation for the complete independence of Egypt and the Sudan, trusting in the justice of the rights of Egypt, and would endeavor to wipe out the past, and discuss questions outstanding with the powers in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, but with the firm intention to safeguard the rights

of Egypt, which no government and no generation was entitled to alienate.

The swearing in of deputies followed, after Mazlum Pasha, president of the former chamber, had taken the chair as oldest member. Then followed a discussion as to the election of the president and the other officers.

Dissolution of the Parliament

The Wafd Party, which was in complete control of the last Parliament, but was believed to be in the minority in the new one, pressed the candidacy of its leader, Saad Zaghlul Pasha, for the presidency of the chamber. The election, which was by ballot, took about an hour and a half, and then, amid much excitement, it was announced that Zaghlul Pasha had been elected by 125 votes to 85. The Wafdist leader received an ovation when he ascended the presidential tribune, and in his speech of thanks said that he regarded his election as showing that the country confided in him.

The election of Zaghlul Pasha immediately precipitated a serious crisis. The former Prime Minister, who is a thoroughly irreconcilable opponent of the British policies in Egypt and the chief protagonist of complete independence for Egypt, was forced out of office because of the crisis over the British ultimatum in connection with the assassination of the Sirdar. His return to power, even in the office of the president of the chamber, placed the Egyptian Government in an entirely untenable position, so far as its relations with Great Britain were concerned.

The chamber followed the election of Zaghlul with the election of two other Wafdists as vice-presidents of the chamber. When these elections were completed, Ziwar Pasha, the Prime Minister, entered the House and announced that the cabinet had tendered its resignation to the King, but that His Majesty had declined to accept it. Accordingly the cabinet, on the King's insistence, had withdrawn its resignation, but had advised a dissolution; whereupon Ziwar Pasha proceeded to read the royal rescript dissolving the chamber and ordering a fresh election, to be held on May 23, and the new Parliament to meet on June 1.

New Electoral Law

Since then, however, the date of new elections has been pushed forward indefinitely by the decision of the government to inaugurate a new electoral law. A special commission has been appointed to work out a draft law, the purpose of which is to curtail the franchise sufficiently to give the government in a new election a complete victory over Zaghlul and his party. In the meantime Egypt is being governed by decree.

RE-AWAKENED GREECE

COMPETENT observers, commenting on the present situation in Greece, are unanimous in noting tremendous changes which have taken place there in the last two years. The colossal debacle of 1922 shattered completely the high-pitched pretensions which actuated the Greeks since the end of the war. Thrown back upon itself, the country settled down to the difficult and prosaic task of bringing order out of chaos, and in this it seems to be quite successful.

Influence Wielded by Refugees

The refugees, as a group, seem to dominate the situation. After their fearful sufferings and privations, they now inject energy into the life of the country. The correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* notes, for example, the changes that have taken place in the city of Athens, under the influence of the influx of refugees.

Into the city of Athens itself, he says, there has pushed a body of active and energetic citizens whose one aim is to carry out their trades and professions as profitably as possible. All along the pavements of the streets near the Bourse and Omionia Square rows of money-changers have their tables; where before there were three or four only there are now a hundred. Countless rickety wooden shops line the streets of lower Athens where there were none before. In them the refugees sell to the Athenians, to each other, and to the stranger any of the curious oddments of the small "dry goods" type that are the delight of every Greek to sell and to buy. Thus the population of Athens itself has

increased from some 250,000 to about 500,000.

The richer refugees, who are lawyers, shipowners, or stockbrokers, now add to and increase the competition in their pursuits. The original Athenian is on his mettle, and has to work harder than he has ever worked before. The leisurely days of King Constantine, when sudden windfalls from a fluctuating exchange saved months of regular labor, are over; the happy times when men dreamed of Saint Sophia and sent an army to take it that was inadequately armed and incompetently led have vanished before the stern realities of the necessities of earning an honest living. In politics Ministers no longer look upon office as a means of acquiring a fortune rapidly and then retiring with dignity as the Government fell. The men in power now are hard-bitten administrators who simply want to get things done.

Democracy and Reconstruction Are the Watchwords

What impresses one most is that Greece at last has a real democracy. The Republic is a reality because the Greeks are now all realists. The old idealism is dead. Greece is now a country with a future, and that future is not the mirage of minarets and Golden Horn that was the drop-scene of every Greek political drama of the old days, but the very present and palpable mass of vigorous refugees that throng the streets and demand to be made good citizens of Greece. To see the old Palace in Constitution Square with refugees' washing hanging in its windows, to see the Opera filled with Anatolian peasants and the King's stables now swarming with families from the Bosphorus is to realize most forcibly that the old politics are as dead as a door nail.

For three years now the Greek Government has struggled to cope with an almost overwhelming situation, but now the corner is turned. Thanks to the continuous and devoted help of British and American institutions (the other Powers are not prominent), the task of the Government has been lightened. But the bulk of the reconstruction has been done by Greeks themselves. Yet much remains to be done. Athens is

beginning now to stretch over the whole of the Athenian plain from Hymettus to Piræus, and outlying townships like Kephisia are already mere suburbs of the city. New buildings are rising at every turn. No city in Europe, perhaps, is building so much or so fast.

Politics Pushed into the Background

The Athens correspondent of the *London Times* is impressed particularly by the fact that politics seem to be pushed almost completely into the background. He notes that whereas in the past every Greek of every class appeared to have only one subject of conversation—namely, party politics—the average citizen is now frankly bored by the topic and prefers to discuss the possibilities of agricultural or industrial development. Again, social relations between Venizelists and Royalists are becoming more normal, and the days when a foreign hostess, before making up a dinner-party, had to learn the political sympathies of those whom she proposed to invite, and when even kinsfolk who had espoused different causes “cut” one another in public, are gone, one hopes never to return.

Royalism is by no means dead, especially in the Peloponnese, but an important section of moderate Royalists, led by Colonel Metaxas, seems disposed to accept the Republic and to cooperate politically with the more moderate Venizelists; and other Royalist groups, though their organs indulge in much violent and sterile criticism of the existing *regime*, seem divided as to the policy which should be adopted in the coming elections. The average Greek voter outside the Peloponnese has been fickle enough, but, though he often says that the Royalist *regime* was less corrupt than some of its first successors, he does not forget the blunders that led to the Asiatic disaster of 1922, and, since he knows that a bloodless restoration is impossible, it is not likely, even if he votes Royalist next time, actively to support a movement in favor of King George II.

The more Radical Republicans of the Democratic Union, led by M. Papanastasiou, whom his enemies describe as a semi-Communist and his friends as an advanced thinker, seem inclined to co-

quette with Communism, but many of their leader's former *bourgeois* supporters have ceased to admire his tactics.

The Democratic Union forms the most important fraction of the Parliamentary Opposition. The present Government is based on a coalition of the Conservative Democrats, led by the Prime Minister, M. Michalakopoulos; the Progressive Liberals, who follow M. Kaphandaris; and the National Democrats, whose chief is the Home Minister, Colonel Kondylis. It is not easy for a foreigner to discern any difference in the principles and programs of the first two groups. Both are eminently pacific.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONTROVERSY IN CANADA

THE Canadian Parliament has before it a proposition recently sponsored by an influential group of its members, which represents an important constitutional controversy in the country. It has found expression in a proposal made by Mr. W. F. Maclean, who has the distinction of having represented a Canadian constituency longer than any other member of the House of Commons, to demand from the Parliament in London an amendment of the British North America Act, whereby the sole right to alter the Constitution of Canada, which has remained unchanged for half a century, would be vested solely in the Canadian Parliament. Under the present arrangement, such changes must be sanctioned from London.

Principal Arguments Advanced

The supporters of the movement which advocates this change argue substantially that Canada is an equal nation under the Crown, that there is no more reason to ask the sanction of the Parliament in London for changes in the Canadian Constitution than there would be for the Parliament in London to refer proposals affecting the Constitution of the United Kingdom to Canada or the other Dominions, and that the clauses in the British North America Act making the assent of the British Parliament a condition of alterations in the

Canadian Constitution are a confession of dependence and inequality.

Those behind the agitation are also among the chief advocates of the proposal to have a Canadian Ambassador in Washington and Canadian Ministers in other foreign capitals. They call for separate representation for the Dominions in the League of Nations. They take an aloof position as regards responsibilities in Europe, and insist that no British treaty shall be recognized by Canada unless Canada is directly represented in the negotiation and there is subsequent ratification by the Canadian Parliament.

Among the active leaders in this movement are Sir Clifford Sifton, Mr. John S. Ewart, K. C., Mr. T. A. Crerar, former leader of the Progressives, and Mr. Maclean. The chief organs of the movement are the *Daily Star*, of Toronto, and the *Manitoba Free Press*, of Winnipeg.

The More Extreme View

Sir Clifford Sifton and Mr. Ewart, who perhaps go farther than some of their associates, argue that in negotiations between Great Britain and foreign countries in which Canada has no direct interest she should refuse participation, and in case of war deny responsibility. In a speech delivered only a few weeks ago Sir Clifford Sifton said:

With regard to this question of participation in international conferences on peace and war, it is perfectly clear that if we repudiate naval and military responsibility for the foreign policy of Great Britain, as we unquestionably do and have done for 50 years, we have no right whatever to ask to be represented. There is not, in my judgment, the faintest possibility that the Canadian people will ever authorize their Government to adopt any different policy. If so, on what ground are we talking about adequate consultation and representation at peace conferences? We do not intend to pay the piper. What right have we to call the tune?

As for the right of Canada to amend the British North America Act, he argued that the Act had been amended by judicial decision and by administrative practice, it was not now the Act adopted by the Fathers of Confederation, and if further amendment was required it should

not be necessary to go to the Parliament in London for sanction or ratification, because this condition made it more difficult to secure changes in the Constitution, which should require no other support or authority than the will and decision of the Canadian Parliament and the Canadian people.

Distribution of Powers Between Provinces and Parliament

The opponents of the movement argue that the whole question is really not one between Great Britain and the Dominion Parliament, but rather between the Parliament and the Provinces. In the course of the debate on Mr. Maclean's resolution, one of the speakers, Mr. Lapointe, said:

The question is not and cannot be, one between Great Britain and Canada. It might be a difficulty between this Parliament and the Provinces if there is any conflict in that regard.

Under the British North America Act there is a definite distribution of powers between the Provinces and the Dominion. It was not intended to recognize State Rights as they exist under the American Constitution, nor yet to give such absolute powers to the Central Government as are provided under the Constitution of South Africa. There was the intention to create a strong Central Government, with a definite recognition of the rights of minorities, but without dependence upon the Provinces and without any declaration or understanding that undefined powers should be exercised by the Provincial Governments. Judicial decision and administrative practice have perhaps enlarged the powers of the Provinces, but it is doubtful if that was anticipated by the makers of the Constitution.

It appeared quite clear from the debate that at least some of the Provinces, especially the Catholic ones, which would inevitably find themselves in a minority in the Dominion Parliament, will resist any proposal to vest in the Central Parliament any independent power to amend the Constitution, and that the Imperial guarantees of the rights of minorities embodied in the British North America Act will not be lightly abandoned by them.

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DATES

April 16 to May 15

- April 16—One hundred and forty persons are killed in the bomb outrage in the Sveta Nedelia Cathedral, Sophia, during the funeral service of General Georgieff.
- April 23—Important commercial and arbitration treaties between Poland and Czechoslovakia are signed at Warsaw.
- April 26—Field-Marshal von Hindenburg is elected President of Germany.
- April 28—England returns to the gold standard, as announced by Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
- April 29—Field-Marshal von Hindenburg formally declares his willingness to accept his election to the Presidency of Germany.
- April 30—M. Caillaux announces his purpose to devise a plan which will mean the financial rehabilitation of France.
- May 3—Jon Jose Gabino Villanueva and Dr. Abdon Saavedra are elected President and Vice-President of Bolivia, respectively.
- May 4—Mr. Alanson B. Houghton delivers an important address on American foreign policy at the Pilgrims' dinner in London.
The International Conference on the Traffic in Arms convenes in Geneva.
- May 5—Universal manhood suffrage is formally proclaimed in Japan.
- May 6—It is announced that no successor will be appointed to Sun Yat-Sen, but that a commission, including Yunnanese and other representative generals and one Communist, will carry on the Chinese Government.
- May 9—The World Advertising Convention opens in Houston, Texas.
- May 12—Field-Marshal Paul von Hindenburg takes the oath of office

as President of the German Republic.

- May 13—Leon Trotsky, deposed head of the Soviet army, is slated for membership in the Soviet Cabinet.

COMING CONFERENCES, 1925

July 12-September 4—Academy of International Law. The Hague. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.)

July 20-28—World Federation of Education Associations. Edinburgh, Scotland. (Augustus C. Thomas, Augusta, Maine.)

July 23-Aug. 22—Institute of Politics, Williamstown, Mass. (W. W. McLaren, Williamstown, Mass.)

July 29—Institute of International Law, The Hague.

August 1-31—Summer Conference on Economic, Political, Racial and International Problems, under the auspices of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order. Olivet, Mich. (Kirby Page, 311 Division Ave., Hasbrouck Heights, N. J.)

August 9-30—Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, Stockholm, Sweden. (Secretary, 70 Fifth Ave., N. Y.)

August 11-16—International Catholic Conference, Oxford, England. On "Race and Nationality in the Christian Moral."

August 19-September 1—Furman Institute of Politics, Greenville, S. C. (Furman University, Greenville, S. C.)

August 24-28—Child Welfare Congress, Geneva. ("Save the Children" Fund.)

Two Summer schools of the International Federation of Trade Unions. (1) At Brunnsvik. (2) At Prague. (31 Tesselshadestr, Amsterdam.)

September—Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations, Geneva.

September 7-11—National Conference on Science of Politics, under joint auspices of Columbia University and National Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, New York City. (Raymond Moley, Columbia Univ., N. Y.)

October 1-16—Interparliamentary Union, 23d Annual Conference, Washington, D. C., New York, N. Y., and Canada. (Ar-

thur D. Call, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.)

October 1-13—International Schools, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Glücksburg, Germany. (Gertude Baer, Kneesbeckstr. 56, 11., Berlin W, 15.)

(?) Twenty-fourth International Peace Congress, Paris, France. (H. Golay Bureau International de la Paix, Geneva, Switzerland.)

November 11—International Peace Conference, San Francisco, Calif. (David Starr Jordan, Stanford University, Calif.)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW*

By CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

REVIEWING the indications of progress toward the permanent prevalence of peace, in his Nobel Prize Address, Mr. Root concluded that, "taken all in all, the clear and persistent tendencies of a slowly developing civilization justify cheerful hope." The outbreak of the war prevented the delivery of that address and apparently gave denial to that hope. In the presence of the catastrophe, it seemed that eloquent addresses, the activities of peace organizations, and even the achievements of the conferences of the nations, had merely fostered an illusion in generous minds which were now forced to face realities. We then sought comfort in the fancy of a war to end war, in the prospect of a spiritual awakening which was to follow the orgy of strife constantly gaining momentum from hate and enlisting every talent and resource for the processes of destruction. But we have come to realize that war is not to be ended by war, that the seeds of another conflict have been plentifully sown, and that the spirit of man emerged from the fire of the struggle still unpurified, more restless if not more passionate, and less amenable to restraint. In both individual and national life the only welcome gospel seems to be that of self-determination. Yet the cheerful hope that Mr. Root expressed rests on the deepest conviction of man-

kind, that, despite all setbacks and however slow, there is a forward movement which ultimately will bring us to the paths of peace. It is not for us to doubt, but to consider how we may do our part.

The Friendly Hand

One thing stands out clearly, that we should have a friendly hospitality for every suggestion intended to be helpful. The zeal of enthusiasts, with their facile production of peace plans, may try our patience. The saying that a pessimist is one who has just left an optimist is especially apt when we consider the manifold proposals of apostles of peace who take account of everything but the difficulties. But we should not allow our distaste to enfeeble our will. We must not fail to remember that no progress can be had unless we have an atmosphere of endeavor and a disposition which lifts us above capitiousness. We need the co-operation of all citizens in seeking to curb passion and to form intelligent judgments, of those of professional training and special knowledge in giving a sound critique, and pre-eminently of those in charge of the foreign policies of government in making way for the victories of reasonableness. It should be understood by this time that no one formula will suffice. There are some who are so intent on law that they are impatient of the necessary expedients of statesmen, and those who take account of immediate political exigencies are prone to turn away from what they may think to be barren juristic concepts. The truth is that every resource of accommodation should be conserved. We must continue the search for all practicable methods of settling existing disputes, of preventing the development of grievances, of ending

* This address, by Charles Evans Hughes, President of the American Society of International Law, was delivered at the annual meeting of the Society held at the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., Thursday, April 23, 1925, at 8:30 o'clock. In our judgment, it is Mr. Hughes' outstanding contribution to right thinking on the problems of war and peace. In frankness, we are led to go further and to confess that we know of no other utterance better calculated to clarify the issues at the basis of any international peace through justice.—THE EDITOR.

estrangements. We need the constant and kindly pressure of conciliatory suggestions. We realize that we must reckon not merely with differences, but with apprehensions, with deep-seated resentments, with the demands for immediate security which plans for remote benefits cannot adequately meet. To these ends many sorts of arrangements may be adapted and we should not look askance at them if they are likely to help troubled peoples to peace of mind and will not make more trouble than they cure.

What is International Law?

It is in this spirit that we consider the development of international law, not as an exclusive or all-sufficient remedy, but as an important means of correcting the evils that afflict us. And then this development is our especial concern. There is always the short view and the long view. Temporary expedients, patching up difficulties, arranging for mutual aid against aggression, may be of advantage, but we should seek not simply recovery from a distemper, or to prevent its spread, but an international hygiene—wholesome habits of international life. In dealing with international law we are considering nothing that is merely formal, still less what can be imposed, but the growth of civilization itself. The causes of war lie deeper than any particular grievance. They are to be found wherever there is appeal to the old human instinct, to the desire to survive, to make one's life secure, to get the start of one's enemy, to avenge insult, to seek aggrandizement, to establish mastery. In national life, this self-assertion has been modified by the acquired recognition of the advantages of stability and regulated intercourse, of the incompatibility of violence with social welfare; but the tendency to revolution and civil war in many lands and the sporadic outbreaks which occur from time to time among our own people show how imperfect the recognition still is and how dependent we are for permanent results upon the gradual lifting up of communities and peoples to the conception of the larger gains of co-operative effort. When we consider the disposition to violence within nations, it is not surprising that the progress toward

international peace has been so slight. But it is precisely because we are dealing with civilization itself, which is nothing less than progressive self-restraint and an increasing capacity for co-operation to ensure the enrichment of the individual life, that we attach the greatest importance to the development of international law which may be deemed to be a record of the judgments of the conscience of mankind.

There has been much futile discussion of the question whether international law is properly law at all—a discussion which begins and ends with the definition of law. It is clear that the obligations of international law are accepted, not imposed by external will. It consists of those principles and rules which civilized States have agreed shall be binding upon them in their dealings with each other. Instead of this sort of law, the accepted, not imposed, principle or rule, being outside of the proper conception of law, it is rather the normal and the most permanent. In customary law, it reflects the common or predominant judgment of the social need or convenience. Even legislation is successful in proportion to the extent that it proceeds from the general appreciation of social requirements. The notion of law as imposed and maintained by force may have its advantage in dealing with a small minority of infringers, but in the long run this notion derogates from its authority and counts for much of the natural revolt against legalistic conceptions. These are thought to be devices to bind life with unnecessary fetters. Obedience to municipal law, with the intelligent patriot, finds its motive not in yielding to force, but in the recognition of the law as the expression of the democratic will through representative institutions. Taking the long view, it may not be regarded as a defect or a misfortune that we escape the notion of the impositions of force in the field of international law. It makes for peace because it is accepted and is farthest removed from arbitrariness. Its gradual extension marks a gain that is not merely temporary or illusory, but genuine progress, and hence the effort to promote the reign of law, as accepted, not imposed, may be after all the most important contribution to permanent peace.

The Peace of Justice

This thought carries with it the consideration that it is not correct, and certainly is not adequate, to speak of peace, or the mere absence of war, as our ultimate goal. We wish to have the peace, not of the lowest forms of life, but of the highest, with its inescapable longings and strivings. Peace is but an opportunity, and our chief concern is justice. We cannot forget, on this three hundredth anniversary of his epoch-making book, that it was justice that was the preoccupation of Grotius. It was selfish, aggressive war that he condemned, not war to defend the right or to punish a guilty State. We seek justice through peace, the peace which rests on justice, the assurances afforded by the peaceable methods made possible by the instrumentalities of justice. Of course, we are well aware that justice is a varying concept; that standards change from age to age, differ in different communities and nations, and are constantly blurred by national interests; that there may be vain repetitions of the word or incantations which benumb the intellect; that, while justice in the abstract is a pleasing ideal, when sought in the concrete it is apt to lack definition because of conflict of opinion. The point is, that, despite all this, there is much common ground, and that the endeavor to find it with respect to international relations, and to give it appropriate definition when found, is the development of international law. Moreover, as we reflect upon the disappointments of the past, the varying moods of peoples, the easy growth of national ambitions whenever opportunity offers, we must realize that in seeking the development of international law we are interested not simply in recorded results, but in the process itself. Close attention to the reports of the conscience of nations, the effort to record its judgments, the endeavor to secure discussion of the principles and rules demanded by the sense of justice in the international sphere, may well be the sort of training which the world needs most.

As to the Nature of Sanctions

It is difficult to escape the illusions of force and it is natural that, after the unprecedented organization of force in the

World War and the victory achieved by a concert of arms, the imagination of many should be fascinated with the idea of the sanctions of force and an enforced peace. Such plans may be practicable where they are least needed. When obligations have been assumed voluntarily, when the infraction of agreement or of the accepted rule of law has been judicially declared by authority acknowledged to be competent and impartial, there is the least need of force to carry out decisions, as the progress of civilization has brought us to the point where defiance of such judgments will be rare indeed, because they are supported by the overwhelming opinion of mankind. Civilized nations which make agreements and accept obligations of the declared law are not disposed to court a general censure through breach of their undertaking. But there lies the area of conflicting policies and interests which are outside the definition of accepted obligations, and when the sanctions of force are sought with respect to this class of conflicts they are most difficult to apply. No one would profess to favor aggressive and unjust war, but the difficulty has been to define aggression. Progress has been made by emphasizing the thought that war begun after refusal to submit a justiciable controversy to appropriate determination is an aggressive war. But what of controversies that are of a different sort, that lie beyond the range of the application of treaties and the accepted principles and rules of the law? It may be easy to say that in such matters aggression shall consist of defiance of the will or judgment of a group of other Powers. It might be difficult, however, to make such an arrangement work even if assent to it could initially be obtained. When the question in issue does not grow out of specific agreements or involve the breach of the accepted obligations of the law, when there is a conflict within the sphere of policy, the concert of Powers which makes possible the contemplated sanctions of force is not likely to be had. Small Powers, if their cases present minor or isolated interests, may be disciplined. But major problems and the interests which give rise to them divide not only the Powers immediately concerned, but other Powers, according to their conceptions, not of law, but of national advantage;

not of principle, but of expediency. The notion that great Powers with conflicting interests may be disciplined in this way would seem to be a chimera. If any group of Powers may be privileged to decide as to such conflicts, understandings will inevitably be sought in order to afford protection against the day of decision, and we return to the old instinctive process of self-protection through balance of power. While, as I have said, no one should decry any sincere effort to promote peace or any partial or regional arrangements to that end which do not interfere with the proper concerns of others, it would not seem to be conducive in the long run to the interests of peace to promote trust in force or to center attention on the remedies of force which are likely to prove illusory when the test comes. If, as often emphasized, what is needed is the cultivation of the habit of peace, how is the habit to be formed? Contemplate our relations to our great neighbor on the north. We have had bitterness and war; we grew to nationhood in an atmosphere of strife. But we have learned to forget the possibility of war and we now illustrate most happily the psychology of peace. We have not been thinking in terms of the sanctions of force, but of agreement; of the perpetuity of friendly relations not demanded by others, but insisted upon by the judgment of both peoples. We have achieved this habit by long years of training, through the use of the instrumentalities of peace. As we contemplate the disturbed conditions of the world, we see the need of re-enforcing these instrumentalities by directing the thought of nations to the facilities of accord, and especially to the obligations of law, not imposed, but expressed in principles and rules accepted by voluntary action. Ultimately the hope of small States, the best guarantee of the independence of small States, will be found in the development of the law. Its field may be limited and many sources of conflict may lie outside of it, but attention to the development of the law through essential voluntary action of independent States implies the development of the law-abiding sentiment. It implies the concentration of thought upon the duties of

States, upon mutual international obligations which inhere in intercourse. And in this way we may hope to make measurable progress to that degree of civilization which will prosper the efforts of conciliation in the area outside the law, which will cultivate and at some time make dominant the spirit of reasonableness in dealing with the conflicts of interest, without which all peace plans are idle dreams.

Codification

It is this development that we have in mind when we speak of codification, referring in particular to the codification of public international law. We do not use the term codification in its strict sense. We are thinking both of the restatement of the existing law and of the process of international legislation; that is, of reinvigorating the old law by fresh declaration and of obtaining the formulation of principles and rules which will settle old juristic controversies and also meet the demands of new conditions. Would it not be helpful, not merely in the interest of clarification and formal arrangement, but in educating peoples, now under prevalent democratic institutions more largely interested in foreign relations, with respect to the extent of their reciprocal obligations and in cultivating the sense of responsibility, if the representatives of the nations could assemble and reassert the principles and rules of the law considered to be binding; if they would deliberately retrace the old and somewhat overgrown paths of justice; if they would explore the uncertain areas in order to ascertain how far accord upon principle and rule is possible; if obstacles raised by purely selfish interests were exposed; if something definite were attempted upon which the organs of public opinion could concentrate, and the real difficulties which stand in the way of establishing the supremacy of law should be appreciated more clearly; if at least to some extent we could fix attention on what was deemed to be right and not simply upon what might be expedient.

Difficulties Involved

We can be under no misapprehension as to the conditions in which this task is to be accomplished. The consent of nations must be had, and this must be obtained

from governments faced with political exigencies, more than ever, under democratic organization, engaged in the primary and essential struggle for survival; governments that are small and can attempt little; coalition governments that can promise little; small Powers that are ineffective; great Powers which find projects of interest all absorbing. Foreign offices are overwhelmed with work and the responsible agencies of foreign intercourse have scant opportunity to consider anything but the insistent demands of each day, which consume all available time and exhaust the stores of nervous energy. For example, it is safe to say that in our own country the work of the Department of State is three times what it was in the halcyon days before the war. The mere extent of the cares of foreign offices and the limits of human capacity account for much of the inability to get ahead with the solution of problems. When, as is usual, the approval of legislative assemblies must be had, the obstacles raised by the distribution of responsibility, the unavoidable differences in points of view, the precedence of measures dealing with domestic demands, the opportunities for obstruction, inevitably appear, and the wonder is not the poverty, but the extent of achievement. The greatest difficulty exists when the driving power of aroused public sentiment is absent, and the general public, keen for national interests, are disposed to look at the international arena as the place where victories are to be won for themselves, and are little disposed to be concerned with the unspectacular efforts of their representatives to buttress international justice. Still, the development of international law through codification cannot be had without the favorable action of foreign offices and national legislatures, and our problem is how to stimulate effective co-operative endeavor, how to assure both deliberation and purpose. And it must always be borne in mind by our lay friends, who are intent upon the immediate perfecting and declaring of international law, even in the most extreme applications which their paper programs demand, that it is agreement we are seeking on the part of States which, according to our fundamental postulate, we must recognize as independent and equal before the law; the general accord, if not abso-

lute unanimity, which must characterize the recognition or assumption of international obligations.

The Conference Method

It is plain that the machinery best adapted to the purpose is that of the international conference, not of some nations, as in case of conferences appropriately concerned with the particular interests of certain Powers or with proposed rules of limited application, but of all civilized nations who through their governments recognize the obligations of international law; conferences where all stand on an equal footing and in which the sole purpose is to perfect the law and the institutions of the law. To emphasize the importance of international conferences of this character is not to disparage others. Limited conferences may be not only of great value and necessary to the Powers concerned, but, through their success in dealing with special problems, may confer general benefits upon the world. What measure of success was attained at the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament was due to the fact that it was limited as to participants and objects. The difficulties that have since appeared in endeavoring to obtain limitations generally applicable to the naval armament of other Powers show that nothing would have been accomplished if the great naval Powers had postponed the limitations of their naval strength, awaiting a universal agreement, or if such a course had been made easy. In dealing with Far Eastern questions, it would not have helped to bring in the Powers which had no direct interest in these questions. The presence of parties without direct interest does not promote negotiations, but facilitates cabals. Our Pan American conferences show the advantages of regional conferences where the Powers concerned have questions to consider which are peculiar to themselves. Conferences, like other instrumentalities, should be adapted to their ends.

Codification in the Western Hemisphere

Even in the case of the development of international law we may find advantage in the Western Hemisphere in dealing with the subject of American international law; not to derogate from the au-

thority of the universal law, but to set forth, in addition to the old law, principles and rules which are found to relate to the special exigencies of the American republics. It was with this object that the Second International Conference of the American Republics in 1902 proposed a committee of jurists to draft codes of public and private international law, that the Third Pan American Conference again took up the project, and that the Fifth Pan American Conference, after the delay caused by the war, resolved to proceed with it. In preparation for the work of the International Commission of American Jurists to be held at Rio de Janeiro in 1925, the Governing Board of the Pan American Union requested the Executive Committee of the American Institute of International Law to aid the enterprise by its deliberations. As a result, we have a most promising development in this field through the labors of the committee over which our fellow-member, Doctor James Brown Scott, has presided. Thirty projects of conventions covering a variety of subjects in the international law of peace have thus been prepared and presented to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union and have been transmitted to the governments of the American Republics that they may be laid before the Committee of Jurists, which is to meet under the resolutions of the Fifth Pan American Conference. We are to have the privilege this evening of listening to the review of this movement and an exposition of these projects by Doctor Scott, to whose competent and persistent efforts this important progress is largely due, and for this reason I shall not attempt to comment upon the projects themselves. It may be noted, however, that they embody a bill of rights setting forth the fundamental rights and correlative obligations of the American republics, and these republics are invited by one of the proposed conventions, without criticizing territorial acquisitions effected in the past, to consolidate the general peace of this hemisphere by the renunciation of conquest. They are invited to agree that future territorial acquisitions obtained by means of war or under the menace of war, or in presence of an armed force, to the detriment of any American republic, shall not be lawful.

In this initiative, in which the Ameri-

can republics may take pride, there is nothing opposed to the more general enterprise of codification. American initiative in the development of international law is the more natural because of our detachment and of the fact that we are more concerned in the establishment of general principles of international action than in the immediate political interests of European Powers. You will not fail to recall that after the war, when the Advisory Committee of Jurists convened by the League of Nations was considering a plan for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, Mr. Root proposed to that committee the recommendation of a series of conferences to restate the established rules of international law and to formulate desirable amendments and additions. The Advisory Committee made this recommendation to the League of Nations, but it was not thought to be opportune to act upon it. Now, however, steps have been taken by the League in seeking the advice of eminent jurists, and it is to be hoped that the work done by the American Institute will be of assistance. We fully recognize that, important as is the development of what we call American international law, and this should be promoted without delay, helpful as our Pan American conferences may be, we cannot be content until appropriate plans are made to restate, amend, and enlarge the universal law, and this, as I have said, should be accomplished through conferences embracing all civilized nations treating international law as obligatory and meeting each other on an equal footing. It may be added that the Government of the United States has always welcomed such conferences, as our attitude toward the conferences at The Hague abundantly shows. It should be apparent that the controversy over the Covenant of the League of Nations involved no hostility to international conferences, or to their organization with machinery for continuity, with suitable inquiries and reports pending meetings, but to the assumption of certain obligations in the Covenant of the League to which preponderant opinion here was opposed. In relation to the legislative processes of conferences initiated by the League to devise rules on various subjects of general concern, there has been a disposition to find a way, conformable to

American opinion and to our constitutional system, in which the United States could appropriately collaborate as an independent State in the promotion of humanitarian measures, the correction of evils which can be dealt with adequately only by community of action, and the development of new or improved rules upon particular matters to which we have direct relation. When the nations are ready to take up the development of the universal law, it should not be difficult, with the experience of The Hague Conferences, to devise methods facilitating and insuring the full participation, on an equal basis, of all States who welcome the reign of law. This would be essentially a separate undertaking from regional plans, from the limited conferences of particular Powers or groups of Powers, from the promotion of special agreements such as the limitation of armament, however desirable these may be from the standpoint of particular interests or the general peace.

Problems Facing Any Conference

While we must emphasize the method of conference, we should not permit ourselves, as apparently many do, to become victims of the delusion that this method assures achievement. Some are disposed to clamor for conferences, as though they were ends, not means,—forgetting that they must be held under favorable conditions to give even promise of progress. The international conference is merely an agency of diplomacy; it brings together the representatives of several or many Powers, thus facilitating interchanges, reducing the circumlocution of many notes, giving larger opportunity for direct arguments, for a clearer understanding of positions, for finding ways of accommodation, for the influence of personality, for the pressure of public opinion. But a conference is not a parliament, where a majority can enforce its will—a fact too often ignored by zealous promoters. The delegates represent independent Powers. Even if they agree, the conventions they sign go to their respective governments for approval and, except in certain cases, must receive the assent of legislative bodies in order to become effective. In a conference, all action not procedural is *ad referendum*. The difficulties in securing unanimous action in conferences are suf-

ficiently great. Foreign offices give instructions mindful of political difficulties at home; the suggestion of pressure is resented; there is constant finesse to avoid dealing directly with unwelcome proposals,—and often there is refuge in the compromises of ambiguous phrases. Sometimes delegates are sent who may have some individual prestige, but have little political influence in their own country, and whose advice to their own governments or their legislatures carries little weight. Even when conferences are most successful and there is a manifest desire on the part of all parties to secure results and effectively to co-operate to that end, there may be great delay in putting their conventions into operation. Two of the treaties made at the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament, one relating to Far Eastern questions, the other to poison gases and submarines, have not gone into effect because all the ratifications are not yet in. We do not escape these difficulties when we seek the development of the law. Indeed, it may prove to be easier to agree upon particular rules governing certain special transactions where immediate convenience is involved than to obtain accord in formulating principles or rules of a general nature. Even in the restatement of existing law, foreign offices with particular policies and interests in view will watch carefully the formulation of general statements, and where the development of the law is concerned with the settlement of old questions as to which the Powers have taken different positions, or with the framing of rules to meet new conditions, the process will encounter an almost hopeless contrariety of opinion and an almost endless debate, because there is no pressure of supreme demand to make imperative the end of talk and an appropriate accord. Nations will be reluctant to surrender views for which their statesmen have argued in diplomatic exchanges, and all will be keen to note and oppose any declaration which may count against a perceived interest.

Again, it may be that the failure of a government to have a definite policy in a particular matter may paralyze its action. The demands of administration have led to the creation in every government of numerous administrative departments, each specializing in a particular field and

naturally having a sense of authority and pride of opinion. Such departments, while dealing with matters with which international law is, or should be, concerned, may not have the horizon of the foreign office and may take a narrow and provincial view which finds support in an important constituency and strongly influences the legislature. One subject may touch several administrative departments. Foreign offices must consult the experts of their governments in different spheres of activity and often must await a formulated concurrence of opinion which it is difficult to get.

With all these obstacles, it is plain that the way for an international conference on the development of international law must be well prepared. It would be idle to expect success by merely calling a conference without the preparation of definite proposals well thought out. Such a course would probably lead to a few pious resolutions and adjournments for a long sleep. If we are to have any measure of success in the codification of international law, it must be taken up energetically and systematically by the jurists of the nations, those who are at once most competent and most zealous. This is the course long advocated in this Society, and it was a cardinal feature of the proposal in 1920, to which I have referred, that the organizations of international jurists should prepare and propose projects for such conferences. Most of the work already done has been performed in this way. What we have of international law is largely the product of the work of jurists whose arguments and treatises have brought about the necessary consensus of the nations. Recall the words of Lieber:

The strength, authority, and grandeur of the law of nations rests on, and consists in, the very fact that reason, justice, equity, speak through men "greater than he who takes a city"—single men, plain Grotius; and that nations, and even Congresses of Vienna, cannot avoid hearing, acknowledging, and quoting them. But it has ever been, and is still, a favorite idea of mine that there should be a congress of from five to ten acknowledged jurists to settle a dozen or two of important yet unsettled points—a private and boldly self-appointed congress, whose whole authority should rest on the

inherent truth and energy of their own *proclama*.

Lieber saw the possibility of a settlement, as he said Grotius settled, "by the strength of the great argument of justice." Herein lies what I regard as the chief opportunity at this time of our societies and institutes of international law, to strive to reach that weighty accord which must be had to achieve finally the agreement of the Powers. Herein lies the promise of the work already done by the Committee of the American Institute. The important fact, as I have said elsewhere, is not of the immediate acceptability of their projects, but that they have projects, that they have collaborated to a definite end and have produced results ready for analysis, adoption, or improvement.

But, in relation to this essential contribution of jurists, I should like to make this suggestion: Eventually, foreign offices and governments will have the decisive word. This preliminary work of jurists should, if possible, be carried on with the idea of exploring in their respective countries the policies of their governments, to the end that these might be anticipated, clarified, defined, and the possibilities of modification in the interest of a general agreement be considered. While governments may not be expected to declare formally their policies and purposes, except governmentally, as occasion arises, informal contacts could be had by the representatives of local societies of international law with the legal advisers of governments; so that, through some feasible co-operation, the preparatory work of jurists should be as little academic as possible.

Judicial Processes Also Necessary

There is another way of developing international law in addition to the direct legislative processes, and that is through international judicial institutions. It is said frequently, and with cogency, that we need an improved body of law to be applied by an international court. There are too many gaps in the law, where decision must fail for want of principles and rules commanding the necessary acceptance, to permit the denial of the importance of direct legislative procedure. Much that is

said on this subject has immediate bearing on programs for obligatory arbitration.

It may, indeed, be fanciful to suppose that independent States having the power and disposition to determine their own policies will bind themselves to submit generally questions, which may arise outside the law and treaties, to the decision of others, where there is no recognized standard of law or justice, but simply a conflict of interests. It may not be too much to hope, however, that in the domain of law, and as to the interpretation of agreements, where there are accepted standards to be applied, nations will ultimately be willing to obligate themselves in advance to submit to a judicial settlement. The reservations such as those made in our own arbitration treaties in relation to the submission of legal questions may be taken to show a fear as to the standards to be applied and as to the impartiality of decision rather than a reluctance to have an appropriate settlement according to law. In practice, the United States does not refuse arbitration of justiciable questions, but when a treaty for obligatory arbitration is proposed, imagination has conjured up every possibility and the fact that international law has not yet been formulated adequately has undoubtedly retarded and will continue to retard the movement for the obligatory arbitration of questions which in their nature are justiciable.

While fully appreciating the necessity of provision for legislative processes in the international field, it is most extreme to say that judicial institutions should await that development. In view of the difficulties besetting international legislative procedure, that would probably be a long postponement. The suggestion that an international court should await the development of international law is of that academic character which puts hurdles in the way of progress. As we need various sorts or arrangements to promote peace, we require different kinds of instrumentalities to develop the law, and especially should we have the continuous functioning of a permanent court of international justice.

It should be a sufficient answer to objectors, that there are a host of treaties, and these constantly multiply, giving rise to numerous questions which require ju-

dicial examination and with respect to which there should be consistency of decision. Treaties, generally, to be sure, have limited objects and register a particular accord, but not infrequently their construction demands the application of the principles and rules of law, and the judicial work in deciding controversies that grow out of international agreements in a true sense develops the law. But, aside from international agreements, there is already a sufficient body of international law, a sufficient history of the practice of nations, to be explored, to make judicial institutions both workable and imperative. If a national court may illumine international law by such a decision as that of our Supreme Court in the *Pasquete Habana* (175 U. S., 677); if even through the decision of the tribunals of one nation statements of law emerge which command general approval because of cogent exposition, how much more would such results follow the declarations and decisions of international tribunals and in particular of a permanent international court composed of eminent and impartial jurists drawn from all over the world and dedicating their lives to the maintenance of judicial standards.

Those who insist on a fairly complete body of law before the setting up of an international court justifying adherence take too little account of the natural process of the growth of the law and the extraordinary fecundity of general principles when used in the course of judicial work. Our American constitutional law in its most interesting aspects is built up of judicial decisions giving application to some very general concepts. It would have been unfortunate indeed if the work of Chancellor Kent had been compelled to await the establishment by legislation of American equity jurisprudence. It should not be necessary to remind lawyers of the growth of the common law. If the work of jurists has great weight in the international sphere, how much greater would be the effect of the labors of jurists continuously engaged in the decision of controversies under the necessity of applying principle to concrete cases, with the enormous advantage of arguments born of real exigencies, with the responsibility not merely of writing, but of determining.

Instead of insisting that the establishing of a permanent international court should await the development of international law, I should say that the work of such a court would be the best assurance that we should have that development.

It would seem that no one who favors judicial settlement of international disputes should oppose a permanent international court. It seems to be assumed that we should continue to have the processes of arbitration. But these processes lack continuity, and, moreover, the difficulty of obtaining an agreement upon suitable arbiters is an obstacle constantly growing more serious, especially in view of the divisive effects of the World War.

Fortunately the Permanent Court of International Justice has been established, with judges whose competence none can deny. I have already had the privilege of reviewing before this Society the grounds upon which this court should be supported. I earnestly hope that the appropriate support of the Court by the Government of the United States will not be delayed much longer. No one desires, I take it, that judicial institutions should be under the dominance of political organizations, and it is believed that the Permanent Court of International Justice is free of such domination. That independence can be made secure by the support of all nations, and especially by that of the United States, on terms of adherence such as have been proposed by President Harding and President Coolidge. It would seem to be idle to expect that another tribunal can be set up or that progress can be made by such a futile demand. The Powers that are members of the League of Nations would have the right to participate in the election of judges of a permanent international court under any possible arrangement. It would be extravagant to call such participation under the present arrangement political control; still less would such an objection lie if the United

States were admitted to equal participation. As has been frequently pointed out, the court in the exercise of its judicial functions is not governed by the League of Nations, but performs its duties under a separate agreement, which is designed to safeguard independent and impartial action in the decision of cases. It is not my purpose at this time to restate the reasons for the support of the Permanent Court, but simply to emphasize the incalculable advantage of having such a tribunal to aid in the development of international law; to reinforce the law-abiding sentiment through recourse to the exercise of its jurisdiction and acceptance of its decisions. Not improbably the nations may thus be led to avail themselves more readily of the necessary international legislative processes to perfect the law and to satisfy enlarged conceptions of international justice.

As to the Goal

The establishment of the reign of law, as distinguished from the rule of might, may be a process as slow as that of the evolution of the higher forms of life. Turbulent peoples impatient of order, restless democracies making government difficult, pseudo-patriots yielding nothing, give little promise of international peace. The will to peace begins at home, but there is avidity for education and we may feel confident that in time the leaven of reason will leaven the whole lump. Despite unrest and many grievances, there are gratifying indications of a revived and heightened appreciation of the interests of peace. At least the avenues of intelligent endeavor are open, and in relation to the development of international law there is unexampled opportunity for those of special competence who have devoted themselves to its study. In this collaboration the members of this Society will undoubtedly esteem it a privilege to perform their part.

HUGO GROTIUS—SPOKESMAN FOR NEIGHBORLINESS AMONG NATIONS

By ESTHER MATSON

IN PARIS, three hundred years ago, there was published a book known as the "Laws of War and Peace." In the month of June, six years earlier, the author, one Hugo Grotius, had been sent to prison, presumably for life, on the little Island of Louvestein. This man, who has long borne the enigmatic title of "Founder of International Law," is today coming into his own. Today we are actually startled as we come to realize how he turned adversity into a tool wherewith to labor in the cause of humanity. We are astonished to discover his fundamental modernity. We see him advocating the belief that nations have responsibilities as truly as do individuals, that nations should obey law as surely as individuals should, that national welfares are inter-not independent. In short, we find him, three centuries ago, acting as spokesman for international neighborliness.

True, we had not entirely forgotten this Hollander. We had long ranked him as one illustrious measure of a man's mentality, but we had quite lost sight of him as a human being. A fog hangs between us and his personality. The mere fact that he wrote his masterpiece in Latin is enough to discourage many of us from reading it; but, more than this, the theme of it is so abstract that it repels. And yet, to us of this day, his is the most outstanding figure of his day, because we are trying at last to put into practice some of the theories he enunciated.

Essentially modern we find him because, although law was his profession, his viewpoint was not that of the jurist merely; and, although philosophy was his bent, his viewpoint was not that of the philosophic speculator merely. Contrary to the fashion which made Francis Bacon complain that "all those which have written of laws have written either as philosophers or as lawyers, and none as statesmen," Grotius struggled to make his philosophic theories practical—pragmatic, we say today.

As for the philosophers [said Bacon], they make imaginary laws for imaginary com-

monwealths; and their discourses are as the stars, which give little light, because they are so high. For the lawyers, they write according to the States where they live, what is received law, and not what ought to be law; for the wisdom of a law-maker is one, and of a lawyer is another.

Despite the fact that he drew up his laws of war and peace along the recognized lines of his time, that he weighted his argument down with references to precedent, that he made endless citations of authors then held to be authoritative, and reviewed ancient practice with tedious pedantry, he arrived at conclusions of his own. If he piled authority upon authority, he did it for what seemed to him a purpose. And at the core of his purpose was consideration of the broad issues. His real concern was for what we term in our present-day phraseology the humane aspect.

Take one example of Grotius' way of reasoning. As philosopher, he would wish to eliminate "goare-faced Warre" from the face of the globe. As jurist, he would wish to formulate rules for particular States. But from the broader, statesman-like viewpoint he saw that so long as force of arms prevails something at least might be gained if the monster's worst abuses could be lessened. This the motive for gathering together a series of principles based on natural right or justice, and applicable—or so Grotius deemed them—to the whole civilized world. "War itself should be subject to the rules of humanity and decency." Surely here is plain speaking!

Again, look at his conception of man as a supremely "social creature"—a creature capable, according to his belief, of arriving at a general working scheme or system of conduct and of acting on it. Such a belief strikes us as strangely optimistic, almost fatuous, in one whose fatherland had but just emerged from its ordeal with Spain, and one whose own life-span fell at a period when the grossest inhumanity, alike in high places and in low, prevailed.

Our author did not even live to see the end of the dismal Thirty Years' War, which was then involving so many of the countries of Europe. The Treaty of Westphalia, which brought it to a formal close, did not materialize until three years after his death. It is claimed that the modern sentiment against cruelty had its dawn then. At least that treaty showed a notable advance in its provisions for the conquered peoples, and some declare that this lenience was brought about by the influence of Grotius' teachings.

However that may be, the wonder is how our author, living when he did, could hold his faith in the possibility of something better to come. Always he maintained his thesis, that "man has an exquisite desire of society." This, the crux of his whole philosophy, he states more than once, but nowhere more cogently than in the famous passage of his "preliminary discourse": "Man has a desire for life spent in common with his fellow-men; and not merely spent somehow, but spent tranquilly and in a manner in keeping with his intellect."

The gift of speech, distinguishing the humans from the beasts, in Grotius' view furthers this desire of comradeship, and this social instinct, furthermore, forms the base on which all human law rests.

"This sociability, or this care of maintaining society in a manner conforming to the light of human understanding, is the *fountain of right*."

Odd to reflect that Bacon used the same simile—almost, indeed, the same words—to explain the relation of the laws of justice to civil law. "There are in nature," said Bacon, "certain fountains of justice whence all civil laws are derived but as streams." The Dutchman, however, carried the idea further, advancing the thought that although the man-made laws, or the laws of nations, do not always seem to coincide with the Laws of Nature; yet, since they take their rise in Nature, they are bound in the final analysis to harmonize.

The manner in which he developed his thesis was that approved by his age, not a manner calculated to court present-day favor! With its thousand and one citations, its allusions and its linked arguments long drawn-out, it makes difficult,

if not impossible, reading for a lack-leisure generation. Yet it has passages to arrest the attention of us all, even of the most unleisurely and unthinking—outstanding passages, sometimes pithy, sometimes picturesque, sometimes actually naïve. As when he insists that although the wealth of his witnesses (to wit, his tediously numerous quotations from classical writers) does not prove his theses absolutely, yet "where many men of different times and different places unanimously affirm the same thing for truth", it behooves us as rational beings to pay attention to them. In another passage he puts his idea this way: "Not that I regard these as judges from whose decision there is no appeal; . . . but I quote them as witnesses, whose conspiring testimony, proceeding from innumerable different times and places, must be referred to some universal cause." (Prol., 40.)

Taken as a whole, however, this stupendous work suffers from one defect—it is uninteresting. It has none of the magic of literary style that was Bacon's mighty gift; none of the majestic tread of such prose as was Milton's when Milton chose to write in prose; none of those rich veinings of mordant wit that so effectively marbled the writing of Erasmus; none of the winsome color that lends charm to some of our later moralizers. The fatal fact is, this monument of learning reveals nowhere any hallmark of personality. Consider what that means and we no longer wonder that it is nowhere read except by students as an "authority."

And yet, if we could contrive some way to get at this man's personality, we feel that here was one worth the knowing. His career in bare outline is sufficiently out of the ordinary to justify Guizot's bon mot, "If you are fond of romance, read history." Yet it is with difficulty, from here a hint and there a hint, that we can get any notion of the man behind the scholastic mask.

They were still stirring times in Delft in 1583, when Grotius was born. The Dutch peoples had just become the United Provinces. The famous stadholder, William the Silent, had scarcely had chance to prove whether his greatness as a commander could extend to greatness as a

ruler when he was assassinated. The assassination took place one year after Grotius' birth, and at Delft. The city conspicuous both before and after this period in Holland's annals, was a fitting birthplace for the swordless citizen who wielded his particular weapon, his pen, in the cause of tolerance, and who foresaw that tolerance must eventually be applied, not merely to matters religious and matters political, but also to affairs of social and community life, that are bound together the world round.

He began his career with a handicap. His worldly station was too prosperous for our taste in heroes, and then he became a youthful prodigy. He came of a titled family, originally French. His father, a lawyer of repute, had been four times burgomaster of Leyden, a man of versatile talents and of public-spiritedness. It is really hardly fair to count it against a lad that he should grow up under exceptionally happy circumstances, that he should be surrounded by influential friends and relatives, and that he should inherit brilliancy; nor that, by another favor of Fortune, he should be sent to the University of Leyden. Situated in a city perhaps the most beautiful in Holland, the University of Leyden had been founded to commemorate the escape from Spanish dominion, and almost immediately took its place among the most famous centers of culture which the Europe of that day could boast.

Pictorial, this Grotius, just as his native land is, but with none of that land's intimate quality. He is rarely glimpsed as a person, but now and again by flashlight, so to speak, as a personage. Few chances are given us to get humanly acquainted with him; for the assurance that he wrote verses in Latin at nine years of age, Greek odes at eleven; that he entered the university at twelve, and at fifteen edited an encyclopedia—such items as these rather suggest a prig than reveal a personality. Nor are we helped by our next glimpse of him, as the lad of fifteen, heralded as "The Miracle of Holland," who took part in Olden-Barneveldt's embassy to France. This picture is pleasant enough, the youth standing out against the bright background of Henry of Navarre's court with a lustre of his own, and winning recognition in the

shape of a golden chain at the end of which hung a miniature of His Majesty! Glitter and pageantry here, but no revealing touches. Indeed, from first to last, his story is so appropriate for screen representation that we wonder it has not been captured by some producer.

After a year of study in Paris the young man returns to his home and is admitted to the bar. Soon after, the chance falls to him of serving as advocate for the Dutch East India Company. Envidable position indeed! But the historic beauty of it is that this service brings him to a first-hand study of the relationship existing between the different countries. It plunges him straightway into a consideration of many of the most trying problems which such relationships involve. At twenty-one he sums up the results of his experience and his research during this service in a manuscript which he calls "*De jure prædæ*." And, strange though it seems, this comparatively short treatise contains the gist of much of the thought and research which went into the making of his stupendous work of twenty years later, the famous "*De jure belli et pacis*."

Our next picture of him is when he receives an appointment as "Historiographer of the United Provinces." Next, when he is made Advocate-General of the Fise for Holland and Zealand. Now, in Zealand he marries one Mary van Reigersberg, whose feminine ingenuity, by the bye, is to stand him in goodly stead not long hence. In 1613, when thirty years of age, he is sent abroad on another embassy, this time to help adjust a maritime dispute between Holland and England.

But now, on his return home, the clouds begin to edge the horizon of his fate. Now arise those Calvinist *versus* Arminian or Remonstrant Disputations which seem to us, looking back on them, as futile and uncalled for as our own World War. The fierceness with which these disputes are waged is unspeakable. Grotius, siding with the Remonstrants, persists, despite all warnings in trying to secure tolerance for *all* sects. Writing to his brother at this time, he says: "I shall never cease to use my utmost endeavors for establishing peace among Christians;

and if I do not succeed, it will be honorable to die in such an enterprise."

Involved as he is with his liberal friends, Hoogeberz and Olden-Barneveldt, the crisis comes in August, 1618, when the three are arrested. Follows in November the famous—or more truly infamous—Synod of Dort. The court itself is illegal, the sentences it pronounces incredible. Olden-Barneveldt, the sturdy maintainer of the Republic, the faithful Grand Pensionary of Holland, whom Motley called "the prime minister of Protestantism," is condemned to die on the scaffold. This patriot is seventy-one years old, and the reasons given for his condemnation are two—alleged treason and "defense and support of religious toleration." His followers are sentenced to imprisonment for life, their crime being "defense and support of religious toleration." And this is happening in the country which but a few years back has won a seemingly miraculous release from the combined tyranny and bigotry of Spanish domination!

Our next picture of Grotius shows a man of thirty-six, his worldly prospects, hitherto so fair, turned on a sudden to blackness, his numerous pieces of property confiscated, his person held captive in the gaunt prison of Louvestein. Here it is that, in Motley's resounding phrase, he takes "captivity captive." At first he is harshly treated, but by degrees more and more leniency is shown him. At length matters are so arranged that his wife joins him, bringing with her books and writing materials. And now, with the help of influential friends, who keep him supplied with whatever books and manuscripts are necessary to his research, he occupies himself with the study of the subject that interests him most, that which we call today the science of international law. But after nearly two years of confinement the scene is set for that dramatic episode the idea for which is credited to Grotius' wife. The guards and sailors have become so used to the sight of the book-box, a heavy thing of about four feet square, going back and forth between the prison and the mainland, that it is thought safe to try hiding the prisoner himself in it. The plan seems to be working successfully when

one of the soldiers complains of the weight of the box, saying, "There must be an Arminian in it." To the rescue, here comes the woman's wit, declaring, "Certes, there are Arminian books in it." Whereupon the freight goes on its way. Reaching its destination, the house of a friendly merchant in the mainland town of Gorcum, the box is hurriedly opened and the scholar, cramped, but not absolutely suffocated, staggers into the arms of his friends. Soon, disguised as a mason, he makes his escape to Antwerp, and from there to France. In France, Louis XIII not only offers the refugee his royal protection, but even awards him a pension of three thousand livres.

Next Grotius' wife, who has barely escaped paying the penalty of his flight with her life, is liberated and enabled to join him in Paris. But now money difficulties press hard, for there is more promise than performance to the royal pension, and fate still looms darkly until a rich nobleman, one Count de Mèze, is moved to offer Grotius and his family the use of a small château which he owns, near Senlis. This proves a happy retreat enough, and, as good luck would have it, close at hand is the great private library of De Thou, of which our scholar is given the freedom.

Everything thus favors the project, the writing of "The Laws of War and of Peace."

It is counted a veritable *tour de force* that a man should be able to complete such a stupendous work as this in one year. It must be remembered, however, that the plan has been in our author's mind a full score of years, and has been slowly but surely maturing. So voluminous is the manuscript that now the sheer labor of printing it takes four months. Finally, in Paris, in 1625, it is brought out.

Grotius receives as honorarium two hundred copies of the book to dispose of for his own profit, but out of this number he must send presentation copies to the King, to the Papal Nuncio, to numberless other worthies; so that, when all is said, the work never repays him in money for the cost. But it is "epoch-making." Almost immediately it arouses controversy. It is, needless to say, placed on the Index Expurgatorius at Rome (not

to get clear of that, indeed, till the beginning of the twentieth century). It forces the attention of learned and influential men throughout the world. Within the next forty years it has taken its place as the basis for courses of international study in all the universities of Europe; nor is any legal case involving international problems settled without reference to it.

The story of how Gustavus Adolphus considers it, whether legend or no, is interesting and not without significance. Whenever the Swedish king goes to the field of war, it is averred, he carried a copy of this book with him and sleeps with it under his head. After the king's death, Chancellor Oxenstiern appoints the needy author ambassador between Sweden and France. This appointment Grotius holds for the last ten years of his life. In 1645 he receives grudging permission from Queen Christina to retire, and sets forth from Stockholm for the last time. The ship in which he sails suffers shipwreck near Dantzic, and although the scholar is rescued from the ocean he shortly after succumbs to the effects of strain and exposure. Romantic to the end, but, as ever, eluding intimacy.

Of most celebrities we have portraits, executed either with pen or paint brush, that help put us in happy touch with the human side of them. It is true, the noted painter, Mierevelt, did paint Grotius; but there is nothing convincing about the portrait he has given us. It is true, the devotion of Grotius' wife, of his brother, and of more than one lifelong friend, would suggest a man of human qualities, even of personal magnetism. It is true, several of his contemporaries have given their testimonies of him, but, unluckily, the manner in which they wrote was so tediously eulogistic that what they have said prejudices us rather against than in his favor. So most certainly does the tone of the inscription on his tomb in Delft, where he is named the "Prodigy of Europe."

Thrown back on his writings, we find his personality fares no better. Dry political and religious treatises, drier poetical dramas—one of these, "Adamus Expul," however, interesting as a curiosity, because it inspired Milton to write

"Paradise Lost"—these productions, although they are numerous, as if Grotius had been one of our authors of best sellers, are utterly dull, utterly unilluminative.

However, if it is difficult to visualize him as a man and quite impossible to estimate him as such, it is no whit the less necessary to give him consideration, especially in this year of 1925, for the work that made his fame. It is necessary to admit that three hundred years ago here was a writer who worked in the cause of world peace, one who planted a seed whose sprouting has been slow enough, almost unnoted in fact, but which may yet become a lusty plant, with bud and blossom. Believing, as fervently as did General Sherman, that "war is hell," this Hollander of the past urged that at least "whenever and wherever war becomes inevitable," it should be "subject to the rules;" . . . declared that "no nation can be excluded by another from privileges which it concedes to the rest of the world"; even went so far as to urge that no subject be bound to "bear arms against his conscience"; insisted that nations, as surely as private individuals, "stand in need" of each other's friendships, and argued in favor of the settling of all disputes between nations by arbitration. Indeed, he summed up his four-volume treatise with an "exhortation" entreating all States to "preserve good faith, and to seek peace at all times, upon the mild principles of Christianity."

Spoken with a naïveté? Yes, but with a truthfulness and an applicability to our own as well as to his generation. Grotius indeed did not mince his words anent arbitration, for he declared that all those who rule States are "bound to try this means of avoiding warfare." As for ourselves, do we dare any longer ignore the issue?

True, it is making a large claim to call him, as he is commonly called, The Founder of the Science of International Law. Before him, other men had treated this subject. Shortly before his writing, two men in particular, one Gentili, an Italian jurist, and one Ayala, a Spanish statesman—had each treated it from a somewhat similar viewpoint. Grotius indeed frankly modeled the form of his

work on the treatise which Gentili had termed "The Laws of War." But the Hollander not only carried the ideas he was promulgating to further and more logical conclusions, and not only dealt with the laws of peace as well as war, but put these laws into such shape that they could become authoritative. In our vernacular, he put his ideas over. He for-

mulated a standard which after him men must pay attention to. Three hundred years ago this man held beliefs that foreshadowed our own so-called "new thought." He suggested the need of something which we are only just beginning to realize that we do need—neighborliness among nations.

THE GROTIUS TERCENTENARY*

By EDWIN D. MEAD

IT IS an impressive conjunction by which we commemorated last year the second centennial of the birth of Immanuel Kant and commemorate this year the third centennial of the publication of Hugo Grotius' "Rights of War and Peace." Grotius and Kant are the two pre-eminent names in the history of the long struggle to transform the world from a world of war into a world of law and order. Last year we commemorated a life, the rich and many-sided life of the greatest philosopher of modern times.

This year we commemorate a book. Although Hugo Grotius wrote many books, his epoch-making work was "The Rights of War and Peace." This book, however slowly the nations have realized it, struck the death blow to the barbarisms of war and the war system and laid firmly the foundations of international law. The printing of the work, requiring four months' time, was completed at Paris in March, 1625. The edition was sent to the fair at Frankfort, where it was published a little later.

There is in England a Grotius Society. It is devoted to the promotion of the great interests of international law and peace, in the service of which Grotius was so bold and influential a pioneer. Its president is Lord Cave, the present Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. One of its recent publications was devoted to the Constitution of the United States and the

lessons which its history furnishes for those engaged today in the creation of an orderly and united world. It were much to be wished that there were a Grotius Society in America. It would be the natural agency here, as the London society is in England, to make adequate provision for the observance of this third centennial of the "Rights of War and Peace," and would count such preparation its legitimate and imperative vocation. We must trust that the various peace organizations, the law schools, and the universities will each in its place perform the functions of a Grotius society here this year.

At a recent political conference at Radcliffe College a lecture on Grotius was given by Prof. George G. Wilson, and a lecture by Prof. Jesse B. Reeves was on the program of the annual convention of the Society of International Law at Washington on April 23. There should certainly be remembrance of the anniversary at the Williamstown Institute of Politics this summer with an address by Mr. Root or Mr. Hughes. At the meeting of the Institute of International Law at The Hague, in September, there is to be consideration of Grotius, and the librarian of the Peace Palace at The Hague is arranging a Grotius exhibit.

The Kant commemorations last year were chiefly in the colleges and universities. At the celebration by Boston University, on Kant's birthday, April 22, presided over by the veteran Prof. George H. Palmer, there was an audience of a thousand, largely students, and the various aspects of Kant's services—for philosophy, ethics, education, law, politics,

* Hugo Grotius (in the Dutch language, *de Groot*), born at Delft, Netherlands, April 10, 1583; died at Rostock, Germany, August 28-29, 1645. He was famed as jurist, theologian, statesman, poet, and as the founder of the science of international law.

and peace—were successively presented by accomplished scholars. These noteworthy addresses have just been published in a volume by the Yale University Press. At Yale, Brown, Amherst, Smith, Wellesley, and Mount Holyoke, in New England, there were fitting observances, as in various places in and about New York. Later observances were announced and doubtless held at Princeton, Swarthmore, Western Reserve, and Leland Stanford. There was a celebration by the American Peace Society in Washington, with an address by Prof. William Ernest Hocking of Harvard University, and there were impressive commemorations by the Community Church and the Ethical Society in New York. Thoughtful articles appeared in newspapers and magazines. Three American universities were represented at the great commemoration at Koenigsberg, Kant's old university city. But timely and efficient preparation by our peace societies would have secured here attention ten times as general and as resultful, and the lesson should not be lost on this year of the Grotius Tercentenary. The philosophy which informs Grotius' great international work was the same philosophy which inspired Jefferson and the founders of our Republic, and nowhere is recognition of this anniversary more fitting or more incumbent than here.

On the Fourth of July, 1899, the members of the International Peace Conference at The Hague assembled at the tomb of Hugo Grotius, in the great church at Delft, to do honor to his memory. It was by invitation of our American commissioners that they gathered there. In accordance with instructions from the President, and in behalf of the people of the United States, the chairman of the commission, Hon. Andrew D. White, laid on the tomb a massive silver wreath combining "the oak, representative of civic virtue, and the laurel, representative of victory," and inscribed "To the Memory of Hugo Grotius, in Reverence and Gratitude, from the United States of America, on the occasion of the International Peace Conference at The Hague, July 4, 1899." The wreath encloses two shields, one bearing the arms of the House of Orange and of the Netherlands, the other the arms of the United States, both shields bound

firmly together. "They represent," said Mr. White, "the gratitude of our country, one of the youngest among the nations of the earth, to this old and honored commonwealth—gratitude for great services in days gone by, gratitude for recent courtesies and kindnesses; and, above all, they represent to all time a union of hearts and minds in both lands for peace between all nations."

The address delivered by Mr. White on this noteworthy occasion was one of the most eloquent and adequate tributes ever paid to Grotius. He felt deeply that Grotius had been the first great incarnation of the spirit and principle whose continued working in the world had at last brought this International Peace Conference; and he spoke not simply as an American, but as an international man, a citizen of the world, feeling empowered to speak words of gratitude not only from his own country, but from all countries represented at the conference. "Naturally," he said to the great body of commissioners gathered in the church, "we have asked you to join us in this simple ceremony; for his name has become too great to be celebrated by his native country alone; it can only be fitly celebrated in the presence of representatives from the whole world. For the first time in human history, there are now assembled delegates with a common purpose from all the nations, and they are fully represented here. Not only is this the first conference of the entire world, but it has as its sole purpose a further evolution of the principles which Grotius first of all men developed thoroughly and stated effectively."

Mr. White did not fail to remark upon the special significance of the time and place as concerned America. The day of the meeting was the anniversary of our national independence; and from The Haven of Delft—the ancient city in which Grotius was born, whose pavements he trod when a child, and in whose great church at last he was laid to rest—"sailed the *Speedwell*, bearing the Pilgrim Fathers, who in a time of obstinate and bitter persecution brought to the American continent the germs of that toleration which had been especially developed among them during their stay in the Netherlands, and of which Grotius was an apostle." He

noticed the particular debt of the United States to Grotius, the extent to which his thought had penetrated and influenced the great mass of our people, the eagerness of the young men of our colleges and universities to understand the fundamental principles of international rights and duties, and the work of such American scholars as Wheaton, Kent, Field, Woolsey, Dana, and Lawrence in developing the ideas to which Grotius first gave life and strength.

He mentioned three noteworthy American examples of the fruitage of these ideas: the act of Lincoln, who, amid the fury of the Civil War, recognized the necessity of a humaner code for the conduct of our armies and entrusted its preparation to Francis Lieber, Grotius' leading American disciple; the magnanimity of General Grant in accepting Lee's surrender; and the generosity of the whole people when the bitter contest closed, and the fraternity of the Blue and the Gray on Decoration Day. "Surely I may claim for my countrymen," he said, "that, whatever other shortcomings and faults may be imputed to them, they have shown themselves influenced by those feelings of mercy and humanity which Grotius, more than any other, brought into the modern world."

Noticing the frequent criticism of Grotius as the main source of the doctrine which founds human rights upon an early social compact, Mr. White said:

It would ill become me, as a representative of the United States, to impute to Grotius as a fault a theory out of which sprang the nationality of my country, a doctrine embodied in that Declaration of Independence which is this day read to thousands on thousands of assemblies in all parts of the United States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

Noticing the frequent objection that Grotius dwelt too little on what international law really was, and too much on what in his opinion it ought to be, he asked whether it is certain after all that Grotius was wrong in this, and whether international law may not more and more draw inspiration from "the power which works for righteousness"; and he said:

An American recalling that greatest of all

arbitrations ever known, the Geneva Arbitration of 1872, naturally attributes force to the reasoning of Grotius. The heavy damages which the United States asked at that time and which Great Britain honorably paid were justified mainly, if not wholly, not on the practice of nations then existing, but upon what it was claimed *ought to be* the practice; not upon positive law, but upon natural justice; and that decision forms one of the happiest landmarks in modern times; it ended all quarrel between the two nations concerned and bound them together more firmly than ever.

It would not be possible to pay a loftier tribute than that which Mr. White pays to Grotius' great treatise, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*:

Of all works not claiming divine inspiration, that book, by a man proscribed and hated, both for his politics and his religion, has proved the greatest blessing to humanity. More than any other, it has prevented unmerited suffering, misery and sorrow; more than any other, it has promoted the blessings of peace and diminished the horrors of war.

The tribute is just. Mr. White recognizes the obligations of Grotius, as Grotius himself so explicitly recognized them, to the writers who preceded him, such men as Isidore of Seville, Suarez, Ayala, and Gentilis. But, when all this is acknowledged, he "clearly sees Grotius, while rising from among these men, grandly towering above them." He sees in Grotius "the first man who brought the main principles of those earlier thinkers to bear upon modern times, increasing them from his own creative mind, strengthening them from the vast stores of his knowledge, enriching them from his imagination, glorifying them with his genius. "His great mind," said Mr. White, "brooded over that earlier chaos of opinion, and from his heart and brain, more than from those of any other, came a revelation to the modern world of new and better paths toward mercy and peace. But his agency was more than that. His coming was like the rising of the sun out of the primeval abyss; his work was both creative and illuminative. We may reverently insist that in the domain of international law Grotius said, 'Let there be light!' and there was light."

This is indeed a memorable word, but it is hardly an extravagant one. Instructive is Mr. White's survey of the history of the period of Grotius' great treatise—it was published amid the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. The new gospel was little heeded. "The light shone in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." Yet, says Mr. White at the close of his survey, "we see that the great light streaming from his heart and mind continued to shine; that it developed and fructified human thought; that it warmed into life new and glorious growths of right reason as to international relations; and we recognize the fact that, from his day to ours, the progress of reason in theory and of mercy in practice has been constant on both sides of the Atlantic."

It is a real misfortune that there is no good complete English translation of Grotius' great work on "The Rights of War and Peace," published in a single volume, easily available to all readers. An English translation, by William Evats, was published in 1682. In 1738 an anonymous translation into English, which included the valuable notes of Barbeyrac accompanying his French translation, appeared. In 1901 there appeared a reprint of Campbell's translation of 1814, with an introduction by David Jayne Hill. The Carnegie Peace Endowment has published a fine facsimile edition of the original Latin text, and an English translation of this by a body of scholars under the supervision of Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, is announced for the present year. The excellent abridged translation by Whewell occupies portions of three volumes, being accompanied by the complete Latin text, and is a work designed for scholars. Moreover, published in 1853, it is now rare, found only in the best libraries. Why will not some good publisher at this time bring out Whewell's translation by itself, aside from the Latin text, in a single volume? It would be a public service. It should be accompanied by Mr. White's essay on Grotius, from his "Seven Great Statesmen." This is a later and completer work than his address at Delft, and is the best essay on Grotius in the English language. It would form the best possible introduction for the volume.

The directors of the Old South work in Boston rendered a real service by publishing

the prolegomena to Grotius's great work, in Whewell's translation, as one of their Old South leaflets. The leaflet gives the entire introductory chapter of "The Rights of War and Peace," in which the fundamental principles of the work are so fully and so strongly stated; and this is accompanied by extracts from Mr. White's impressive address upon our debt to Grotius, from which I have quoted, and by brief historical notes. The leaflet should help to draw new attention to the thought of Grotius and to his pre-eminent service in behalf of the better organization of the world. If, with Mr. White's address and other words growing out of The Hague Conferences and the League of Nations, it should stimulate such a degree of attention and study as to strengthen the demand for a good popular edition of the whole work, or for a good edition of Whewell's abridged translation, which, after all, is the best for nine readers out of ten, it would perform its best possible service.

The first thing that impresses us as we read this general introduction to Grotius's great work is its modernness. Here, after the three centuries, we find our own problems stated, and the evils and objections discussed of which today's newspapers are full. Indeed, the most modern and impressive things are not those which Grotius draws from his own time, but those which he cites from far antiquity. The world had always been full of people, just as it was when he wrote, who despised all talk of international law. He recalls the saying of Euphemius in Thucydides, "that for a king or a city which has an empire to maintain, nothing is unjust which is useful; and to the same effect is the saying that, for those who have supreme power, the equity is where the strength is; . . . that war is far from having anything to do with rights, is not only the opinion of the vulgar, but even learned and prudent men let fall expressions which favor such an opinion." "It is very usual," he says, "to put *rights* and *arms* in opposition to each other;" and he quotes the line of Ennius, "They have recourse to arms and not to rights," and lines from Horace and other poets to the same effect. Antigonus, he says, "laughed at a man who, when he was besieging his enemies' cities, brought to him a dissertation on justice."

Grotius in these citations takes us back to a time two millenniums ago. If he could have listened forward three centuries, he would have been disheartened and appalled to find that this was still a fashionable dialect, and that the spirit which he execrated was rampant in the American Senate and the British Parliament in this twentieth century. If we pleaded our Hague conferences and Lake Mohonk, he might tell us that he wanted something more than rhetoric; that, as for rhetoric, he could bring us some of that on the side of internationalism also from two millenniums ago; for yet more impressive than his array of classical statements of the principles upon which Christian America and England were waging their wars in the Philippines and South Africa, at the very time that Mr. White was paying his tribute in the old church at Delft, is the passage in which he shows us how the better minds of pagan Greece and Rome were thrilled by visions of universal justice and the organization of the world:

"If no society whatever can be preserved without the recognition of mutual rights, assuredly that society which includes the whole human race, or at any rate the greater part of nations, has need of the recognition of rights, as Cicero saw when he said that some things are so bad that they are not to be done even for the sake of saving our country. Aristotle speaks with strong condemnation of those who, while they will allow no one to hold rule among themselves except him who has the right to do so, yet in their dealings with strangers have no care of rights or the violation of rights. We have quoted Pompey's expression on the other side; yet when a certain Spartan king had said, 'Happy that republic which has for its boundaries the spear and the sword,' Pompey corrected him and said, 'Happy rather that which has justice for its boundary.' And to this effect he might have used the authority of another Spartan king, who gave justice the preference over military courage on this ground—that courage is to be regulated by justice, but if all men were just they would have no need of courage. Courage itself was defined by the Stoics as virtue exercised in defense of justice. The name of Minos became hateful to posterity in no other way than this, that he terminated his

equity at the boundaries of his own government. Themistius, in an oration to Valens, eloquently urges that kings, such as the rule of wisdom declares them to be, ought not to care for the single nation only which is committed to them, but for the whole human race. They should be, as he expresses it, not *philo-Macedonian* only, or *philo-Roman*, but *philanthropic*."

How near to that have we got in our practice today? Is even our preaching today better? If these old pagans could open their mouths to us after this fashion in this year of grace, telling us sharply that it is a disgrace for us, after these twenty centuries, to be thinking of ourselves in the first place as Americans or Englishmen or Frenchmen or Germans or Russians, instead of in the first place as men, as citizens of the world, if they should say this, their words would surprise and startle the common ear. Yet Grotius would say, and Andrew D. White would say, that in the quarter century since 1899 we have made distinct progress. The League of Nations and the World Court mark an immense advance in the realization of the great vision of Grotius and of Kant, and are a hopeful basis for further proceedings.

The social impulse, mutual compact, and the will of God—these are the foundations upon which Grotius builds his argument for universal law and an organized world. The assertion that man is by nature impelled to seek only his own individual advantage he refuses to concede. Among the properties peculiar to man is a desire for society, for a life spent in common with fellow-men, "and not merely spent somehow, but spent tranquilly and in a manner corresponding to the character of his intellect." Man is by nature a social being, not to be understood without the presupposition of society, impelled by the very principles of his nature to social relations and development, and this in ever higher degree and wider spheres. This social tendency is the source of natural law. It "may be rightly ascribed to God, because it was by His will that such principles came to exist in us."

Mutual society is required for the supply of our wants and for our safety. As individuals, we are weak and needy, and

association or subjection by mutual compact becomes necessary for the common defense and common good. Those who have joined any community "either expressly promised, or from the nature of the case must have been understood to promise tacitly, that they would conform to that which either the majority of the community or those to whom the power was assigned should determine." As with individuals in communities, so with communities in the great aggregate system of communities. "As a citizen who violates the civil law for the sake of present utility destroys that institution in which the perpetual utility of himself and his posterity is bound up, so a people which violates the laws of nature and of nations beats down the bulwarks of its own tranquillity for future time." There is no State so strong that it may not at some time need the aid of others. Alliances can have no force if rights are confined within the boundary of the individual State alone. Everything loses its certainty if we give up the belief in rights, and it is imperative that rights should be recognized in that society which includes the whole human race.

Such is the argument. It is not a plan for the federation of the world. Hugo Grotius was not Immanuel Kant. He did not clearly foresee a time when wars would cease. He quotes Demosthenes as saying that war was "a mode of dealing with those who could not be kept in order by judicial proceedings." Kant saw that truth; he saw that war would never cease until a rational substitute for war was provided, and he addressed his speculation to that provision. Judicial proceeding was the method in the nation because the nation was organized. The nation was the largest thing yet organized; Kant would organize the world, creating a sovereignty above every national sovereignty. Grotius, not looking so far ahead as that, still conceding recourse to arms in certain cases legitimate because there was no other recourse, would try to keep nations from going into any war save such as the old Romans called "a pure and pious war," with the consciousness of justice on their side; and, war being undertaken, he would have it conducted "religiously," according to those laws of war which it was

one of the great purposes of his book to state. The scope of his book can best be shown in brief by the outline of the contents, which he himself gives in the introduction:

"In the First Book (after a preface concerning the origin of rights and laws) we have examined the question whether any war be just. Next, in order to distinguish between public and private war, we have to explain the nature of sovereignty—what peoples, what kings, have it entire, what partial, who with a right of alienation, who otherwise—and afterward we have to speak of the duty of subjects to superiors.

The Second Book, undertaking to expound all the causes from which war may arise, examines what things are common, what are property, what is the right of persons over persons, what obligation arises from ownership, what is the rule of royal succession, what right is obtained by pact or contract, what is the force and interpretation of treaties, of oaths, private and public; what is due for damage done, what is the sacredness of ambassadors, the right of burying the dead, and the nature of punishments.

The Third Book has for its subject, in the first place, what is lawful in war; and when it has drawn a distinction between that which is done with impunity, or may even, in dealing with foreigners, be defended as consistent with rights, and that which is really free from fault, it then descends to the kinds of peace and the conventions in war."

"The reader will do me injustice," writes Grotius in his introduction, "if he judges me to have written with a regard to any controversies of our own time, either such as already exist or such as can be foreseen as likely to arise. I profess, in all sincerity, that, as mathematicians consider their figures as abstracted from body, so did I, in treating of rights, abstract my mind from every particular fact." This was undoubtedly true; and it is to be remembered that the idea of his great work had been in the mind of Grotius from his very youth. Yet he was urged on to his work the more imperatively, as he tells us in recounting the "many and grave causes" why he should write, by the deplorable condition of Europe in his own time. This weighed upon his mind in his exile. The plans

of his youth came back to him, deepened by a life of stern experience, and his exile was redeemed and glorified by his great pioneering effort to extend the realm of law over the whole warring world. "Having practiced jurisprudence in public situations in my country with the best integrity I could give, I would now, as what remains to me, unworthily ejected from that country, graced by so many of my labors, promote the same subject, jurisprudence, by the exertion of my private diligence." Slowly as the thought of Grotius has mastered the world, we cannot forget the mighty influence of his great work, in the twenty years between its publication and his death, in 1645, upon the mind of Gustavus Adolphus in his campaigns, upon the mind of Richelieu, as shown in his mercy toward Rochelle, and upon the Peace of Westphalia.

One of the most impressive and most prophetic of Horace Bushnell's addresses was that upon "The Growth of Law;" and its most significant pages are those in which the writer looks forward to the triumph of the international spirit and sees the end of wars in a rational and organized world. In these pages occurs a memorable tribute to Grotius, which is one of the most eloquent passages in all of Bushnell's writings:

"I know of nothing which better marks the high moral tone of modern history than that the sublime code of international law should have come into form and established its authority over the civilized world within so short a time; for it is now scarcely more than two hundred years since it took its being. In the most polished and splendid age of Greece and Grecian philosophy, piracy was a lawful and even honorable occupation. Man upon the waters and the shark in them had a common right to feed on what they could subdue. Nations were considered as natural enemies, and for one people to plunder another by force of arms and to lay their country waste was no moral wrong, any more than for the tiger to devour the lamb. In war no terms of humanity were binding, and the passions of the parties were mitigated by no constraints of law. Captives were butchered or sold into slavery at pleasure. In time of peace it was not without great hazard that the citizen of one country

could venture into another for purposes of travel or business.

Go now with me to a little French town near Paris, and there you shall see, in his quiet retreat, a silent, thoughtful man, bending his ample shoulders and more ample countenance over his table and recording with a visible earnestness something that deeply concerns the world. This man has no office or authority to make him a law-giver other than what belongs to the gifts of his own person—a brilliant mind enriched by the amplest stores of learning and nerved by the highest principles of moral justice and Christian piety. He is, in fact, a fugitive and exile from his country, separated from all power but the simple power of truth and reason. But he dares, you will see, to write *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*. This is the man who was smuggled out of prison and out of his country by his wife, to give law to all the nations of mankind in all future ages. On the sea and on the land, on all seas and on all lands, he shall bear sway. In the silence of his study he stretches forth his sceptre of law over all potentates and peoples, defines their rights, arranges their intercourse, gives them terms of war and terms of peace, which they may not disregard. In the days of battle, too, when kings and kingdoms are thundering in the shock of arms, this same Hugo Grotius shall be there in all the turmoil of passion and the smoke of ruin, as a presiding throne of law commanding above the commanders, and, when the die is cast, prescribing to the victor terms of mercy and justice, which not even his hatred of the foe nor the exultation of the hour may dare to transcend."

I have expressed regret that there is no translation of Grotius's "Rights of War and Peace" published in cheap and popular form. It is also to be regretted that there is no adequate English book about Grotius.

The French life, by M. de Burigny, which appeared in 1752, was translated and published in England two years later; but this is now practically an unknown book. A biography by Charles Butler, of London, was published in 1826, but its presence in some of our libraries does not forbid our repeating that we have yet no adequate life of Grotius. Here is a splendid beckoning for some American historian and student of international law. A good brief biography

is sure to be included in the series of lives of the great men of Holland now appearing under the editorship of Mr. Bok, and for that we shall be grateful. But we need something more than that. We need a comprehensive survey of Grotius's life and time, of the most thorough and scientific character. The man pre-eminently fitted for that service is Dr. Charles H. Levermore, the recent winner of the Bok Peace Prize, formerly president of Adelphi College, with his rare mastery of the history of the seventeenth century, his large acquaintance with both the theological and political literature of the period, and his deep devotion to the cause of peace and international order. I have said that the best essay on Grotius in our language is that by Andrew D. White, in his "Seven Great Statesmen." There are important discussions by Hallam and others, and none of us can forget the learned and able article in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* by Mark Pattison.

Into the details of Grotius' life the purpose of the present paper does not command us to enter. The simple outlines are these: He was born at Delft, in Holland, in 1583, the year before the assassination there of William the Silent, and died in 1645. He was one of the greatest scholars of his time, or, indeed, of any time, and this in almost every field of the learning of his age. At the age of fifteen he was engaged in editing classical texts, and he wrote three dramas in Latin. Taking the degree of doctor of laws at Leyden, he entered upon practice as an advocate and soon became advocate-general of the fisc for the provinces of Holland and Zeeland. He wrote largely upon theological subjects. In 1603 the United Provinces appointed him the official historian of their struggle with Spain. In 1613 he was one of a deputation to the English court to adjust certain differences between the two young maritime powers. This was in the period when our Pilgrim Fathers were living in Holland. He was soon plunged into the theological controversies in Holland, and he was condemned to imprisonment at the same time that Barneveldt was condemned to death. Escaping from prison through his wife's ingenuity, he took refuge in France; and there, in exile and poverty, he composed his great work, *De Jure Belli*

ac Pacis, the principles and plan of which had been conceived as early as 1604, when he was a youth of twenty-one. This must always be remembered in connection with his subsequent remark that he owed the suggestion of the work to his friend Paresi in Paris. His *Mare Liberum*, published without his permission in 1609, was a chapter of the early work. His obligations to his wealthy and generous friends in Paris were of course very great, some of them placing at his disposal their large libraries, without which the preparation of the work would have been almost impossible. It was the asylum furnished him in France in his extremity to which the world largely owes his immortal work. The work was published in 1625. After fruitless attempts to re-establish himself in Holland, he accepted service under the Crown of Sweden as Ambassador to the Court of France. He died at Rostock in 1645, on a return journey from Stockholm.

In wishing for a different edition of Whewell's translation of Grotius, the warmest thanks are due to Whewell for his work. His mere name is the guarantee of the critical character of the translation. I have said that it is an abridged translation. There was good reason why it should be that. One of our journals has recently been lamenting the decline of literary allusion in modern writing. Its comparison was with a century and half a century ago. A journal of either of those periods, looking back to Grotius, might have made the same lament. The degree of literary allusion with Grotius is something overwhelming. He can hardly make a statement without hunting up some testimony by the Greek and Roman philosophers, historians, poets, and orators, the Bible writers, the Church fathers, and the Schoolmen, along the same lines, and massing it for us by way of confirmation. His book is thus a rich anthology; but the method is one which makes the movement of the argument very slow, and the ordinary reader, who is concerned with the book's central purpose, often impatient. Whewell had sympathy with this modern reader, and in his translation the wealth of literary allusion and reinforcements is reduced to the lowest terms consistent with clearness and force.

Whewell, in his valuable preface, in which the moral and political philosophy of Grotius is ably discussed, directs special attention to this prophetic word of the great thinker: "It will be useful and, indeed, it is almost necessary, that certain congresses of Christian powers should be held, in which controversies which arise among some of them may be decided by others who are not interested, and in which measures may be taken to compel the parties to accept peace on equitable terms." Mr. White said justly in his address at Delft: "The germ of arbitration was planted in modern thought when Grotius, in the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, urging arbitration and mediation as preventing war, wrote these solemn words: 'Especially are Christian kings and States bound to try this way of avoiding war.'"

Mr. White's noble address closed with a high command and prophecy, which he placed in the mouth of Grotius himself: "From the tomb of Grotius," he said, "I seem to hear a voice which says to us, as the delegates of the nations, 'Go on with your mighty work; avoid, as you would avoid the germs of pestilence, those exhalations of international hatred which take shape in monstrous fallacies and morbid fictions regarding alleged antagonistic interests. Guard well the treasures of civilization with which each of you is entrusted; but bear in mind that you hold a mandate from humanity. Pseudo-philosophers will prophesy malignantly against you; pessimists will laugh you to scorn; cynics will sneer at you; zealots will abuse you for what you have *not* done; sublimely unpractical thinkers will revile you for what you *have* done. Heed them not; go on with your work. Go on with the work of strengthening peace and humanizing war; give greater scope and strength to provisions which will make war less cruel; and, above all, give to the world at least a beginning of an effective practicable scheme of arbitration.' These are the words which an American seems to hear issuing from this shrine today; and I seem also to hear from it a prophecy. I seem to hear Grotius saying to us,

'Fear neither opposition nor detraction. As my own book, which grew out of the Eighty Years' War and the Thirty Years' War, contained the germ from which your great conference has grown, so your work, which is demanded by a world bent almost to breaking under the weight of ever-increasing armaments, shall be a germ from which future conferences shall evolve plans ever fuller, better, and nobler.'" Geneva is fulfilling the prophecy.

It was in 1625 that Grotius published his "Rights of War and Peace." The century was just drawing to its close when William Penn published his famous "Plan for the Peace of Europe." Another century passed on, and in 1795 came Immanuel Kant's sublime tractate on "Eternal Peace." Another century passed on; William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society, had pleaded for a Congress and High Court of Justice, Tennyson had sung of the parliament of man, and Edward Everett Hale had preached a permanent international tribunal; and in 1899 we saw, for the first time in human history, the official representatives of the nations gathered at The Hague to take counsel together for universal law and order. It was fitting that they should pilgrimage together to the tomb of Grotius, there to renew and deepen their consecration to the great service to which they were called. America should count it a holy honor that the voice which spoke for the delegates of the nations on that solemn occasion was an American voice, and that it was an American President, the successor of Washington and Jefferson, the great peace statesmen of their time, who was the real founder of the League of Nations, which put the principles of Grotius and Kant into practical operation. Looking backward to Grotius and looking forward to the future, we of this new world Republic should highly resolve on this eloquent anniversary more bravely to do our part, as becomes the sons of the fathers who sailed from Delfthaven, to bring in the universal reign of reason and to organize the world.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

OUR AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH IN LONDON

(In his address at the Pilgrim's dinner, London, May 4, Ambassador Alanson B. Houghton delivered the following address:)

I rise, naturally, with some embarrassment. I realize that I have done nothing to deserve this welcome. But I am comforted by the reflection that no man receiving it could possibly appropriate it to himself. On behalf of the President, who sends me here, and the great people I have the honor to represent, as well as on my own behalf, I thank you.

It was Lord Lyons, I believe, who said that the proudest feather in his cap was the fact that he had left America without making a single speech. My own record is not so good. But I take a certain pride, nevertheless, in the fact that I left Germany with only one speech to my credit, and that in English. It is instances like these, after all, which make diplomacy so attractive to the diplomat and to the people to which he is accredited.

Tonight, of course, it does not count. This dinner has come to be something more than a mere occasion of hospitality. It has become, in fact, a significant, if unofficial, step in the routine whereby an American Ambassador takes office. And I should be within tradition, I suspect, if I undertook now to say something about Anglo-American relations.

But what is there to say? James Russell Lowell, in one of his essays, speaks of "the difficulty of beguiling a new melody out of the one-stringed instrument upon which we have been thrumming so long." I take the quotation, of course, quite apart from the context. I am sure Lowell did not have this evening in mind.

But when I began to ask myself what I could say to you tonight, and by some unconscious cerebration that long forgotten phrase of his came to my mind, it did seem to describe a possible situation with some

accuracy. I say possible, for I fancy that the much thrummed instrument still is somewhere about the premises; I could, I dare say, if pushed to it, essay a few variations on its single string—and the audience is here and helpless. But, frankly, I see neither use nor propriety in such an effort; I am not enamored of the obvious.

Our Friendship No Tender Plant

I cannot bring myself to think that you need assurance from me of American good will and understanding; rather does it seem to me that there are relations between the English-speaking peoples which we may safely take for granted and regarding which a certain reticence is instinctive and, in my poor opinion, desirable. I believe wholeheartedly that tangled up and involved in these friendly relations is the promise of a better and happier world.

But, surely, the time is past when we need to dig up this friendship, as it were, on festive occasions, to examine the roots and felicitate ourselves on their growth and vitality. It is not a tender plant; it has endured through days which meant deeds rather than words. We have no reason to anticipate its untimely demise. But I will confess to you that in moments of rare and solitary self-communion I sometimes wonder if it were not well that it be spared the scorching winds of after-dinner oratory.

I am going to assume, therefore, that you will not expect me to refer specifically to "Hands across the sea," or "Blood is thicker than water," or even to "Our common law." I hesitate, but I think we might perhaps usefully include also "the language of Shakespeare," which neither of us uses. No doubt there are others. With your permission I shall lay them all aside.

What I do want to say a word about is the attitude of the plain people of America toward the reconstruction of Europe. I think that is important, because the American Foreign Offices are, in a very literal sense, the homes of the American people,

and because in these homes matters are discussed and decisions reached which, in the end, determine the attitude of the American Government.

I feel the desire because every now and then I either hear or read a statement which seems to imply that America's relation to the problem of reconstruction is substantially that of a participant in a gigantic game of skill, in which it behooves her to play her cards very warily, lest suddenly and without their knowledge the American people find themselves subject to heavy penalties. I may say frankly that is not my own view.

Points to Europe's Recent Progress

I doubt if the American people look upon their ventures in reconstruction in any such fashion. Their viewpoint is much more like your own. They, like you, are contemplating the slow recovery of a world which has been badly hurt morally and physically by war. If material progress hitherto has been slow, we can at least congratulate ourselves that it has been sure.

As we cast our eyes backward over the past year, for instance, we note a really substantial advance. The fundamental necessity that the peoples of Central Europe shall be enabled once again to go to work has been met; capital, without which the other factors of production could not be made to operate, has been supplied; currency values have been largely stabilized. Your own long-sustained and magnificent effort to place your money on a gold basis has been crowned with success.

Order has been established, and while to some extent the disorganization of international trade and markets, which came as a natural consequence of the war, still persists, marked improvement has been shown even here. It has been a somewhat trying time. We have, no doubt, learned a good deal in the process. That much at least we can put among our assets. But the heavy work is done, the foundations of a new prosperity have been laid.

Nevertheless, what remains to be done is almost as difficult as what has already been accomplished. It involves considerations which are more or less intangible; it involves, in particular, a changed attitude of mind, for what the war destroyed was not only human lives, dreadful as was the toll, nor property, nor the forces of government.

It destroyed for the moment belief in one another's good faith, and good faith is the cement which binds civilizations together. Without it, units, whether individual or national, simply fall apart.

If human society is to function again as a whole, that good faith must at least be assumed. Peace cannot come from without; it must come from within.

Now, we in America, as you know, are not wholly without experience in the kind of problems that have been tormenting Europe. We know the meaning of the wreckage and devastation a great war brings in its train; we know what it means to borrow capital under difficult conditions; we know the meaning of depreciated money, for we saw our paper dollar shrink in value until it took almost three of those dollars to buy one gold dollar.

We know wholly the natural unrest and resentment which these unhappy conditions create and foster. And that knowledge, naturally enough, has taught us to look upon the aftermath of the war in Europe sympathetically and with an honest desire to help.

But we, too, are a practical people. When we lent our savings to make it possible for the peoples of Central Europe to get to work it was because we knew that only in this way could Europe as a whole be made to function economically. When we lent our savings to rebuild the markets which had been destroyed it was because we knew that in no other way could they again be enjoyed. That was necessary in the beginning; that was mere common sense. If we went at the job with a certain moral earnestness, let that go to our credit.

It is natural for us to assume that those who have suffered so much from war should seek a settlement which so far as is humanly possible should be free from conditions leading directly to war. To that end and in that spirit we have helped. But we have never forgotten that there was a limit beyond which we could not go.

What America Wants of Europe

The full measure of American helpfulness can be obtained only when the American people are assured that the time for destructive methods and policies has passed, and that the time for peaceful upbuilding has come. They are asking themselves if that time has in fact arrived. And that question

they cannot today answer. The answer must be given to them. It must come from the peoples of Europe, who alone can make the decision.

If the answer is peace, then you may be sure that America will help to her generous utmost. But if—which God forbid—that answer shall continue confused and doubtful, then I fear that those helpful processes which are now in motion must inevitably cease.

We are not, as a people, interested in making speculative advances. We can undertake to help only those who try to help themselves. And in saying this we are not thinking specifically of any one nation, but rather of a situation in which all are alike involved.

Now, with the working out of that problem in its details, the American people have no will nor desire to meddle. They recognize that into it factors enter with which they are only indirectly concerned. Their geographical position alone frees them from considerations which other nations must regard. They offer no advice. But I may say to you that they hope and that they fervently pray that a peace may soon be reached—not a peace of mere contrivance and arrangement based primarily on force, for that would merely be the prelude to another war, but a peace which contains the elements of permanency—a peace which will deserve and receive the moral support of mankind because it is just.

And they believe that such a peace can come in only one way. It must be based upon the assumption of good faith by all who participate in it. That assumption may be larger, or it may be smaller, but in proportion as men seek to eliminate it altogether their work will be in vain; for now, as always, peace can come only through mutual and hopeful endeavor. Peace is an adventure in faith.

Let me again express my warm and grateful appreciation of your generous hospitality. Never before, I think, have the relations between our peoples been so closely and so firmly knit. I look forward with happy anticipation to my life among you. I shall strive to carry on the noble traditions established by that long line of distinguished Americans who have preceded me here.

Be assured that I take up my work among you in the full confidence that any differences of opinion which may arise between

our governments will be met in that spirit of fairness and frankness which has characterized their dealings in the past, and which, I believe, merely reflects the desire of our two peoples, like self-respecting neighbors, to get through the day's work with a minimum of bickering overwhelmed by a maximum of good will. Again, I thank you.

GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE

(NOTE.—Following is the text of the reply made by the Council of the League of Nations to the memorandum of the German Government, transmitted to the Council on December 12, 1924, regarding the terms of Germany's entry into the League of Nations.)

The Council of the League of Nations has given careful consideration to the communication of the German Government dated December 12, 1924, regarding Germany's entry into the League.

The Council notes with satisfaction the declaration, with which that communication opens, that the German Government is of the opinion that the "political developments during the past year have rendered it possible for Germany to join the League," together with the statement in the enclosed memorandum, that the German Government have "decided to seek the early admission of Germany" to the League of Nations.

The German Government have already consulted the ten governments who are represented on the Council and have received authoritative replies from all of them. Any observations which can now be made by the Council, composed as it is of representatives of these same governments, will obviously not be at variance with those replies. The Council is glad, therefore, to learn that, with one exception, which is dealt with later, the replies are satisfactory to the German Government.

The Council observes that the German Government state, with reference to the conditions in which Germany desires to enter the League, that they have no intention of "claiming special privileges for Germany," but that they expect she shall enter on a footing of equality.

The Council notes that all the ten Governments are in complete agreement with this condition.

The Council indeed regards this principle of equality, involving as it does both equal

rights and equal obligations for all as being of the essence of the League's constitution.

At the same time it feels bound to point out that this principle has an important bearing on the special question which the German Government raises with regard to Article 16 of the Covenant. Though it is only in relation to this one article that Germany asks for an exceptional position, this article is of capital importance for the whole structure of the League, comprising, as it does, an important part, both of the safeguards enjoyed and the responsibilities accepted by all the members.

The German Government, in stating its position on this subject, calls attention to the military position of Germany resulting from the Treaty of Versailles and expresses the fear that if the measures provided for in the article lead to hostilities she would be incapable of protecting her territory against a military invasion. The government adds that in its view there is only one way out of the difficult situation in which Germany would be placed: "Should international conflicts arise, Germany ought to be at liberty to determine how far she will take an active part in them." Later in the communication the government expresses Germany's objection to being compelled, by virtue of entry into the League, "to waive the right to neutrality."

The Council considers that the following observations on this point may serve a useful purpose: The character and extent of a member's active co-operation in military measures undertaken by the League in pursuance of the Covenant must vary with the military situation of the member in question. Under the existing provisions of the Covenant it is the duty of the Council to recommend what effective military, naval or air forces the members of the League shall contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League, and it would be for Germany herself to say to what extent she was in a position to comply with the recommendations of the Council. The Council would further remind the German Government that a member of the League and of the Council would always have a voice in deciding the application of the principles of the Covenant.

As regards economic measures, the States' members of the League themselves decide, either separately or by prior agreement, the practical steps to be taken for the execution

of the general obligation which they have undertaken. But the provisions of the Covenant do not permit that, when action is undertaken in pursuance of Article 16, each member of the League should decide separately whether it shall take any part in that action.

The Council feels bound to express its clear opinion that any reservation of this kind would undermine the basis of the League of Nations and would be incompatible with membership of the League. It seems to the Council impossible that a member of the League and of the Council should, in the event of operations undertaken against a covenant-breaking State, retain a status which would exempt its nationals from the general obligations imposed by the Covenant. The Council need hardly point out that other countries whose military forces have also been limited by the provisions of the existing treaties have, on entering the League, accepted the obligations of the Covenant without reservation.

The Council trusts that these observations may be of use in elucidating the attitude of its members with regard to the questions raised by the German Government.

The general conditions of entry of new members are contained in Article 1 of the Covenant, which leaves the decision to the Assembly, which has on repeated occasions declared itself in favor of the universality of the League. Only by active co-operation as a member can a country have its due influence in the decisions of the League—decisions which cannot fail to be of far-reaching importance.

In conclusion the Council wishes to express to Germany its sincere wish to see her associated in its labors, and thus play, in the organization of peace, a part corresponding to her position in the world.

IN LIGHTER MOOD EFFICIENCY

"News Cable—Buenos Aires, April 15: Mr. —, accompanied by Mrs. —, arrived here today and will leave at once for Chile by Transandine Railway. He will reach Valparaiso Saturday, starting the same day on his return trip to Buenos Aires, where he will spend three days before sailing for the United States. Mr. — announced that he was studying the problems of commerce and

navigation, seeking first-hand information on commercial opportunities in Brazil, Argentine and Chile.'

"Ten hours in Valparaíso and Chile is all done and filed away. Three days in Buenos Aires, and there you have Argentine, Uruguay, and all their problems, from the Pampas to the Chaco, stowed away in a brief case. Brazil—nothing to it! An hour in Rio, ten minutes in Manaus—Zas!—there's the Sugar Loaf, the Amazon Valley, explored, investigated and tucked into a vest pocket!

"The first time I go back to Spain I am going to spend an hour in Madrid, 37 minutes in Barcelona, and 7 and 2-5 minutes in Seville. The articles I will write will make your hair stand on end.

"But first, I must complete a course in efficiency with the colossally efficient Mr.

—
"Because that's just what we Spaniards lack—efficiency."

(Translated from Alvaro's column in *La Prensa*, New York.)

—
"After all, America and England are very much alike,—except, of course, the language."
—*Oscar Wilde*.

—
Now that the aeronaut has decided that the battle ship is out of date as a war machine, we appropriately announce that the Navy Department is to explore the bottom of the sea.

—
The inventor of the death ray turns from war to peace and invents the "luminaphone," with which he hopes to put the pipe organ out of business, but it is our observation that light music has already superseded about every other kind.—*George Rothwell Brown*.

—
Secretary Kellogg's record already ranks him as the greatest Secretary of State this country has had since 'way back in the days of Charles E. Hughes.—*Washington Post*.

—
Page the Red Cross!

A coreless apple is progress, but it is going to mean a lot of homeless worms.—*Detroit News*.

News in Brief

THE PAN-PACIFIC UNION, which held an important conference on food conservation July 31 to August 14, 1924, centers its activities now in buildings given to it in Honolulu for the foundation of a Pan-Pacific research institution. The conference last summer broke up into permanent groups of workers. It is expected that these and other groups will hold frequent sessions at the Institute, beginning this summer. There will soon be groups considering all the following subjects, with perhaps others: International Law, Oceanography, Fisheries, Race and Population Problems, Crop Development, Forestry, and Climatology.

AT A MEETING IN HONOLULU, recently called to pay tribute to Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who died March 12, it was determined to call a conference of educational leaders in Pacific lands to discuss the formation of a Pan-Pacific university. Such a university was the dream of the great Chinese leader, who was himself educated in Hawaii. Dr. Sun Yat Sen wished especially to educate adult Chinese laborers, working in Honolulu, in such subjects as modern construction, sanitation, and agriculture, hoping that they would return to China as supervisors of such works in their own country.

THE CHILEAN AMBASSADOR, Mr. Beltran Mathieu, has completed arrangements for the commission of experts who will go, at the request of the Chilean Government, to investigate and report on the financial problems of Chile. Prof. E. W. Kemmerer, of Princeton University, who was one of the consulting experts on the Dawes Commission, is chairman of this commission. Chile has decided that her long-standing financial difficulties shall no longer be a matter of politics. The commission will be authorized to draw plans for taxes, duties, banking institutions, and the conversion of the depreciated currency to a gold standard.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING in the schools and colleges of Japan became effect-

ive the middle of April, coincidentally with an imperial ordinance detailing military officers to act as instructors. This measure has occasioned one of the bitterest fights in the turbulent history of education in Japan.

A GROUP OF PAN AMERICAN WOMEN, one from each country in South and Central America, the United States, and Canada, held a conference in Washington the last week in April. They discussed problems relating to a Western Hemisphere of friendly relations and peace and the equal advancement of women with men.

THE NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED who were receiving government dole in Vienna on April 5 was 77,057, compared with 78,089 at the beginning of the month. Lower figures were also returned from the region about Vienna.

THAT MUSIC IS THE MOTHER TONGUE of the world is the thought underlying the World Fellowship through Music, which held a convention in Washington April 15-17. The great event of the conference was the rendering of Bach's wonderful mass in B minor by the Bach Choir of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. It is the belief of the founders of the Fellowship that peace will come to the world through music, which is the soul of peace.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON CHILD WELFARE will be held at Geneva August 24-28, 1925. It will place specifically international matters in the forefront of its program, such as help for foreign children in countries of their residence, the education of children in international good will, etc. The program is not yet definitely settled, but it has already been decided that medical, hygienic, sociological, legislative, educational, and propaganda questions will be dealt with. All who are interested in the welfare of mothers and children are invited to attend.

AUTONOMOUS POWERS to sea and river ports in Rumania are likely to be granted by the Government at Bucharest, according to the *Central European Observer*. The ports would possess free zones, where foreigners might have their own factories and warehouses. Very considerable importance for the development of transit trade by way of Rumania to Russia and the East is attached to this proposal.

THE ASSOCIATED ADVERTISING CLUBS of the World, in convention at Houston, Texas, passed a resolution on outlawry of war at a meeting on May 14. "War is the foe of trade," the resolutions said, "the destroyer of property created by labor, and is the common enemy of mankind. Therefore it should be outlawed." President Coolidge was asked to "place the outlawry of war in the forefront of any world conference he may call to consider disarmament or any other question relating to world peace."

A HOUSE IN SEVILLE, SPAIN, will be opened officially on May 30, in memory of Washington Irving. It contains a library of books on Spain, especially Andalusia, and many interesting books and autographs presented by the Irving family. The house will also be used as a club by Americans who live in Seville.

THRIVING REFUGEE TOWNS HAVE SPRUNG UP in Attica and in the Saloniki region. The new towns that have sprung up in Attica were built at first by the government and later by the Refsetcom (Refugees' Settlement Commission), to which they have been assigned as part security for the loan. They are remarkably promising settlements. Called "urban camps," they are towns in the making, already far superior in many respects to the reeking slums of Piræus and parts of Athens, for they have been built according to plan, with wide streets, detached houses, passable sanitation, street lighting, and the beginnings of municipal government. In the vicinity of Saloniki villages reach nearly to the Yugoslav border. Here the refugee settlements are devoted to market gardens and other agricultural industries. There are also many fishing communities.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS held its annual convention at Richmond, Virginia, April 16-22. The League is strongly in favor of the entry of the United States in the World Court, but on other international questions diverse opinions exist. A concentrated drive for world peace is in the plan of work for the year.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN held a convention in Indianapolis on April 8. Work for the World Court, study of the League of Nations and the Geneva Protocol, building of international university clubhouses, the interchange of students and

teachers as missionaries of peace and the unbiased presentation of history and geography in school textbooks are some of the topics discussed at the sessions.

THE U. S. FOREIGN SERVICE SCHOOL opened in April, under the new law for the improvement of diplomatic work. It is now required that all officers entering the diplomatic service must serve one year on probation, during which time they are assigned to the Foreign Service School. This has two objects, to give the new officers a general view of the political, economic, and industrial world problems as background for their future work, and to familiarize them with the working and policies of the United States Government, so that they will be better fitted to represent the government abroad.

THE FREE ZONE OF SALONIKI has been opened by Greece to Yugoslavia, and a special commission has been formed by the Belgrade Government to draw up a plan for the establishment of a port.

This plan will provide, in the first place, for a necessary extension of railway lines; and, further, for the building of warehouses and buildings for communication with the customs and State monopolies, and, finally, for the purchase of land adjoining the zone to facilitate work in the zone.

THE RECENT REPORT OF THE METRIC ASSOCIATION calls attention to the fact that the organization now has a bill before Congress providing for the change by the United States to the metric system within ten years. Many foreign nations, it is pointed out, have made the change within a period of from three to five years.

Since the World War ten countries, including China, Japan, and Russia, have legally adopted the system. The association sees a decided trend toward world standardization on the international metric basis. An indication of this is found in the action of the recent Pan-American Standardization Conference at Lima, Peru, at which delegates from the United States, Mexico, and Central and South American republics passed a resolution favoring the exclusive use of the metric system in all commercial transactions.

THE MOST REV. DR. TIKHON, former Patriarch of All Russia, died in Moscow April 8. Although past seventy years of age, he had continued to fight his church adversaries of

the so-called "Living Church." Dr. Tikhon was officially deposed from the Patriarchate and excommunicated from the Orthodox Church by the Russian Orthodox Conclave in 1922. His supporters, however, refused to acknowledge the action of the conclave and still regarded him as the head of the Russian Orthodox Church.

BOOK REVIEWS

SYLLABUS ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By Parker Thomas Moon. Macmillan Co., 1925. Pp. 276.

The Institute of International Education publishes this syllabus in order to give American students an opportunity to study some of the problems confronting the world today.

It will be valuable to persons studying by themselves, as well as for college classes, for references are many and explicit. The classification is excellent, tending to provoke thought and raise questions to be answered by the student himself, after reading.

The subjects covered are nationalism and conflicts, imperialism, militarism, the history of international relations, national policies, economics, diplomacy, and international organization.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL PROGRESS. By B. G. A. Johnston. Macmillan Co., 1924. Pp. 263.

In a thorough and scholarly manner, if not a very lively one, Professor Johnston here sums up the work of the International Labor Organization at Geneva.

"That the first international body to commence activities was concerned, not with political questions, but with problems of industry, is of special significance," he says, in the story of its opening conference at Washington in October, 1919. It began in an atmosphere of indifference, not to say hostility, in this country.

Nevertheless, being founded on a real need and proceeding, as it does, on immediate problems of the work-a-day world, the labor organization has made real achievement in

its first five years. There government officials and representatives of employer and of labor have debated questions and arrived at policies. As a result of their work, some four hundred legislative acts have passed the parliaments of diverse nations.

The collection and distribution of information on labor questions among the nations is of the utmost importance. This the office has done liberally.

Its work has been truly Herculean, because of the difference in national standards, customs, traditions, institutions and language. These things are gradually in process of reduction to a common denominator. The process makes a readable story, and Professor Johnson's methodical analysis is most interesting.

THE ETHICS OF SOCRATES. By *Miles Menander Dawson*. G. P. Putnam, 1925.

The subtitle of this book states that it is "a compilation of the teachings of the Father of Greek and Roman philosophy, as reported by his disciples, Plato and Xenophon, and developed and commented upon by Aristotle, Cicero, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, and others."

The arrangement of the book, however, constitutes its unique value to modern readers. Dr. Dawson has grouped paragraphs according to topics and joined them with a clear running commentary. Thus the cogent reasoning and right thinking of the man who has so profoundly influenced the thought of the last 2,500 years is really recast in modern form. Paragraphs are well separated under chapter heads, and subheads in bold-faced type serve as guides, even to the man who wishes to read philosophy rapidly.

The selections made for this book, too, are for the most part those which naturally interest modern folk.

If the book has a lack, it is a topical index. Otherwise it is a graphic presentation of ideas which, though old, are perennially young. Of course, when a man has been tabulated and graphed he is something quite different; but books such as this help, especially the young "seekers after knowledge."

THE OIL TRUSTS AND ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. By *E. H. Davenport and Sidney Russell Cooke*. Macmillan, New York, 1924. Pp. 272. Price, \$2.50.

Popular suspicion of oil deals and oil magnates has become well-nigh universal. To pour oil on the troubled political waters anywhere in the world today seems to mean immediate tempest and not calm. The history of oil "has been a history of improper principles, improper influences, improper moves. The scene has always been the back stairs."

The authors of this book feel that in the interest of sanity it is time to rescue truth from rumor and "to piece the established facts together without prejudice or propaganda."

To this end they give a thorough review of the oil policy, first of Great Britain, then of the United States. They thread a way through political complexities with clarity, believing that the whole assumption of "oil power" is a great illusion.

The conclusion they reach is that only through international co-operation can the oil question be handled to the ultimate good of the world at large, but that this co-operation should take the form of enforcing universally the principle of the "open door." On this basis the arch-offenders, Great Britain and the United States, might get together on saner policies; on this basis oil would cease, they think, to be a cause of friction.

MEN AND POLICIES; ADDRESSES BY ELIHU ROOT. Collected and edited by *Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott*. Harvard University Press, 1925. Pp. 511. Price, \$5.00.

The addresses and state papers of Mr. Root, of which this is the latest volume, constitute a remarkably complete record of the constructive policies, foreign and domestic, of the American Government during many years.

The surviving editor, Mr. Scott, alludes, in his preface, to the "Root doctrine," enunciated after his trip to South America and Mexico in 1906, in which kindly consideration and honorable obligation are the mainsprings of action.

The volume now published gathers up the papers and speeches of Mr. Root since the World War. The arrangement is not chronological, but according to subject. First come those which have to do with prominent Americans; the second part with law and its

administration; the last two with readjustments after the war and with international affairs.

Here is significant work on a world scale by a man of a large mould. His utterances are of permanent importance.

MEN AND ISSUES. By *George Wharton Pepper*. Duffield, New York, 1924. Pp. 308. Price, \$2.50.

We have here a volume of speeches, mostly brief ones, delivered at various times and places by the senior Senator from Pennsylvania. They are quick with the forceful personality behind them, and, since these are stirring times and Senator Pepper is vitally interested in most of the questions of the hour, the book makes good reading. It is a worthy addition to the Contemporary Statesmen series.

A HISTORY OF THE PUBLIC LAND POLICIES. By *Benjamin Horace Hibbard*. Macmillan, New York, 1924. Pp. 591. Price, \$4.50.

Agrarian and land reform measures are uppermost in the discussions of many nations today. Not only in Russia is this so. Mexico is struggling with the agrarian question. Ireland has already introduced radical measures based on government supervision and financing. Denmark and New Zealand have inaugurated reforms. England and Italy seem to be on the verge of land-reform measures.

In our own country the events of 1924, in connection with oil leases, served a purpose, in that they showed the great need of a general land policy. Agriculture, grazing, irrigation, settlements, are not the only phases of the problem. The natural treasure below ground—oil, minerals, and especially coal—ought, in some way, to be socially controlled for the benefit of an otherwise helpless public. Such, in general, is the thesis of Professor Hibbard.

In order to prepare the way for the consideration of such a plan, he makes in this book a careful summary of our history in land legislation and practice. Alexander Hamilton saw in land sale principally a means of raising necessary revenue. Today, conservation is seen as the prime necessity. In one department, at least, a fair beginning

is already made in this particular, namely, the Forestry Service. In addition to the natural resources, Professor Hibbard considers the settlers themselves. Some should, he thinks, be helped to leave unproductive tracts; others to settle on hopeful agricultural sites.

Chapter summaries, tables, maps, and charts, with footnote references, are ready for the thoroughgoing student. For the general reader, Professor Hibbard's colorful facts, his biographical allusions to well-known persons and their influences on our land policies are of sufficient appeal to make the book readable and interesting. It is United States history from a fresh angle.

OUR GOVERNMENTAL MACHINE. By *Schuyler C. Wallace*. Pp. 223. Alfred A. Knopf, 1924.

The substance contained in this little paper-covered volume first appeared in *The Woman Citizen*, and was broadcast also from New York by radio. The style, therefore, is chatty and informal, though Mr. Wallace omits none of the essential themes appearing in more conventional books of civics. His attitude toward the Constitution, as well as the machinery of our government, is one of non-chalant, not to say amused, criticism; yet, on the whole, the book is sympathetic with the ideals of America and the reader infers a basis of solid scholarship.

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN POLITICS. By *Edward Conrad Smith, Ph. D.* Pp. 496. A. L. Burt Co., New York, 1924. Price, \$2.50.

Here is a volume of miscellaneous information on matters relating to the politics of the United States, past and present. The material is arranged alphabetically. It includes not only definitions of words, but of entire phrases and expressions which have been current at some time in American history. Brief biographies are also included. Other useful features are outlines of important issues, domestic and foreign; the work and organization of the Government in its various branches; and the explanation of many significant expressions in constitutional, legal, diplomatic, and other affairs of public interest. It is a useful tool, especially for the writer or speaker on public affairs.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

Edited by ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

1815-1828

Suite 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

(Cable address, "Ampax, Washington.")

PUBLISHED MONTHLY EXCEPT SEPTEMBER

Sent free to all members of the American Peace Society. Separate subscription price, \$2.00 a year. Single copies, 20 cents each.

Entered as second-class matter, June 1, 1911, at the Post-Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917; authorized August 10, 1918.

It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

CONTENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD..... 379

EDITORIALS

Our "Imperialism" in the Caribbean—Significance of Our Trouble with Mexico—What will Great Britain Say?—Fondly Do We Hope—Official Japan and Emigration—Editorial Notes..... 381-389

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

Interparliamentary Union Meeting in October—France in Morocco (with map)—Internationalization of Tangiers—Caillaux's Financial Program—Soviet Policies in China—Ministerial Crisis in Belgium—Lord Bradbury on International Debts—Important International Dates (May 16-June 14, 1925)..... 390-404

A Poem by Rabindranath Tagore..... 405

GENERAL ARTICLES

Some Principles of Japanese Foreign Policy..... 406
By the Japanese Ambassador

The German Presidential Elections..... 411
By Professor Herbert F. Wright

The Croatian Capitulation..... 421
By Captain Gordon Gordon-Smith

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Our Communications with Mexico..... 424

Diplomatic Struggle for European Security..... 426
(Speech by Eduard Benesh)

Peace—a Poem by Aristophanes..... 436

NEWS IN BRIEF..... 437

BOOK REVIEWS..... 437

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.

Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.

It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.

Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State city, or nation.

It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.

FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is two dollars;

Sustaining Membership, five dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of ADVOCATE OF PEACE, Washington, D. C.

Hon. P. P. CLAXTON, Ex-United States Commissioner of Education, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Senator from Illinois, Washington, D. C.

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN, 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, Esq., Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

HENRY C. MORRIS, Esq., 1155 Hyde Park Boulevard Chicago, Ill.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, California.

Prof. ARTHUR RAMSAY, Ex-President Fairmont Seminary, Southern Pines, North Carolina.

THEODORE STANFIELD, 126 W. 74th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Hon. HENRY TEMPLE, Representative from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON
ARTHUR DEERIN CALL
Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN
Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY
Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE
Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS
HENRY C. MORRIS
THEODORE STANFIELD
JAY T. STOCKING, D. D.
Hon. HENRY W. TEMPLE
Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE

OFFICERS

President:

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

GEORGE W. WHITE, National Metropolitan Bank Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.
Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Washington, D. C.
Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.
A. T. BELL, Esq., Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.
GILBERT BOWLES, Esq., Richmond, Indiana.
Dean CHARLES R. BROWN, New Haven, Conn.
Pres. E. E. BROWN, New York University, New York
GEORGE BURNHAM, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston, Mass.
Dr. Rev. Bishop J. DARLINGTON, Harrisburg, Pa.
Dr. W. H. P. FAUNCE, Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
GEORGE A. FINCH, Washington, D. C.
EVERETT O. FISK, Esq., Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM P. GEST, Philadelphia, Pa.
Hon. CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Washington, D. C.
CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D. D., New York, N. Y.
Dr. DAVID STARR JORDAN, Stanford University, Calif.
Geo. H. JUDD, Washington, D. C.

Bishop WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Mass.
JOSEPH LEE, Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM H. LUDEN, Reading, Pa.
L. H. PILLSBURY, Derry, N. H.
Judge HENRY WADE ROGERS, New York, N. Y.
Hon. ELIHU ROOT, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. FREDERIC SCHOFF, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. RUTH H. SPRAY, Salida, Colo.
Senator THOMAS STERLING, Washington, D. C.
EDWARD STEVENS, Columbia, Mo.
*Pres. M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
*Pres. C. F. THWING, Cleveland, Ohio.
Pres. MARY E. WOOLLEY, South Hadley, Mass.

*Emeritus.

Suggestions for a Governed World

(Adopted by the American Peace Society, May 27, 1921)

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference

for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council in the performance of their respective duties whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment whenever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council

of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that.

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for and, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instructions in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
87

JULY, 1925

NUMBER
7

EDITORIALS

OUR "IMPERIALISM" IN THE CARIBBEAN

CHARGES that our United States Government has adopted a policy of imperialism in the Caribbean continue to appear. It is asserted by some that we as a people have been "committed to a policy of empire without knowing it." It is insisted that our executive departments are "acting the part of irresponsible bureaucrats, playing into the hands of big bankers," all on the theory that "marines follow the investor." A distinguished senator not so long ago expressed the view "that we are establishing over the Central American countries the dominance of the United States Government." A former United States consul to Venezuela and later to Nicaragua has recently told a Senate committee that the actual reasons for our being in Haiti "were actuated by the financial interests in New York, especially the National City Bank." One writer has pointed out that we are in Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, backing economic control by military force. Another writer has told a Senate committee that our government has taken upon itself "to assure, in varying degree, the overlordship of not less than half the republics of Latin America."

It is true that we have intervened in a number of Caribbean republics. Is the situation as bad as depicted? We think not.

Our Work in Santo Domingo

Take, for instance, our relations with the Dominican Government. Prior to 1905 that government found itself involved in financial difficulties with Europeans from whom it had borrowed money. Refusing or neglecting its obligations, it became evident that one or more European governments were about to intervene by force unless some action were taken by the United States. Under our Monroe Doctrine, our government could not look with favor upon any such intervention by a foreign power. A treaty was therefore entered into, under the terms of which President Roosevelt appointed a United States official as collector of customs of Santo Domingo and proceeded to apply the revenues to the service of an American loan, by which all outstanding Dominican obligations were refunded. Revenues over and above the amount required for meeting the loan were turned over to the Dominican Government. Under the treaty, the United States assumed responsibility for protecting the general receiver and his assistants in the performance of their duties. For a time this arrangement brought stability throughout the financial and political life of Santo Domingo.

Then difficulties arose. In 1911 President Cáceres was assassinated. Then followed a series of civil wars. The customs revenues were seriously reduced. The lives of the American appointees in the

customs service became so seriously endangered at a number of ports that some of the customs-houses had to be closed. As a result of revolutions, government succeeded government. The treaty of 1907 was violated and the public debt was increased without the consent of the United States.

Throughout this period the Government of the United States made every effort to exert its influence on behalf of orderly procedure and for the maintenance of constitutional authority. Repeatedly American peace commissioners brought about agreements between contending factions, only to have their work undone within a few months by the combination against the government of all political leaders convinced that they were receiving an inadequate rake-off from the public till.

In 1916 the Minister of War revolted against the President, who a short time before had been elected by free popular vote. It was then that the United States felt itself compelled to land troops to prevent a continuance of bloodshed and to protect foreign life and property, not to mention protection of its own customs officials. Then the Dominican President resigned, and the Congress selected a provisional president to succeed him. This provisional president refused to enter into any modification of the treaty of 1907 with the view of giving better assurance of the maintenance of order and the proper administration of the finances. A complete political and financial breakdown in the Republic clearly threatened. After a deadlock lasting for several months, the United States thereupon felt it necessary to direct the officer in command of our naval forces in Dominican waters to assume the direction of affairs and to set up a temporary military government. This military government was withdrawn as the result of a plan of evacuation signed in June, 1922, the last of these American forces leaving the country July 12, 1924.

These, in brief, are the really salient facts of our recent relations with Santo Domingo. It has not been altogether a happy business, but we find nothing in it to warrant the charge that we have been pursuing a policy of imperialism in that country.

As to Haiti

The case against the United States is even less tenable in our relations with the Republic of Haiti. Prior to 1915 conditions in Haiti were even worse than in the Dominican Republic. A long series of civil wars and revolutions had succeeded one another there with such frequency that in 1915 the country was obviously headed for chaos. The interest upon the large foreign debt, held for the most part in France, was paid only by neglecting other necessary governmental expenditures and by floating internal loans at exorbitant rates of interest. The finances of the government had reached the point where a complete default was obviously inevitable. This naturally led to serious political disturbances. In July, 1915, these disturbances culminated, under orders from President Guillaume Sam, in a massacre of several scores of political prisoners at Port au Prince. In retaliation for this act, a mob overthrew the government, dragged the President from his hiding place in the French Legation, and literally tore him to pieces in the streets. Thus the country was left without any government. In this situation the American marines were landed at the capital and at a number of other points to protect American and other foreign lives and property. Under the protection of these marines, it was possible for the Congress, in accordance with the constitution, to assemble and to elect a president.

A treaty was subsequently entered into with this new Haitian Government. Under the terms of this treaty we aimed to prevent a recurrence of the intolerable

conditions which had compelled the landing of the marines, assumed an obligation to assist the Haitian Government in the maintenance of stable conditions, in the reorganization of its finances, in sanitation, and in the development of the resources of the country. In fulfillment of the obligations assumed under this treaty, the Government of the United States felt itself compelled three years later to assist the Haitian Government to put down a revolt of those elements which had hitherto lived exclusively by revolution and brigandage, elements unwilling to accept the new conditions. This uprising was not an organized movement with definite political aims. It was rather an outbreak of banditry in the mountainous districts from which revolutionary leaders had frequently recruited forces for periodic attacks on the capital. This rebellion—there is no other word for it—was put down by the Haitian Government's own police forces, with the assistance of the marines, after a long and difficult campaign.

Following this the United States and Haiti went about the business of financial and economic rehabilitation. Because of the war the plans matured slowly. In recent years, however, very satisfactory progress has been made toward the development of the country's natural resources and the improvement of the conditions of living throughout the island.

A force of American marines is still stationed in Haiti, assisting our government to carry out its obligations under the treaty. This occupational force, however, has no part in the administration of the government, which is in the hands of Haitian officials, assisted by Americans appointed under the treaty. For some years our marines have taken no action toward the preservation of order in Haiti. They are retained there because both governments agree that their withdrawal at present might result in disturbances and

bloodshed. It is the intention of our government, however, that these marines shall be withdrawn as soon as the withdrawal can safely be effected. It is thought that this time is close at hand.

It is difficult to conduct international relations continuously according to fixed formulas, especially when the interests of nations in close proximity are involved. On theoretical grounds we have no business interfering with the internal affairs of any other government. It is dangerous business mixing up with the local broils of other families, even when asked to do so. And yet our work in Haiti, naturally distasteful to one section of opinion, has been most acceptable to another.

Haiti is no longer in a chaotic state due to a long succession of revolutions. For three years the Haitian Government and the treaty officials have been able to stabilize Haitian finances. They have improved the police force, established tranquillity in the country, developed much-needed public works, and set in motion a well-considered plan for agricultural development. The commerce of Haiti is particularly satisfactory. Port facilities have been improved. A system of lighthouses has been completed. The International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation is making a medical survey of the country. The Claims Commission is steadily at the job of settling the many outstanding claims and counter-claims. At the close of the last fiscal year there existed a cash surplus of nearly one and one-half million dollars. The public health service is bringing about improvement in the hospitals, studying the most prevalent diseases, extending outpatient clinics and dispensaries, training nurses, eliminating mosquitoes, carrying on medical conferences and laboratory work. All of this is brought about with the entire co-operation of the Haitian Government, working under the leadership of President Borno.

The aim throughout is to train a force sufficient to assume full direction of all this work. The great majority of all the employees in all the departments under American treaty officials are now Haitian citizens.

Balancing the debit and credit sides of our behavior in Haiti, we believe the net result to be the progress of Haiti. When we have withdrawn from that country—and that time should not be far away—our government will be justified in feeling that it has rendered a service where a service was very much needed.

In El Salvador

It has been charged that our United States Government has assumed an obligation to maintain by force the rights of our bankers interested in the loan contracted by the Republic of Salvador in 1923. This is an utter misstatement of fact. The Department of State has no relation to this matter except with respect to facilitating the arbitration and determination of disputes that may arise between the parties and the appointment of a collector of customs in case of a default. It is manifestly to the interest of peace and justice that there should be an appropriate method of deciding such controversies as they arise. Upon the specific request of the Government of Salvador and the interested bankers, the Secretary of State consented to use his good offices in referring such disputes to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, or, if he is unable to act, to another member of the Federal judiciary, for appropriate arbitration; also, at the request of the Government of Salvador and the interested bankers, the Secretary of State consented to assist in the selection of the collector of customs, who, according to the loan contract, is to be appointed in case of a default. The motive in this instance was simply to facilitate the choice of an en-

tirely competent and disinterested person. The contract provides further that the collector of customs, if appointed, will communicate to the Department of State such regulations relating to the customs administration as may be prescribed, and also a monthly and annual report. The Government of the United States has no relation to the loan except in these particulars.

As to Nicaragua

It is charged, furthermore, that a loan has been forced upon Nicaragua by the United States in 1911, and that marines were sent to that country a year later for the purpose of protecting this loan. The fact here is that the Nicaraguan Government requested the United States to send a force of marines to protect the lives and property of Americans and other foreigners in that country, and to assist in the maintenance of constitutional government, which was imperiled by the outbreak of a revolution. Most of these marines were withdrawn immediately after the mission had been accomplished. It was considered advisable, however, in view of the threatening conditions, to leave a legation guard of about one hundred men. This guard has remained in Nicaragua until now, and it has been generally agreed that the moral effect of its presence has helped to maintain respect for constitutional procedure and to uphold the duly constituted authority.

Feeling, however, that the maintenance of even such a small force in a foreign country is inconsistent with the general policy of the United States, the Nicaraguan Government was notified in November, 1923, that this guard would be withdrawn after January 1, 1925. More recently the Nicaraguan Government requested that the guard remain for a few months to assist in the training of a native constabulary, which request was conditionally granted. The Department of

State has made it clear, however, that this legation guard will be withdrawn, in any event, not later than September next.

Charges Unjustified

In the light of these facts, it does not appear that our United States Government has adopted a policy of imperialism in the Caribbean. We do not believe that our executive departments are acting the part of irresponsible bureaucrats, playing into the hands of big bankers. We have intervened in some of those countries. It is most unfortunate that we have felt it necessary to do so. With international law in its present undeveloped condition, however, we fail to see what better method could have been pursued. Our government has nothing but a feeling of friendship for our sister republics to the south.

SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR TROUBLE WITH MEXICO

THE only basis for any new opinion about our present relations with Mexico are the two communications, one by Secretary Kellogg and the other by President Calles, which statements appear elsewhere in these columns. At first, these documents leave us bewildered. Of course, political and commercial interests will appeal through the press for the support of public opinion; but there is only one course for intelligent persons to pursue in this case for the present; that is the attitude of suspended judgment—a difficult thing to adopt. But, of course, we are incapable of forming an intelligent opinion upon the equity in this case, because the issue involved is all so sudden, undocumented, and nebulous.

We are frank to confess, however, that the situation is very unfortunate. It may be that the conditions in Mexico are even worse than those pictured by Secretary Kellogg. The worst, however, that appears is that American properties may

have been illegally taken and without indemnification. If so, these are matters of private and not public international law. As such, they are issues for settlement by a court or by commissions duly appointed for that purpose. They ought not to be matters for discourteous interchanges of public charges and counter-charges.

A disturbing feature of the situation lies in the fact that Secretary Kellogg's communication followed a long conference with our ambassador to Mexico. It would appear, therefore, that there is a deeper reason for the Secretary's surprising statement than appears on the surface. Another revolution may be brewing in Mexico; the Mexican Government may be friendly to interests inimical to the United States; perhaps, more serious still, the truth concerning our relations with Mexico has been too long suppressed. If these things be true, the statements from Washington and Mexico City may prove to be a blessing in disguise.

In the meantime men and women of good faith will be comforted to recall that the claims commissions first proposed by Mexico in May, 1921, have been set up, and that our commissioners are prepared to carry out their part of the work for which the commissions were created.

Such an outbreak of ill-will leaves one outstanding conviction: That is that the work of the *Commission of Jurists of Rio de Janeiro* in behalf of the rules of international law should be pushed with renewed energy. Situations such as this are due primarily to an inadequate basis of law governing the relations between States. Mr. Kellogg's statement is interpreted not only in Mexico, but in other sections of Latin America, as lacking in "respect for the sovereignty of other peoples." It is interpreted as "a dictation," as a "provocation to revolution," as "insolent imperialism of Wall Street." Of course, these are empty phrases. But the notes referred to are also empty phrases.

Indeed, most of the troubles between nations arise over empty phrases. It would greatly lessen the causes of international ill-will were empty phrases relieved of their emptiness. International behavior needs definition. As recently said by David Jayne Hill, "The more profoundly the subject is considered, the more clear it becomes that international action should be controlled by rules previously agreed upon and solemnly accepted. The sum of these rules is what we mean by 'international law.'" Evidently our present relations with Mexico clearly indicate an absence of "rules previously agreed upon and solemnly accepted." Had there been such rules, the present situation need not have arisen. *La Prensa* (New York), referring to this matter, says: "Now, the one solution to this verbal war would seem to be a return to the normal ways of doing things. Mexico has an ambassador in Washington, and the United States has one in Mexico. They should be the means of communication for the two governments." We agree with this view. These agencies of government exist for such business. But there has not appeared recently any clearer demonstration of the need of an extension of the principles of international law than in these recent unhappy communications between the United States and Mexico.

WHAT WILL GREAT BRITAIN SAY?

AS WE fare forth to get a settlement of our claims abroad, one naturally wonders what Great Britain may be thinking. It is reasonable that we should wish to hear from our debtors—France, Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Jugoslavia, Rumania, Esthonia, Latvia, Russia. We have sent identical notes to all of these except Russia, asking for a solution of the debt question. We have suggested to France that she send a commission to America to go over the matter. Our gov-

ernment is quite insistent upon the point that whatever is done should be done in Washington. It is not strange that a creditor should expect his debtor to come to him. In all fairness, also, it is just to remark that it is time these debtors did something about our claims.

But most of these our debtors are debtors also to Great Britain. Great Britain has received nothing from her debtors; but, as a debtor nation herself, she is paying her bills. Why should Great Britain pay her bills and the other debtors be let off? Since Britain has funded her debt and is paying, she must wonder at our leniency toward the other debtors.

But there is another difficulty involved. It is suggested in certain quarters that we fund the French debt to us on terms more favorable than those accorded by our government to Great Britain. There are reasons why this should be done. If such an arrangement were made, however, it would be somewhat in the nature of a penalty upon Great Britain for being the first to pay up. If we arrange with France or Italy, for example, to pay us interest or capital, without any reference to the claims of Great Britain, we might be well within our rights; if we wish to give preferential terms to other debtors than Great Britain, it is in a sense our own business. But in such a case it would be quite natural for Britain to take the ground, if any payment is made by her debtors to the United States, that payment shall also be made to Great Britain at the same time and in the same proportion. Furthermore, Great Britain could not be expected to look with complacency upon one of her debtors granting priority treatment to another creditor, even if that creditor be the United States. In our steps toward settlement with our debtors we cannot, of course, ignore the one who is paying on account.

FONDLY DO WE HOPE

EVENTS following the memorandum submitted February 9 by the German Ambassador to France lend color to the view that important negotiations have been going on, particularly between London, Paris, and Berlin. Enough has leaked out to arouse a note of optimism, particularly throughout our American press. It appears that Great Britain and France have come to a meeting of minds upon a mutual security pact which, if now acceptable to Germany in its revised form, may go a long way toward the establishment of a definitive European peace. A number of our American papers frankly consider this fact to be the greatest achievement toward permanent peace since the war. Naturally we fondly hope that this is so.

The terms of the pact have not as yet been made public. We are informed, however, that they provide for a neutralized zone along the Rhine; for a bilateral agreement to conserve the neutrality of this zone; for an agreement by Britain to come to the defense of France if the zone be violated by Germany, or of Germany if the zone be invaded by France. It is understood that the pact takes the form of an original agreement, under the terms of which Belgium, France, Germany, and Great Britain guarantee the western treaty boundaries. It is further understood that France retains the right to cross the demilitarized zone in case Germany should begin a war on Poland or Czechoslovakia. The French view the pact as a supplementary guarantee of security within the framework of the Treaty of Versailles.

In the German memorandum of February 9, out of which this pact has developed, it was set forth that all idea of war between the contracting parties should be repudiated, and this without any thought of limitation as to time. The memorandum also suggested the desirability of

drafting arbitration treaties guaranteeing the peaceful settlement of judicial and political controversies. France not only accepts these suggestions, but insists that such a treaty ought to apply to all disputes without any thought of coercive action.

While we are unable to forecast the outcome of these negotiations, it would appear that France and Britain are nearer together than at any time during the last four years. It also appears that France and Germany are in a more reasonable frame of mind toward each other. It is fair to presume that Belgium and Italy are favorable to the negotiations. We do not know what the British dominions will have to say about the situation. We are not sure that British public opinion will consent to England's signature to the blank check now on the table at Downing Street; but it seems perfectly clear that Baldwin, Briand, and Stresemann are struggling with an honest piece of work on a large scale. Britain's Foreign Minister, Austen Chamberlain, defended the pact in an address before the House of Commons, June 24. Pointing out that this pact differs from the Wilson, George, Clemenceau agreement directed against Germany, Mr. Chamberlain addressed himself to all political parties of the empire. He said: "We all have but one object—to make peace secure and war impossible if we can, and, if we cannot attain that, to make war as remote a danger as it is possible for human ingenuity and human good will to make it."

We have little faith in military alliances and guarantees as bases for any permanent or desirable peace between nations. We are, therefore, not oversanguine about this pact. It may, however, serve as a temporary relief from a distressing state of fear and suspended warfare. This "fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray."

JAPAN'S VIEWS ON EMIGRATION

BARON SHIDEHARA, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan, addressed the Japanese Commission on Emigration, September 9, 1924. So far as we know, these remarks have not appeared heretofore in English. The Baron's address follows:

"The question of emigration has of late years come to form a subject of serious discussion throughout our country. In fact, some business men and others interested in this question have often approached the government with schemes on this subject. In the Imperial Diet, representations and interpellations on the matter were brought forward at each session, while at the Imperial Economic Conference held some time ago an inquiry was made at the instance of the government into the question of encouraging emigration, and its result was reported to the government. The policy, however, of the government on this question has not yet been settled and the need of determining it as soon as possible has keenly been felt. Accordingly the government have appointed this commission to prepare for the foundation of a definite policy on emigration.

"The matters to be considered by the Commission on Emigration are at present as follows:

"1. Where to send emigrants.
 "2. How and to what extent to protect and encourage emigration and business enterprises abroad connected therewith.

"3. How to deal with private companies engaged in business enterprises involving emigration.

"4. What organ in the government is to deal with matters relative to emigration.

"5. The necessity or otherwise of revising the law for the protection of emigrants.

"The questions to be discussed are not necessarily to be confined to those I have enumerated; other matters may also be submitted for consideration as occasion may require.

"Before proceeding further, I wish to express my views on a few points connected with the question of emigration.

First of all, let me define the meaning of the word 'emigrant.' Some people take it as meaning nothing but a laborer. This interpretation may not be incorrect in the eyes of our laws and traditions, but here we do not use the word in such a narrow sense. It covers all classes of people who go to a foreign country seeking permanent residence therein, no matter whether they are laborers, capitalists, merchants, or artisans.

"Again, some people seem to think that emigrants are people who have failed in the struggle for existence in their own country; but, as it is shown in the case of other countries, emigrants constitute a superior element of a population, marked by a progressive and enterprising spirit. Indeed, it is right that this should be the case. Let it, therefore, be understood that when we speak of emigrants in future they mean a class of people who seek opportunities abroad of improving their conditions of life, who take it upon themselves to open up undeveloped resources of nature far afield, on the principles of mutual helpfulness, and who thus contribute to the promotion of the general welfare of humanity at large.

"In the second place, the question of emigration appears in most cases to be associated in our country with that of surplus population. But, the annual increase in our population being no less than six or seven hundred thousand, the number of emigrants we can actually send abroad is quite infinitesimal when compared with this number. The emigration of people, therefore, will not go very far towards the solution of the population question. But, although this is the case, it goes without saying that we should use our efforts in the direction of sending our people abroad. It is, however, to be remembered that we are not to be satisfied with a mere exodus of emigrants and the consequent decrease of our population. The question of emigration appears in its true importance when its solution may assure our country of the supplies of daily necessities of life and industrial materials as the result of the emigrants' strenuous activities and development abroad. It follows, therefore, that, in considering the question of emigration, we must not lose

sight of the question of over-seas business enterprises related to it.

"Inasmuch as the emigration from this country should be so designed as to contribute to the solution of the question of a surplus population on the one hand, and to facilitate on the other the supply of foodstuffs and materials necessary for us, we should not confine our vision to the mere question of sending out our emigrants, but should take pains to the end that no international trouble should arise at the place of their adoption, with the result of an injurious effect being produced upon our foreign relations in general. In other words, *the most careful consideration should be exercised in selecting places of settlement and the manner in which emigrants are to be sent.*

"Viewing the question of emigration from another angle, I may say that emigrants go abroad to invest labor or labor and capital at the same time in an undeveloped country, on the principle of promoting not only their own welfare, but at the same time the common interests of mankind, although they settle down in a new country to improve their opportunities of enriching their life. The country which has accepted these emigrants realizes through their efforts the exploitation of its natural resources and an accumulation of its wealth, while the country which has sent out these emigrants is enabled to obtain supplies of necessary foodstuffs and materials. In this way emigration should rest, as I have already said, on the great principle of mutual helpfulness.

"The question of emigration is thus of utmost importance. Now that I have assumed the chairmanship of this commission, it is my intention to do whatever lies in my power towards the realization of the objects for which it has been appointed, and I sincerely hope that the members of the commission will, by earnest and careful deliberation, work out some definite plan to help establish a government policy on this question."

THE situation in China calls for a new and serious consideration of our relations to the Chinese. If German citizens

were to set up a manufacturing plant in Hoboken, employ American workers under intolerable working conditions; if these American workers were to strike for better conditions; if one of these strikers were to be shot by a German guard; if then Princeton students should parade through the German district of the city; if when ordered to disperse they should refuse; if upon the order of a foreign inspector these students were fired upon and a number of them killed; and if, in addition to all this, officers of German gunboats and marines were to declare martial law throughout the city, it is not difficult to imagine what would happen in New York, Philadelphia—indeed, throughout the United States. It would not ease the situation were German courts, sitting in Hoboken, to assume jurisdiction in the premises. If at the same time there were German missionary schools throughout the United States aiming to teach a religion contrary to Christianity, their lot would not be altogether pleasant. It is fair to presume, given such a set of circumstances, that the people of the United States would insist upon the abolition of any such foreign domination within our borders.

It is clear that the Nine-Power Treaty, signed at the Washington Conference, should be put into effect at the earliest possible moment. There can be no doubt of this.

THE Peruvian Government has decided to accept the arbitral award of President Coolidge and to submit the old dispute over the provinces of Tacna and Arica to a plebiscite. This is most encouraging news. The happy outcome is due, perhaps, primarily to the indefatigable labors of Alberto Salomon, for five years Minister of Foreign Affairs at Lima. Upon the announcement of President Coolidge's award, the natives of Tacna and Arica residing in Lima and Callao,

expelled from their native lands by Chile, started a vigorous campaign against the acceptance of the arbitral award. They felt, under the circumstances, that no honest plebiscite could be held. It was then that Salomon took up the task of overcoming this opposition. He organized a careful registration of all the ostracized natives of Tacna and Arica living in Peru. He sent commissioners to Bolivia and other foreign countries to register all persons entitled to cast their votes in the plebiscite. Official records and archives have been searched for proofs of the eligibility of these voters. The result is that the Peruvian Government is said to have an exact list of the exiles who are entitled to be taken to Arica as voters in the plebiscite. Indeed, provision is being made for the transportation of these voters and for the care of their families during their

absence. When the foreign minister presented his report to the Peruvian congress, he received a unanimous vote of confidence in both houses. The Peruvians evidently feel that they have overcome at least some of the difficulties in the way of an impartial expression of opinion of the *bona fide* inhabitants in spite of the fact that Tacna and Arica have been controlled by Chilean military authorities ever since the war between Chile and Peru, forty years ago. True, the Peruvian note to our Department of State requests that the plebiscite commission, headed by General Pershing, prepare additional guarantees in behalf of an impartial vote. The important point is, however, that the plebiscite is to take place. There is, therefore, ground for hope that this distressing controversy is about to be ended.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION MEETING IN OCTOBER

THE American Group of the Interparliamentary Union is leaving no stone unturned to make the Twenty-third Conference of the Union, in Washington, a success. In conformity with the invitation of the President of the United States, pursuant to an act of our Congress, presented at the Twenty-second Conference of the Interparliamentary Union at Bern, Switzerland, August 23, 1924, the American Group has just sent out its invitation to the half hundred parliaments, asking them to be represented at the coming Conference, to be held in the Capitol Building, Washington, D. C., October 1 to 7 next.

It appears that the delegates are being asked to become the guests of the Ameri-

can Group, at the Pennsylvania railroad station, New York City, on September 30, at 9:30 a. m., where a special train will convey them to Philadelphia for a reception and visit to places of historic interest, under the auspices of a committee headed by Senator George Wharton Pepper. Following the entertainment in Philadelphia, the delegates will be conveyed to Washington. The invitation is understood to comprise free transportation September 30 from New York to Philadelphia and Washington, including lunch and dinner; transportation that evening from the station in Washington to the Mayflower hotel; rooms and meals at the Mayflower hotel from the time of arrival until departure, October 7; transportation, with dinner on train, from Washington to New York, afternoon of October 7; transporta-

tion from Pennsylvania station, New York city, evening of October 7, to the Waldorf-Astoria hotel.

The officers of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace will be the hosts of the delegates at New York, beginning the evening of October 7 until the morning of October 10. Because of the invitation of the Canadian Group of the Interparliamentary Union, the American Group extends the privileges of transportation to the visiting delegates by a special train on October 10 from New York to Niagara Falls, where, on October 11, they will become the guests of the Canadian Parliamentarians.

The invitation includes each visiting delegate, one member of his immediate family, and the secretary of each group.

Delegates whose names are known in advance will be granted the freedom of the port upon arrival in the United States.

The sittings of the conference will be held at Washington in the Capitol Building and at Ottawa in the House of Parliament. The opening ceremony will take place at Washington on Thursday, October 1, at 10 o'clock.

Agenda of the Conference

The circular of convocation recently sent out from the headquarters of the Interparliamentary Union, at Geneva, sets forth the agenda of the conference as follows:

1. Election of the President and of the Bureau of the Conference.

2. General debate on the Secretary General's report. Baron Adelswärd, former Minister of Finance of Sweden, President of the Inter-Parliamentary Council, will open the debate.

3. The Pan-American Union. (Session to be held in Hall of the Americas, Pan-American Union Building.) Rapporteur: a member (not yet designated) of an American parliament.

4. The Development of International Law. Reports to be presented in the name of the Permanent Committee for the Study of Juridical Questions.

(a) The Codification of International Law. Rapporteur: Elihu Root, of the United States Group.

(b) Declaration of the Rights and Du-

ties of Nations. Rapporteur: M. La Fontaine, Vice-President of the Belgian Senate, President of the Belgian Group.

(c) The Criminality of Wars of Aggression ("Outlawry of War"). Rapporteur: M. V. V. Pella, professor at the University of Bucharest, member of the Rumanian Parliament.

5. European Customs Understanding. Report to be presented in the name of the Permanent Committee for the Study of Economic and Financial Questions, by Mr. Adolf Braun (of Franken), member of the German Reichstag.

6. The Problem of National Minorities. Report to be presented in the name of the Permanent Committee for the Study of Ethnic and Colonial Questions, by Dr. Paul Usteri, former Conseiller aux Etats (Switzerland). Substitute, Baron E. B. F. F. Wittert van Hoogland, member of the First Chamber of the Dutch parliament.

7. The Fight against Dangerous Drugs. Report to be presented in the name of the Permanent Committee for the Study of Social Questions, by Dr. Jaroslav Brabec, Senator (Czechoslovakia).

8. The Reduction of Armaments. Report to be presented in the name of the Permanent Committee for the Reduction of Armaments.

(a) Demilitarized Zones. Rapporteur: Brig.-General E. L. Spears (Great Britain).

(b) Plans and Method for the Reduction of Armaments. Rapporteur: Dr. P. Munch, former Minister of Defense (Denmark).

9. The Parliamentary System. The present crisis in that system and its remedies. Rapporteur: M. Horace Micheli, conseiller national (Switzerland).

10. Communication of the names of the delegates from the groups to the Inter-Parliamentary Council from the XXIIIrd to the XXIVth Conference.

According to Art. 12 of the statutes of the Union, two delegates to the Council are nominated by each group at least a month before the opening of the Conference. Such nominations are communicated to the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau and by the latter to the Conference.

11. Election of a member of the Execu-

tive Committee to take the place of Count Albert Apponyi (Hungary), the retiring member.

According to Art. 16 of the statutes, the retiring member is not eligible for re-election and his place must be filled by a member belonging to another group.

All the rapporteurs will be asked to make a preliminary summary of their reports, which, together with the texts of the resolutions to be submitted to the Conference, will be printed in the "Preliminary Documents" of the Conference and distributed in good time to all the participants. The texts of the draft resolutions are, moreover, already to be found in the "Bulletin Interparlementaire" No. 2 (March-April).

Provisional Time Table of the Conference

September 28-30.—Arrival of the delegates in New York. Meetings of the Inter-Parliamentary Council and of the Executive Committee.

Wednesday, September 30—Delegates proceed by special train from New York to Washington, leaving Pennsylvania Station on Wednesday, September 30, at 9.30 a. m.

Thursday, October 1—Morning: Opening of the Conference. General debate on the Secretary General's Report. Afternoon: Continuation of the general debate.

Friday, October 2—Morning: Conclusion of the general debate. Afternoon: The Pan-American Union.

Saturday, October 3—Morning and afternoon: Report from the Committee for the Study of Juridical Questions (the Development of International Law).

Sunday, October 4—Free.

Monday, October 5—Morning: Report from the Committee for the Study of Economic and Financial Questions (European Customs Understanding). Afternoon: Reports from the Committee for the Reduction of Armaments.

Tuesday, October 6—Morning: Continuation and conclusion of the debate on the reports from the Committee for the Reduction of Armaments. Afternoon: Excursion to Mount Vernon (Home and grave of George Washington).

Wednesday, October 7—Morning: The Parliamentary System. Conclusion of the

Washington sittings. Afternoon: Delegates leave for New York.

Thursday, Friday, October 8, 9—Visit to New York. Banquet offered by the Carnegie Foundation.

Saturday, October 10—Journey from New York to Niagara falls.

Sunday, Monday, October 11, 14—Visit to Canada—Hamilton, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec.

Monday, October 12, or Tuesday, October 13—Sitting in the Canadian Parliament, Ottawa. National Minorities, Dangerous Drugs.

The sittings of the Conference will be held in the morning, from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m., and in the afternoon from 3 p. m. to 6 p. m.

Financial Contribution to the Expenses of the Bureau

In conformity with Art. 3, section 2, of the Regulations for Inter-Parliamentary Conferences, members of the Union taking part in the Conference will have to make a personal contribution, to be paid at the time of inscription as delegate to the Conference. This contribution will go towards the expenses of the Bureau for the printing of the "Preliminary Documents" and of the Report of the Conference which will be sent to all the participants.

At its sitting on April 30 last the Council decided to apply the same rules as had been fixed last year for the Conference of Bern and Geneva. They are as follows:

In order to take into account as far as possible the crisis in the exchanges, the different countries have been divided into two classes: those whose currency has kept its normal value or has only slightly depreciated, and those whose currency has greatly depreciated. Members belonging to countries of the former category will pay a subscription of 40 Swiss francs and those belonging to countries of the latter category will pay a subscription of 20 Swiss francs.

The following groups belong to the first category (subscription 40 francs):

America, Canada, Denmark, Dutch East Indies, Egypt, Great Britain, Holland, Ireland, Japan, Norway, Philippines, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland.

The following groups belong to the second category (subscription, 20 francs):

Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Yugoslavia.

The subscription is payable to the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau, Geneva, and should be sent, together with the request for inscription, to the Conference.

Other Details of the Conference

The American Group has placed \$5,000 at the disposal of the Union as a contribution toward the traveling expenses of European delegates. The Council has divided this amount into two parts, one of which shall be distributed to delegates traveling by either of the two selected steamers; the other will be divided among delegates belonging to countries farther removed from the port of embarkation; 160 berths have been retained aboard the steamship *Caronia*, of the Cunard Line, sailing from Cherbourg and Southampton September 19 and due to arrive at New York September 26 or 27; also 45 berths on the steamship *Bremen* sailing from Bremen September 19 and due to arrive at New York September 29. It is expected that a number of the European delegates will return to their various countries by way of Quebec. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States plans to give a luncheon and reception to the visiting delegates in Washington. The Pan American Union is already extending many courtesies to the officials responsible for arranging the conference. The final dinner in Washington to the delegates is to be given by Honorable Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace will give a dinner in honor of the delegates, on the evening of October 8, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City. The entertainment at Niagara Falls, October 10-11, will be under the auspices of the American Group. The Canadian Parliamentarians have perfected plans looking toward the entertainment of the delegates in Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, and Quebec. Persons wishing to know more of these plans may write

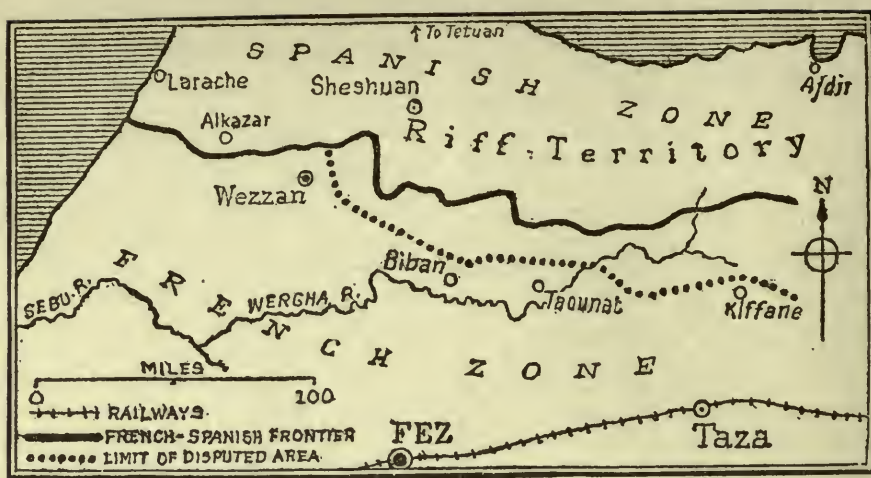
to the Director of the Conference, 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

FRANCE IN MOROCCO

FRENCH military operations in Morocco broke upon the world quite unexpectedly, and yet the inevitability of a conflict there has been apparent for some time past. It was inherent in the very nature of the situation existing in Morocco. That northwestern corner of the African continent is divided into two spheres of influence. The northern portion, lying along the Mediterranean, is the area of Spanish protectorate; the southern portion, including the capital of the country, Fez, is under the protection of France. The only exception to this arrangement is the city of Tangier, with its small adjacent territory, which is under a special régime, described elsewhere in this issue. For several years past there has been trouble in Morocco. Under the leadership of a very able chieftain, Abdel-Krim, some of the native tribes of the Rif, a mountainous region in the interior of Morocco, have been waging a struggle for political independence. Hitherto their operations have been confined to the Spanish zone, but it was inevitable that these operations should be extended to the French zone; and now the inevitable has happened.

Beginning of the Franco-Rifian Conflict

For some weeks prior to the attack launched against the French by the Rif chieftain, unobtrusive preparations were in progress. Toward the middle of April small bands of Rifis began filtering southward from the Spanish zone into the strip of territory indicated on the map below. Their infiltration between the French posts was almost unperceived, as also their work of stirring local tribes to revolt. It was in the country of the Beni Zerual tribe, about 50 miles north of Fez, that the first acts of open hostility took place. Villages were burned, and the Derkawi Shereef, the principal adherent of the French Protectorate in that district and a firm friend of France, was attacked and obliged to take refuge with Protectorate troops. In some cases the houses of his



followers were pillaged and they were massacred, while in others from fear of reprisals they were forced to join Abdel Krim's contingents and fight against the French. Numerous hostages were taken from among them and sent into the Rif.

A little later in the valley of the Upper Wergha River, to the immediate east of the Beni Zerual country, bodies of Rifis accompanied by frontier tribesmen passed through French posts and entered the region which had been occupied last summer by the French troops. Many of these French posts were thus isolated. Farther south, on the upper reaches of the Wad Leben, near Tissa, 25 miles northeast of Fez, an important concentration of the enemy took place some 20 miles inside the French posts. Farther to the east, to the north of Taza, and in the district of Kiffane, there was another incursion of Abdel Krim's Rifis into the French Protectorate.

That was the beginning of Abdel Krim's determined and well-organized offensive against the French on a front of nearly 60 miles.

Situation on the Spanish Front

The attack against the French came all the more unexpectedly, because just at that time the Rifis were apparently preparing an offensive on the Spanish front. Although since the withdrawal of the Spanish troops during last autumn and winter towards the coast there had been a lull in the fighting in the north, it seemed that the Rifis did not intend to leave the Spanish lines long without attacking

them in force, and probably in more than one direction.

On the eastern front the Spaniards were expecting an outbreak of hostilities to the southwest of Melilla, while it seemed certain that Abdel Krim was preparing to attack the Spanish lines between Tetuan and Tangier and on the frontier between Tangier and the Spanish Zone. His objective seemed to be to disperse the Spanish troops in that region and to open the Tangier market to the half-starving Jabala tribesmen. It has always been his intention to recognize, as he has always done, the special status of Tangier, and to see that his adherents create no incidents in the Tangier Zone. In this, up to now, he has been successful, and Tangier has been immune from any incident or any threat.

With such an extensive program in view against the Spaniards, it seems strange that Abdel Krim should have chosen this moment to make war on the French. There are, however, reasons that may have forced his hand.

Reasons for the Attack against the French

The tribes on the frontier between the Spanish and French zones in the regions north of Fez and Taza, which, owing to the distance of their territory from Tetuan and Tangier, have not been able to take any active part in the attacks on the Spanish forces in their present position near the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, have become impatient. Last year the troops of the French Protectorate marched

into the upper valley of the Wergha and cut off the rich corn-growing country, leaving these mountain tribesmen, and to a large extent Abdel Krim's army, without adequate sources of supply. At the time of the French advance these frontier tribes appealed to Abdel Krim for assistance to resist the French, but such help as was given was totally inadequate, and Abdel Krim made it quite clear that he was not at that moment desirous of starting a new campaign. The result was a certain amount of discontent among these tribes, and even threats on their part that they would come to terms with the French.

During the autumn Abdel Krim on several occasions declared that he was anxious to avoid hostilities with the French, and was prepared to make an arrangement for policing their frontier, but regretted that he could not accept as a frontier the line claimed by the French under the Treaty of 1912, which, he stated, did not correspond with the frontier as claimed by the Spaniards. The fact is, and Abdel Krim knows it well, that the frontier has never been delimited or even in detail been agreed upon between the French and the Spaniards, and French and Spanish maps differ widely on the subject. Abdel Krim demanded, and still demands, that the French should withdraw to the course of the Wergha.

In order to escape a campaign against the French last year, when all his energies were centered upon attacking the retreating Spaniards, he put off the frontier tribes with promises that at some future date he would drive the French out of the newly occupied country and hand back the disputed district to the tribesmen. They have waited for the Rifi leader to carry out his promises till this spring's fighting season arrived, after the rains and Ramadan had passed, and have now forced his hand by insisting upon no further delays.

Seriousness of the Situation

The situation of the French forces in Morocco is admittedly serious, and the difficulties facing the Painlevé Government have been further aggravated by the attitude taken in the matter by the radical elements of the Chamber of Deputies. At the end of May a spirited debate on

the Moroccan question took place in the Chamber, and in the course of the debate the government was attacked by the Socialists, not so much, however, for what has been taking place recently as for the advance of the French troops last year.

In reply to his critics, Prime Minister Painlevé defended the whole French policy in Morocco, both the original occupation and the present campaign, but the greater part of his speech was devoted to justifying the French advance beyond the River Wergha, which took place at the beginning of last year and which, according to the Socialists and Communists, might have been considered an act of aggression by Abdel Krim, the Rifi leader, since it cut off the population of the Rif from one of its chief sources of supply. M. Painlevé gave figures for the losses suffered by the French troops up to date, and explained the tactics which were to be followed with a view to bringing about peace. On this point he was not particularly explicit, but he made no suggestion that there was any likelihood of negotiations being begun with Abdel Krim in the near future.

Early in June the Prime Minister personally visited the French zone in Morocco, making the trip by airplane. Upon his return to Paris the government decided to spare no pains for the crushing of the Rif forces. At the same time agreement was reached with Spain for joint naval operations against Morocco.

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF TANGIERS

ON JUNE 1 the city of Tangiers and its adjacent zone of 200 square miles were placed under an international régime, in accordance with the scheme worked out by the representatives of Great Britain, France, and Spain, at a conference held in Paris in December, 1923. The question of the status of Tangiers is of long standing. While both France and Spain claimed the right to undertake its administration and were prepared to accept that responsibility, the British Government decided that a place of such strategic importance must not be allowed to fall into the hands of any one power alone.

As long ago as 1904, and on many occasions since, the three governments concerned—the British, French, and Spanish—agreed that Tangier should be endowed with a “special régime.” The result was the Paris Conference and the scheme just put into effect.

Nine Nationalities and Three Languages

The Sultan of Morocco remains sovereign over Tangier and its zone and his local representatives are charged with direct jurisdiction over the Moorish subjects, whether Moslems or Jews. There is a Legislative Assembly of 26 members, chosen from the foreign and native communities. To supervise the decisions of the Assembly, but with no legislative functions, there is a committee of control consisting of the consuls of the powers, with the exception of ex-enemy States, that signed the Act of Algeciras. There are, to carry out the decisions of the Assembly, three administrators, a Frenchman at the head and English and Spanish assistant administrators, who act as directors of finance and of public health respectively. The two engineers of public works are French and Spanish. Six judges—English, French, and Spanish—preside over the administration of justice in the mixed tribunals. There is a native gendarmerie under the command of a Belgian captain, assisted by French and Spanish officers and non-commissioned officers. There is also an international municipal police.

No fewer than nine nationalities will be represented on the full Legislative Assembly. Three languages—French, Spanish, and Arabic—are used in the deliberations of the Assembly. The legal code has been specially drawn up, based upon the codes in use in the French Protectorate of Morocco and in the Spanish sphere of influence. A native Cadi tries such cases as fall within the Moorish jurisdiction. The setting for this complicated administration is a cosmopolitan Moorish city, beautiful in its surroundings and happy in its climate, which by a long period of maladministration has been brought to the verge of ruin.

Disadvantages of the New Régime

The new régime places Tangiers in a sorry plight. The three governments—

the British, French, and Spanish—who are so largely responsible for it have neither granted nor guaranteed one single material advantage to help it on its new career. Each has ceded certain pretensions to which their claims were at the very least doubtful, and that is all. Not even a meager blessing seems to have been uttered. There is no wonder that Tangier is none too grateful for this gift of internationalization, under the cloak of which the governments concerned have escaped their moral responsibilities.

The new régime throws an almost insupportable burden upon Tangier's impoverished shoulders. The Moslem population will be the principal sufferers, for financial stringency will prevent adequate relief or assistance. There will be no funds available, except by some unforeseen and providential turn of fortune's wheel, for the construction of hospitals, asylums, and the other needs of this patient and long-suffering community. This abandonment of the legitimate owners of Tangier to a continuation of the distress from which no official helping hand has been stretched out to rescue them is, as a policy toward an Islamic people, calamitous, and as a mark of European charity deplorable.

A foreign régime has been introduced for purely selfish political reasons, and the sacrifice that it is going to entail upon the already poverty-stricken people of the place seems to be a matter of pure indifference. That their plight will be worse than it is at present is impossible. That it will in any degree be better is most improbable. Had Tangier fallen under the protection of France or Spain, or any other one power, its requirements would have become incumbent upon the protecting power. Under what practically amounts to the protection of all Europe, no one is responsible.

CAILLAUX'S FINANCIAL PROGRAM

ON MAY 25 M. Joseph Caillaux, the French Minister of Finance, laid on the table of the Chamber of Deputies his much-heralded finance bill, in which he sets forth the financial policies he intends to pursue. The bill is centered around

the problem of effectively balancing the French budget, and thus placing the financial affairs of the country upon a sound foundation. In an explanatory statement with which the bill is prefaced, M. Caillaux laid down what he considers the basis of sound policies with regard to the handling of French financial problems.

Basis of Sound Financial Policies

At the very outset the new Minister of Finance scouted the idea that the balancing of the budget is not a problem of pressing importance. This view is held in some quarters. But M. Caillaux said:

We cannot share all these opinions. We do not hesitate to declare that they occupy a conspicuous place in the list of those false ideas, most dangerous for the financial health of the people, to which at all times those who believe in taking the line of least resistance have abandoned themselves. No healthy financial position is possible for a country, especially when it is crushed by debts, unless its representatives adopt the rigorous rule of including all public expenditures without exception in a single budget and meeting the charges of this budget by taxation and nothing but taxation.

Any other plan, added M. Caillaux, is merely a sophism. No great financial operation can be attempted until the budget is in order and the confidence of the country restored. Parliament is therefore asked to provide the means "for balancing as completely as possible the budget of 1925, and at the same time assuring a strict balance between revenue and expenditure in 1926."

A careful revision of estimates has been made. The expected Dawes annuity has been taken out of the budget and earmarked exclusively for the upkeep of the army of occupation, the payment of war damages, and the paying off of internal and external debt. The result of this is a serious deficit, which would have been heavier if the government had put back into the budget this year the expenditure which has hitherto and improperly fallen on the treasury. The cost of putting things straight in the present budget would have been more than the country could bear. It has therefore been de-

cided to spread the operation over two budgets, the more important adjustments being postponed to 1926.

Increases in Taxation Revenues

Turning to the problem of how the money is to be raised, M. Caillaux says that the only tax on commodities which is increased is that on tobacco, which was, as a matter of fact, voted in the law of March 22, 1924. An important increase of revenue is expected from an improvement in the organization for the recovery of the turnover tax. But the greater part of the money must come out of direct taxation.

The general income tax is not raised. The schedule tax on earned income is to be 10 per cent on incomes above 20,000*f.* a year; that on mixed incomes (earned and unearned) is raised to 15 per cent, and that on unearned incomes to 20 per cent. Business profits (or losses) may be averaged. The scheme proposed by the Chamber for the grading of the tax on agricultural profits, so as to place a much heavier burden on large profits, is maintained. Profits from liberal professions will be treated in every way on the lines of the general income tax.

Only half the tax on securities will be claimed this year. Instead of the present system of departmental and general shooting licenses, the cost of a license throughout the country, plus the local percentage, will be 100 francs. Among the postal and telegraphic rates which will be raised is that for inland letters, which will be 30 centimes instead of 25.

State Supervision of Insurance

M. Caillaux also proposes to extend to all forms of insurance companies the State supervision which already exists in the case of life assurance companies. He argues that the State has the right to a share in the profits of a *de facto* monopoly. The essential preliminary is control. He is against taking over ordinary business insurance as a State monopoly. In order that insurance of the best kind may retain the elasticity necessary for its extension to all spheres of human activity, the wisest plan is to leave the business to be pursued by commercial methods. But the

State may legitimately take a share in re-insurance. This business, which has not hitherto been properly developed in France, leads every year to considerable export of capital.

The creation of a State reinsurance scheme can alone prevent this and convert the movement into an import of capital from abroad. This scheme will compulsorily reinsure half of all the risks assured in France and Algeria by French and foreign societies. It will be administered, under the authority of the Ministers of Finance and Labor and the permanent control of the General Inspection of Finance, by a board composed of officials and other persons of special competence, but quite unconnected with private assurance societies. The profits will be paid over to the State after deduction of the necessary working expenses. Temporary arrangements will be made which will prevent the new organization from exercising forthwith the whole of its right over the risks at present assured by the companies.

On the same ground, the State will take a share in the excess profits of the oil industry. While avoiding mixing itself up with the very delicate operations of a commercial nature which involve a profound knowledge of the market, the State will claim a share in the profits resulting from the import, refining, and wholesale dealing in raw petrol, its derivatives and by-products. The rights of the State will be safeguarded by the establishment of a permanent financial control over the enterprises involved. The interest of the consumers will be protected by the strengthening of the present commercial control in such a way that the contributions levied upon the industry shall not be passed on to the consumer.

Confidence Abroad and Co-operation at Home

Turning to the general financial question, M. Caillaux pleaded for confidence abroad and co-operation at home as the bases of its ultimate solution. He expressed hope that bondholders will renew, in some form or other, the bonds which fall due for payment; but it might possibly happen that at a given moment the Treasury might find itself unable to meet a demand for repayment, which would

not inconvenience it if it had a reserve. A bill will be presented to Parliament in due course for enabling the State to procure such sums as may temporarily be necessary. It will, however, provide that, beyond the narrow limits of the demands for credit which have still to be made in 1925, no addition shall be made to the obligations of the State. When all these steps have been taken, the future may be contemplated with equanimity and a methodical and patient process of financial reorganization may be begun.

In conclusion, M. Caillaux said:

When the problem of the budget has been dealt with; when the country is clear of the reconstruction of the liberated regions; when the question of the inter-Allied debts has been settled; when the items of France's liabilities, which at this moment are uncertain, have been cleared up, we shall find ourselves faced by the problem of a crushing internal debt—150 milliards of consolidated and 130 milliards in short—and very short—term bonds. There is nothing to be done until the franc is stabilized. There is everything to be done as soon as it is stabilized. And stability will only come in proportion as all the great preliminary operations which we have adumbrated are effected. A stabilized franc means the possible (and necessary) return to a gold standard.

Possibility of Inflation Foreshadowed

M. Caillaux's reference to the possible need on the part of the State for new funds with which to meet maturing obligations distinctly foreshadows the possibility of inflation. Over half of the huge national debt of France is in the form of short-term obligations, large amounts of which mature all the time and have to be redeemed by the treasury. At the same time these short-term obligations are used a great deal in lieu of currency. M. Caillaux holds that as long as these treasury bills are used as currency they constitute in effect paper money, just as much as the 41 billion francs' worth of bank notes issued by the Bank of France.

Since the treasury experiences great difficulties all the time in getting the holders of these short-term obligations to exchange them for new and similar treasury bills, M. Caillaux proposes to convert

them into bank notes as they mature, thus increasing the total circulation. There is risk in this sort of procedure, but it appears that something of the sort is inevitable, since no less than 20 billion francs' worth of treasury bills mature this year and the treasury has no hope of having all of them renewed.

SOVIET POLICIES IN CHINA

THERE seems little doubt that Soviet propaganda and assistance are directly behind the movements which at the present time agitate China. The emissaries of Moscow have been working for a long time in various parts of the vast Chinese territory and with different elements of China's population, and the aims and policies they pursue are not kept secret.

Appeal to the Students

On the anniversary of Lenin's death, the Peking National University held a mass meeting, at which the Soviet Ambassador, M. Karakhan was the principal speaker. In his speech Communism was never mentioned. His theme was admirably suited to his audience and dealt with the problem of China's nationalism.

This speech is extremely characteristic. The Bolsheviks are clever in the way they select the line of least resistance in China, making straight for the youth of the country and the coolie class, both easily worked upon. Among the scholars acquiring a nebulous and perfunctory acquaintance with Western learning, it is not difficult to instil the conviction that China's troubles are due to the foreigner. Industrialism in the European sense being in its infancy in China, there is no proletariat, but there are groups of workmen, as on the railways, and for these, who often feel the heavy hand of officialdom, particularly of the militarists, there is the gospel of rebellion against injustice. Political theories have little interest. The students crave for cancellation of the treaties because in their innocence they swallow the fiction that the treaties are the bonds by which China is held in subjection. The workers are taught to believe that the oppression which they feel

is the direct outcome of the machinations of the foreign powers.

Confusion is Bolshevik Objective

Bolshevik propaganda in China, therefore, has the object purely and simply of stirring up the pliable and ignorant elements against foreigners, of complicating the position of foreigners in China, and of ultimately creating the confusion which is the cynical aim of the Communist Party.

There is no evidence to indicate that any of the military leaders who at present rule the country are advocates of immediate modification of the treaties. The official class, excepting the limited revolutionary circle, is equally indifferent; and as for the great mercantile and financial interests, they regard the foreign powers as their one bulwark against total ruin by the ignorant and self-seeking militarists.

The question of the tariff, however, interests all: the Sun-Yat-Sen Party because they demand tariff autonomy, the official and military elements because they want additional revenue from an increased tariff, the business interests because they hope to see the whole financial position straightened out and foreign and domestic debt put upon a stable basis through a substantial rise in the duties, at present limited by the foreign treaties to 5 per cent ad valorem.

Successful Influence over Sun-Yat-Sen

Of the political leaders, it is the Sun-Yat-Sen group that has been particularly influenced by Moscow. One of the group's representatives in the United States, upon his recent return to China, openly deplored the fact that the Kuomintang, or the Sun-Yat-Sen Party, has been split by Bolshevik influence, and the fact that one section of the party has forsaken the traditional policy and gone over to the Bolsheviks. He said quite openly that it was a shame that the National Party should be influenced in its policy by Russian money, and urged an immediate reconstruction of the party and the elimination of foreign influence.

Bolshevik propaganda, backed by cash payments, has perverted the extremists of

several groups. It has bought the right to be noisy in some of the less scrupulous newspapers. It has infected the workers in Canton and at a few other places. It has been successful in attracting the attention of the students in the capital and in some of the provinces, and in misleading some of them as to the motives of the foreign powers interested in China. Its hand is quite manifest in much that is taking place today.

MINISTERIAL CRISIS IN BELGIUM

BELGIUM has been for several months past in the throes of a severe ministerial crisis. On April 5 a general parliamentary election was held in Belgium, and on the morning of that day Premier Theunis tendered his resignation rather than face the defeat that was foreshadowed by the pre-election temper of the country. The results of the elections indicated a distinct dissatisfaction of the country with the Theunis administration, since the Premier's party failed to obtain the majority necessary for it to return to power. As a matter of fact, none of the three major parties received the requisite majority, the political alignment of the new chamber being as follows: Socialists, 79 seats; Catholics, 78 seats; Liberals, 22 seats.

Catholic Party Takes the Government

From April 5 until May 13 almost uninterrupted negotiations were carried on for the formation of a government. At first it was believed that a Socialist Government, headed by M. Vandervelde, might be formed with the co-operation of the Liberals; but the negotiations in this direction proved futile, and on May 13 M. Van de Vyvere, representing the Catholic Party, accepted the responsibility for forming a government.

The new government was made up as follows: M. Alois Van de Vyvere, Prime Minister and Minister of Finance; M. Léon Théodor, Justice; Viscomte Pouillet, Interior; Baron Ruzette, Agriculture and Public Works; M. Tschoffen, Industry and Trade; Lieutenant-General Hellebaut, National Defense; M. Carton, Colonies; M. Moyersoen, Economic Affairs.

M. Théodor is temporarily in charge of the Ministry of Sciences and Arts; Baron Ruzette of that of Foreign Affairs, and M. Tschoffen of those of Railways, Marine and Posts. Vicomte Pouillet, Baron Ruzette, and MM. Tschoffen, Carton, and Moyersoen belong to the Catholic Party and held office in the Theunis Cabinet. M. Van de Vyvere is also a Catholic Deputy, and for two years he, too, was a member of the Cabinet of M. Theunis. M. Léon Théodor is a member of the Independent Party, and was deported to Germany for his patriotic zeal during the German occupation.

Policy of the New Government

The difficulties encountered in the formation of the new government centered around a violent disagreement between the Socialists and the Catholics. Upon taking office, the new Premier issued the following statement:

I did intend to appeal only to men outside politics to fill the vacant offices, but in the course of my inquiries I perceived that this would be difficult, because those of Liberal or Socialist opinions with whom I spoke ran the risk of being treated as turncoats. . . . After 38 days of crisis I expect the debate on the constitution and orientation of the government to be free from the private meetings of groups or parties. But whatever may be the opinion of the system of government I propose, I hope that the country will approve my action and support me in carrying the debate to the bar of the house.

Pending the test of the viability of the new government, which was to come upon the occasion of its first appearance in the chamber, the permanent officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs continued to carry out the policies laid down by the Theunis Government with regard to the important issues of foreign policy. Instructions in this sense were communicated to the Belgian ambassadors in Paris and London.

In connection with the disarmament of the Reich, the Belgian Government suggested, on the recommendation of the General Staff of the Army, that the German Government should be asked to furnish precise information in regard to certain of the points emphasized by the

Inter-Allied Control Commission. The French and British governments have also decided to ask for similar information. At the beginning of the present negotiations between London and Paris the British Government proposed that the German delegates should be asked to explain verbally the failure of the Reich to comply with the clauses of the treaty in regard to disarmament. The French and Belgian parliaments, however, considered that a demand should be sent in writing. To this the British Government, in a spirit of conciliation, eventually agreed.

In regard to the question of the evacuation of the Cologne zone, the Belgian Government considered that this can only be done when Germany has conformed to the conditions of the treaty, when the matter will pass out of the hands of the Control Commission into those of the League of Nations.

On the subject of the security pact suggested by Germany, the Belgian Government was of opinion that this should be given careful and sympathetic consideration. To this proposal Belgian attaches value, because she sees a possibility of British assistance for her security. Diplomatic negotiations are at present being conducted on the subject of the German proposal, and in this connection France alone is called upon to reply, as it was to her that the proposal was addressed.

Trade Agreement with Germany

The new government also indicated its approval of the draft trade agreement with Germany, arrived at late in March. This draft agreement consists of the following two parts:

(1) Provisions regulating the interim arrangement for a period of one year, during which period the two countries grant each other the benefit of most-favored-nation treatment in respect of a certain number of products, and establishing differential taxes for other products; (2) provisions governing the permanent régime. On the termination of the provisional period, the most-favored-nation clause will be applied generally, without exception, or, in other words, there will be a return to pre-war conditions and commercial liberty between the two countries.

A certain number of reductions of customs dues are made on both sides.

In view of the preparation by the German Government of an increased customs tariff, the Belgian delegates have secured a guarantee that with regard to the articles in which Belgium is particularly interested the increase shall not be prejudicial to her.

The agreement will not come into force before the new German tariff is put into operation. As several months may elapse before that date, the two governments agree not to impede commercial relations in any way during the interval.

Defeat of the Van de Vyvere Government

On May 22, nine days after its appointment, the Van de Vyvere Cabinet faced the test in the chamber. Socialist deputies moved a vote of no confidence in the new government, and the resolution was adopted by 98 votes against 73. Socialists, Liberals, and Communists voted for the resolution, while Catholics voted against it.

Following the adverse vote in the chamber, M. Van de Vyvere and his colleagues tendered their resignation and the Belgian ministerial crisis passed into a new stage.

LORD BRADBURY ON INTERNATIONAL DEBTS

FRANCE'S ability to pay her war debts is at present a question of great interest in Great Britain, especially in view of the reports that a debt settlement between France and the United States appears to be imminent. For one thing there is very little advocacy in Great Britain of either a cancellation or a reduction to a nominal sum of the amount France owes to Great Britain. It is argued that as long as Great Britain must continue her annual payments to the United States under the Baldwin debt settlement, she cannot afford to let her European debtors off without demanding from them substantial payments. A rather significant statement of this view in Great Britain was recently presented by Lord Bradbury of Winsford, former British delegate to the Reparation Commission, in a speech delivered before the Manchester Luncheon Club.

Debt Payments and Standard of Living in Britain

Lord Bradbury's speech was centered around the French debt. He took it up from the point of view of the essential British interests involved, and formulated his views on the subject in the following terms:

It appears to me that the policy which we have to pursue, having regard to our very serious liabilities of £80,000,000 sterling a year to America, and allowing for the loss of our American securities as well as for our wartime borrowings, is that any attempt to arrive at a permanent settlement of inter-Allied debts on the basis of a reduction of the debts owing by the European Allies to Great Britain to a nominal figure would be a policy which could not possibly be accepted by our country if it has any regard for the needs of its population. Mr. Bonar Law, at the time of the Baldwin settlement with America, said that the payment of even £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 a year to America by Great Britain meant a permanent reduction in the standard of comfort in this country unless we could at least recover that payment from our European debtors. That was the principle on which the Balfour Note was framed, and for the time being I think it is absolutely essential to hold to the principle of the Balfour Note. The point I wish to make particularly is that though it would be unwise, for political reasons, and unkind, for moral reasons, to attempt any immediate pressure upon France, it is essential, having regard to what has been done up to the present, to keep the French liability alive with a view ultimately of securing a solution on the basis of the principle of the Balfour Note.

Lord Bradbury stated that his intimate knowledge of the French financial situation led him to believe that France has a considerable paying capacity, and that France will ultimately be willing to pay a substantial amount of her debts to Great Britain and the United States, even if she will probably never be able or willing to pay in full.

Past and Present Financial Fallacies

The earlier part of the address was an analysis of the international credit system up to 1914 and a discussion of what hap-

pened on the outbreak of war, during the course of the war, and after the cessation of hostilities. Lord Bradbury called the pre-war system of international credit a rule-of-thumb process. Nobody believed war could last more than a few months. It was a great surprise to statesmen and economic experts that by emergency expedients the machinery of money and credit proved itself adaptable to the circumstances of a long war. From an underestimate of the powers of the modern financial organism we passed after the war to the opposite extreme, and believed pretty generally that the economic and industrial resources of mankind were limitless. That fallacy had proved for more dangerous than the original idea of the limitation of financial resources.

The world seems to have thought that the well-tempered razor which had proved such an admirable instrument for the domestic operation of shaving, and which had been used so efficiently and vigorously during the war to cut human throats, was also an instrument suitable for clearing a way through the almost impenetrable jungle left by the war. The razor had, as a matter of fact, made very little impression on the jungle, and a large part of our post-war difficulties had arisen from a neglect of this now very obvious fact. Lord Bradbury went on to argue that the questions of the debts arising out of the war were not questions of paying for the war. That had already been done at the time of the war by the individual citizens of the States at war, or by the States themselves.

Internal and External Debts

The question now was the repayment of the debts thus created. If the war creditors were within the nation the debt question was a matter of the internal redistribution of the wealth of that nation, very serious, no doubt, to many classes and individuals within that nation. But the important part of the external debt represented a call by the creditor country on the production and wealth of the debtor country. The British Government indebtedness to the United States was approximately £30,000,000 a year, rising in a few years to £40,000,000, and in addition there have to be taken into account

the loss of Great Britain's American pre-war assets, representing something like another £40,000,000 a year, making a total of £80,000,000 a year ultimately. That drain upon the production of this country could only be met by hard work, high production, and intelligence on the part of the whole community.

The war left behind it in all belligerent countries this double burden of internal and external debt. Germany got rid of her internal debt by depreciating her currency to zero. Her external debt remained in the form of reparations. France took a middle course. By depreciation her internal debt was reduced by 70

per cent, but by French fiscal arrangements not regarded in England as very sound the problem of the internal debt there remained as serious or even more serious than it was in this country.

But the external debts of the belligerent countries were debts in the proper sense of the word, and the moment they were discussed they heard a great deal about the capacity of a country to pay. The Dawes Inquiry attempted to settle that question for Germany. France, for her part, said that, though most anxious to meet her liabilities, she had no capacity to make payments to foreign countries.

Europe's debts to the United States, which represent really the core of the whole problem of international debts, aggregate over 12 billion dollars. They are distributed as follows, according to a statement recently issued by the U. S. Treasury Department:

Country.	Principal amount of obligations now held.	Total indebted- ness with accrued interest.	Payments on account of principal.	Payments on account of interest.
Armenia	\$11,959,917.49	\$14,959,479.94	.....	.....
Austria	24,055,708.92	30,550,750.35	.....	.....
Belgium	377,029,570.06	480,503,983.61	2,057,630.37	18,526,408.21
Cuba .....	.....	.....	10,000,000.00	2,286,751.58
Czechoslovakia ..	91,879,671.03	117,679,095.70	.....	304,178.09
Estonia	13,999,145.60	17,794,020.28	.....	.....
Finland	8,910,000.00	8,910,000.00	90,000.00	847,965.27
France	3,340,516,043.72	4,210,556,948.27	64,302,901.29	221,386,302.82
Great Britain ..	4,554,000,000.00	4,554,000,000.00	248,181,641.56	633,206,657.11
Greece	15,000,000.00	17,625,000.00	.....	1,159,153.34
Hungary	1,958,412.50	1,958,412.50	9,672.50	30,056.18
Italy	1,647,869,197.96	2,138,543,852.77	164,852.94	57,598,852.62
Latvia	5,132,287.14	6,352,139.45	.....	126,266.19
Liberia	26,000.00	32,768.85	.....	861.10
Lithuania	6,030,000.00	6,030,000.00	.....	91,996.97
Nicaragua	110,590.28	110,590.28	40,513.86	6,180.69
Poland	178,560,000.00	178,560,000.00	.....	2,048,224.28
Rumania	36,128,494.94	46,508,661.17	1,794,180.48	263,313.74
Russia	192,601,297.37	255,147,692.24	.....	7,911,594.39
Yugoslavia	51,037,886.39	65,414,997.98	720,600.16	636,059.14
Total	\$10,556,804,223.40	\$12,151,238,393.39	\$327,361,993.16	\$946,430,821.72

FUNDED OBLIGATIONS HELD INCLUDED ABOVE.

Finland	\$8,910,000.00	\$8,910,000.00	\$90,000.00	\$538,650.00
Great Britain ..	4,554,000,000.00	4,554,000,000.00	46,000,000.00	275,310,000.00
Hungary	1,958,412.50	1,958,412.50	9,672.50	29,303.14
Lithuania*	6,030,000.00	6,030,000.00	.....	90,450.00
Poland*	178,560,000.00	178,560,000.00	.....	.....
Total	\$4,749,458,412.50	\$4,749,458,412.50	\$46,099,672.50	\$275,968,403.14

* Funding agreements approved by Congress but bonds have not been exchanged.

Theoretical and Practical Possibilities

Further in his speech, Lord Bradbury insisted on the very vital difference that exists, in this particular connection, between theoretical possibilities and practical application. He said:

What is theoretically possible as an economic proposition is not practicable. No question of this kind can be settled without regard to its political and moral elements. It is for that reason that the Reparations Scheme under the Versailles Treaty is as dead as mutton, and has had to be replaced by the Dawes Plan; but, as regards France, which has succeeded by now in making good 90 per cent of the ravages of the war within her borders out of the savings of her own people, there is no doubt that France could make a very considerable contribution towards the payment of the debt she owes to Great Britain and America, as great probably as the contribution that could be made by Germany towards meeting her foreign obligations. On the other hand, France pleads with great force to her creditors to treat her more favorably than they treat the conquered enemy, and France has a remarkably powerful military establishment that cannot be left out of account. If you put your demands on France too high she will find that repudiation suits her better than the attempt to meet her obligations. On these grounds the problem is not a pure economic problem; it is a mixed problem of economics, politics, and morals.

But, in Lord Bradbury's opinion, while the capacity of a country to pay a foreign debt is something which is incapable of precise definition, nevertheless, "under a properly organized system of currency and credit there is no doubt whatever that, if a country were willing to make serious efforts to repay a foreign debt, that debt could be borne to the maximum amount compatible with the maintenance of human life as such in the debtor country until its productivity declined under the very low standard of comfort which would have to be adopted."

Change of Policy in the United States

There seems little doubt that the body of opinion in Great Britain, represented by views similar to those expressed by Lord Bradbury, will be considerably

strengthened by the apparent change of policy with regard to international debts which is taking place in the United States. Hitherto the Debt Funding Commission, created in 1922, has been content to let our European debtors take the initiative in settling the debt problem as it concerns each of them. Now the Commission appears to be taking the initiative in bringing about negotiations looking toward some sort of settlement.

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DATES

(May 16-June 14)

May 16—The Permanent Court of International Justice makes public its unanimous decision in favor of Poland on the question referred to it by the Council of the League of Nations in regard to the Polish postal service at Danzig.

Announcement is made that France, Italy, Belgium, Greece, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Estonia, and Latvia have been informed of the opinion of the United States Government that the time has arrived when the conversion of promissory notes held by the United States Treasury into definite funding agreements should be seriously considered.

May 20—Lord Allenby resigns his position as High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan, and Sir George Lloyd, M. P., is appointed to succeed him.

Gerardo Machado takes the oath of office as fifth President of Cuba.

May 21—Captain Amundsen starts from Spitzbergen in an attempt to fly to the North Pole.

May 24—British Empire Day is celebrated at Wembley, England.

May 29—In the British memorandum on the French draft reply to the German proposals for a security pact, it is proposed that France, Great Britain, and Germany guarantee the western frontier of Germany.

May 30—The Conference of Ambassadors sends a note to Germany, enumerating the defaults charged against her and laying down the steps which must be taken in order to comply with the treaty.

June 1—Tangier and its adjacent zone of about 200 square miles enters upon a "special régime" of internationalization.

June 4—Camille Flammarion, famous French astronomer, dies at his observatory at Juvisy, near Paris, aged 83 years.

June 10—The conference at Geneva for the control of traffic in arms adopts a protocol, submitted by the American delegation, prohibiting the use of chemicals as weapons in warfare.

Caillaux obtains from the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Deputies full approval of his budget plans for increasing the

revenue during the present year by 1,500,000,000 francs and next year's revenue by 3,000,000,000 francs.

June 11—The Greek cabinet resigns without explanation.

The French Premier, Poincaré, gives assurances to the Sultan of Morocco that France will support him in the maintenance of his authority in Morocco.

June 12—The United States informs Mexico that it can command the support of the United States Government "only so long as it protects American lives and rights" and fulfills its international obligations.

June 14—Mexico sends a note to the United States Government declaring that her note of June 12 "embodies a threat to the sovereignty of Mexico that she cannot overlook and rejects with all energy."

A Poem*

With a grand plan in mind
I toil day and night,
till something large is built at last,
truth and illusion mixed.

But my tiny hopes wait long, the joys that are frail,
in the vision of which mingle
some stray notes of a song, a breath of hidden flowers,
the whisper in the shade of a familiar tree,
and a leisure brimming over with dream bubbles.

When God's will to create shook the sky
into fiery whirls,
His power, in the beginning of years,
built up its triumph in towering hills.
But His dream waited millions of barren nights,
before He smiled on His first shy flower.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

MARCH 18, 1925.

* Translated from *Bengali* for the *Manchester Guardian*.

SOME PRINCIPLES OF JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY

As Stated by TSUNEO MATSUDAIRA

Ambassador to the United States

(The following article is composed of extracts from several addresses made by the new Japanese Ambassador since his arrival in the United States, a few months ago. It will be seen that the Ambassador has taken occasion to answer some of the questions that have arisen in the minds of some Americans regarding the relations between Japan and the United States. He has attempted to allay the idea that war is possible between the two countries, making very definite statements on that subject. The argument—sometimes ignorantly, sometimes willfully made—that trade rivalry on the Pacific is a danger to our future relations, can hardly stand in the face of the overwhelming facts which the Ambassador presents. He has spoken, also, on the immigration question, on that of secret diplomacy, on Japan's policy toward China, and on other matters, which together make up an important statement well worth publishing, especially in view of the fact that his addresses, as is the case with many authoritative declarations, have not been fully reported in the daily press.)

The addresses were made before the Japan Society, in New York, on March 24; the Federal Council of Churches, in New York, on April 20; the Chamber of Commerce, in Philadelphia, on May 7, and the College of the City of New York, on May 20.—EDITOR.)

IT WOULD be remiss of me to let this present occasion pass without speaking again of the way in which we Japanese are impressed by the generosity and friendliness which have characterized your attitude towards us. What you did for us in the days of strain and stress following the great earthquake, nearly two years ago, is but the manifestation of that attitude. We accepted the gifts for the relief of our distressed people not for their material worth alone, but for the magnificent spirit which they represented and embodied.

The Immigration Law

In the wake of this overwhelming evidence of sympathy came the immigration law, putting us among the excluded nationals. The enactment of this legislation gave us a great shock and disappointment, and I should not be honest with you or with myself if I were not to tell you that there is widespread dissatisfaction

throughout the whole nation with the status which the new law has conferred upon my countrymen. For me to discuss this question on this occasion would serve no good purpose. We have, however, an abiding faith in the sense of justice and equity inherent in the American people, and this faith gives us hope that the day will come when this question may be settled in a manner satisfactory to both of our countries.

You will be interested, no doubt, in hearing what our Foreign Minister said to the Diet on January 22 with regard to this question. Baron Shidehara spoke as follows:

It is evident that the United States and Japan should live in cordial friendship for all time and co-operate with each other in the great mission of promoting the peace and security of the Pacific regions and of the world. We are confident that these views are shared by the vast majority of the American people. We regret the discriminatory clause against Japanese in the Immigration Act of 1924. I explained in the last session of the Diet the circumstances attending the insertion of that clause and views of the government on the subject. The question still remains unsettled. It should, however, be remembered that a law cannot be modified except by a law, and that under the constitutional system of the United States the legislature is entirely independent of the executive. It is obvious that continuance of discussions between the two governments at this time will not in itself serve any useful purpose. What is really important, in the final analysis of the question, is that the American people shall come to have a correct understanding of our people and of our points of view. An impetuous mood or impassioned utterance will not conduce to an international understanding. There is no doubt that the same love of justice that kindled American independence still continues to inspire the minds of the American people. The day will come when this fact will be fully demonstrated.

The Question of War

On my way to Washington I was asked by some one what I thought about the possibility of war between Japan and America. Fully convinced as I am that there are no issues whatever between our two countries awaiting their adjustment by the application of force, I replied frankly: "I don't think about it." Your government and statesmen have repeatedly declared that America wants to live in peace with Japan, as with every other nation. Your newspapers and your people, with insignificant exceptions, do not want to breed trouble with us. On the other side, the Japanese Government and statesmen have iterated and reiterated the same sentiment, and our people and our newspapers, with slight exceptions, deprecate any idea of discord with this country.

It has given me surprise to find such talk being repeated from time to time in the United States, and more especially to learn that there are even some Europeans who take pains to come over to this country and indulge in such speculations. It is quite obvious that there are no issues between the United States and Japan awaiting settlement by force of arms; and it can be said further that, as far as can be seen into the future, no situation will arise which cannot be adjusted by ordinary and friendly diplomacy. War between our two countries is a matter of physical impossibility, and we are destined to live in peace for all time. * * *

The two nations have a great mission to fulfill, a great responsibility to shoulder. That mission, that responsibility, is the further development, the further stabilization, of the peace around the Pacific. I want to say to you that Japan is, and will ever be, glad to join hands with America or any other nation in any endeavor looking to the establishment of peace throughout the world.

The Washington Conference

We have not only carried out every obligation imposed upon us by the treaties concluded at the Washington Conference, but have faithfully observed their spirit in the conduct of our foreign relations.

Japan today is deeply permeated with the desire to live in peace with all the

nations of the world. She is determined to be fair and above board in all her international dealings, and she is ready to adjust her own affairs in such a manner that they will be in keeping with the demands of the times and the progress of the world. It was in pursuance of this policy that we took part most gladly in that memorable Conference on Limitation of Armaments; and, as you all know, Japan, like the United States and Great Britain, completed the scrapping program within the time prescribed by the naval treaty. With the sinking of the battleship *Tosa* on February 9th, this year, Japan has scrapped fifteen capital ships, such as *Satsuma*, *Aki*, etc., doomed by the Washington Treaty. If there were any basis whatever for the idea, so often noised about, that there is danger of war between us, this would not have been done by us, nor would you have similarly scrapped scores of millions of dollars of fighting vessels.

We have withdrawn our garrisons from China; we have pursued and still intend to pursue the attitude of non-interference concerning the internal affairs of China. We are doing all that lies in our power to observe both the letter and the spirit of the Washington pacts in all our dealings with other nations.

Policy Towards the United States

I am glad to be able to tell you that Japan is doing her utmost to be fair and conciliatory in all her dealings with this country. The amendment of the law of nationality, effected last year, and the enactment of the law of foreign ownership of land, this year, are instances which may well be regarded as manifestations of our attitude. Formerly, a Japanese born in this country, while acquiring American nationality by reason of birth, acquired Japanese nationality at the same time. Such a child, possessing dual citizenship, could have been expatriated from Japanese nationality at any time prior to reaching the age of 17; after that time, owing to the requirements of the military service, the privilege was not allowed. This latter point having always been criticized in America, we saw the need of remedy, and the law of nationality was amended accordingly. By the new legislation, a

Japanese child born in this country shall not acquire Japanese nationality unless, within fourteen days after its birth, a special application is made for retention of the Japanese nationality. A Japanese who has retained Japanese nationality as a result of such special application may, according to the new law, relinquish Japanese nationality at will, even after reaching the age of seventeen, if he shall have acquired the nationality of a foreign country and has a domicile there.

In regard to the foreign ownership of land in Japan, the new law passed both houses of the Diet last March recognizing the ownership of land by foreigners. In 1910 we passed a law authorizing foreign ownership of land on the basis of reciprocity, but it had not been put into force; consequently foreigners were not permitted to own land, though they could lease it. Means were provided by which they could actually own it by forming a corporation under the Japanese law, or obtain leases for long periods of time, amounting practically to ownership; but, legally speaking, it was not what you call "in fee simple."

The desire of Japan to be just and progressive led her to amend the Land Act this year. In the new law the restrictions hitherto imposed on the sale or mortgaging of land in Japan are entirely abolished. It is true that there is a provision in this law whereby the government may issue an ordinance putting into effect reciprocal measures in the case of citizens or corporations of a foreign country or part of a foreign country which denies or restricts the ownership of land by Japanese. Unless such ordinance is issued, however, foreigners, irrespective of their nationalities, may enjoy the complete ownership of land in Japan. Japan has adopted a liberal line of policy, and it is the intention of our government at present not to issue such an ordinance. A statement to the effect was made by the government to the Imperial Diet just closed. To all intents and purposes, therefore, citizens or corporations of this country, as well as of any other country, will, upon the coming into effect of this law, be allowed to enjoy in Japan the ownership of land "in fee simple." I trust that this will make clear the fact that, although

there are some States in this country which deny the ownership, or even lease, of land to Japanese, and otherwise discriminate against us, it is, nevertheless, the intention of our government to take no retaliatory measures.

The Great Trade of the Pacific

The Pacific, wide as it is, does not separate, but links, our nations. It links the two greatest industrial countries of the ocean. Your ships come to our ports laden with iron and steel, engines, and other machinery, oil, cotton, and other raw materials in which we are deficient. Our ships, on the other hand, enter your harbors with silk and tea, and many other goods that you require. Last year the volume of the trade passing between the United States and Japan amounted, in round figures, to \$600,000,000, placing Japan above France or Germany and next only to the United Kingdom of Great Britain or Canada in America's foreign trade; and I am happy to say that of all Western countries the United States has been the best customer for our goods.

Your country, with its vast area and its large population, naturally buys from us much more than we could buy from you. And yet I am proud to say that, of all countries on the other side of the Pacific, Japan is the largest purchaser of American goods. Indeed, our imports from America are so far ahead of similar imports by other Oriental countries that they defy comparison. In 1922 Japan imported American goods to the value of \$218,400,000, while in the same year China, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, British India, and Siam combined imported only \$190,800,000 worth of American goods, or \$29,600,000 less than the Japanese imports from your country. The foregoing figures for Japanese imports do not include American goods exported to Korea, which amounted in the same year, 1922, to \$3,100,000. In other words, the comparatively small islands of Japan, with an area of 170,000 square miles and a population of 56,000,000, consume more American goods than all the rest of the vast territory of eastern Asia and the great islands of the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies combined.

On the other hand, an examination of the volume of Japan's foreign trade with various countries reveals the fact that the United States stands first in our export trade, and that we sell to your country almost twice as much as to China. In the year 1922 our exports to America and China amounted approximately to 733,000,000 yen and 334,000,000 yen, respectively, while our exports to France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain reached the figures of 79,000,000 yen and 54,000,000 yen, respectively. In a word, our trade with America in that year amounted to 44 per cent of our entire export and 31 per cent of our entire import trade. I am taking no abnormal year for illustration. On the contrary, these figures represent normal trade conditions between us.

The study of these figures shows how important the trade between the United States and Japan is and how closely and tightly our two countries are bound together in the ties of trade and commerce.

Just recently a pamphlet was published by our government in which our foreign trade for the last twenty years, from 1904 to 1923, is carefully reviewed. It gives the figures for the volume of Japanese foreign trade with various countries in four five-year periods during these twenty years. All through these four successive periods America has stood first as purchaser of our goods. The annual average of our exports to America in the first five-year period was 114,000,000 yen, while in the last two five-year periods the average increased to 350,000,000 yen and 646,000,000 yen, respectively. In imports during the first period America ranked second, while the United Kingdom of Great Britain stood first, but in the third period America came decisively ahead. Your shipments to us during the first period amounted to an average of 278,000,000 yen and in the last period to 664,000,000. In the last two periods, therefore, America came to stand first in our import as well as in our export trade.

You will observe from these figures that the volume of our trade with you, both in point of import and export, is always on the increase. Indeed, the trade between our countries has increased steadily and substantially over the entire period of

our modern history, since the days of the so-called opening of Japan; and in recent years it has gone forward with what might be called "leaps and bounds." Moreover, it is perfectly safe to say that this exchange of supplies, with its numerous consequent benefits to both countries, will continue to extend and increase. This great traffic will not be halted. The financiers and business men of both countries will go on with their work, reap their profits, learn more and more about each other's nation, and give and receive more and more of their kindness and appreciation.

There are men who talk about trade rivalry, but I would talk about trade co-operation rather than competition. Those who are engaged in trade want prosperity. Prosperity can be secure only through peace, and peace is dependent upon international co-operation. As I see it, through the development of the trade between our two countries, the peace of the Pacific will be more and more enduringly consolidated.

The commerce that crosses the Pacific does not promise to drive us apart; on the contrary, there is every indication that it will bind us still more firmly in friendship and understanding, as the years advance.

The Treaty with Russia

We have recently concluded a treaty of amity with Russia. . . . It has been charged that certain clauses in this treaty transgressed the principle of the open door in Russia. This is certainly far-fetched interpretation, and I was very glad to observe . . . that a fair interpretation was made by Americans themselves.

There is another point in connection with this treaty about which apprehensions appear to be entertained. The report is circulated in the press from time to time that Russia and Japan have concluded a secret agreement of a more or less militaristic character. Secret diplomacy is a thing of the past. It is an idea repugnant to the spirit of the treaties made at the Washington Conference, to which we are party. I am happy to be able to assure you that Japan has no secret treaty or agreement with Russia or with any other country.

Historic Diplomatic Relations

About a month ago your Ambassador at Tokyo, Mr. Edgar A. Bancroft, went to the little village of Shimoda, in the Idzu Peninsula, to assist at the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Commodore Perry's first landing in Japan. He went down the Tokyo Bay on one of our destroyers, and upon his arrival at this village was received by thousands of the people there, including hundreds of school children, all carrying in their hands the flags of the Stars and Stripes and Rising Sun, who extended to him a most hearty and cordial welcome. Shimoda being also the place where Townsend Harris set foot for the first time on our shores, Ambassador Bancroft took that occasion to visit the monastery where Harris had to stay in seclusion for several months, and made an impressive speech, paying high tribute to the accomplishments of the first American minister to Japan.

Permit me to say a word about the work of Townsend Harris in my country. When, as your first diplomatic representative, he arrived in Japan seventy years ago he found the country in turmoil. We had been thrown into a state of confusion on the issue of foreign intercourse. We had enjoyed three centuries of peaceful isolation, and neither the government nor the people saw much necessity for altering the traditional policy. Startled by the impact of foreign cannon balls, the country was divided into factions, some advocating the old policy of exclusion, others urging the opening of the doors. The situation was critical. The Shogunate, the government of the time, was confronted on the one hand by domestic discord and on the other by the impatient clamors of foreign nations for trade and intercourse. It was a very difficult situation for a newly arrived diplomat, yet Townsend Harris acquitted himself of his onerous duties with wonderful skill and tact.

In those days foreigners in Japan were not infrequently subjected to abuse and maltreatment at the hands of outlaws or misguided patriots, who did not hesitate to take advantage of the temporary confusion consequent upon the advent of the strangers from the West. So impatient with this condition were some of the

Western diplomatic representatives that they were inclined to assume an intolerant and uncompromising attitude toward our government. But Townsend Harris stood always for sympathy and moderation. How deep his sympathy was and how genuine his friendship may be judged from his decision and his remarks on the deplorable occasion of the murder of his secretary and interpreter, Mr. Heusken, at the hands of chauvinists or ruffians. His European colleagues, indignant at this outrage and fearful of their own fate, left Yedo (present Tokyo) after delivering strong notes of protest to the government. Townsend Harris refused to join them. Unarmed and relying upon such protection as the Japanese authorities were able to give him, he remained alone in Yedo. It was at that moment, when threats of punitive war were being uttered by some of his colleagues, that Harris wrote in his journal these memorable words:

"I had hoped that the page of future history might record the great fact that in one spot in the Eastern world the advent of Christian civilization did not bring with it its usual attendants of rapine and bloodshed. This fond hope, I fear, is to be disappointed. I would sooner see all the treaties with this country torn up and Japan return to its old state of isolation than witness the horrors of war inflicted upon this peaceful people and happy land."

No further quotation is needed to prove that Harris went to his post with a firm determination to deal with Japan in a spirit of tolerance and friendship. In less than six years he succeeded in dispelling the skepticism and suspicion which at first characterized the Japanese attitude toward him and in establishing himself in their unqualified friendship and confidence. When he arrived in Japan, in 1856, the Japanese authorities urged him to leave the country without delay. Six years later, when he resigned his post and was about to depart from Tokyo, the same authorities asked him to remain, so completely had he won the trust of the Japanese with whom he had come in contact.

The fact that the United States was represented in those critical days in Japan by a man of Townsend Harris' farsightedness, generosity, and sympathetic understanding is a cause of profound gratification to all of us. Had the United States been represented by a man less patient and less sympathetic, the relations between America and Japan might have followed a different course from that which they have happily pursued.

Looking back over the history of American diplomacy in Japan, it appears to me that the record of Townsend Harris must have been a source of inspiration to the succession of ministers and ambassadors who have followed in his train. They have been a remarkable group of men, evidently anxious to maintain the high standard which he set, earnestly desiring to keep and develop the happy relations of friendship he first established.

THE GERMAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION¹

By HERBERT F. WRIGHT, Ph. D.

Professor of Political Science, Georgetown University

THE election of Field Marshal von Hindenburg as President of the German Republic is in many ways the greatest disaster for Germany, and, indeed, for Europe, since the close of the war. * * * At a moment when Germany was at last beginning to escape from the evil consequences of the war, when her acceptance of the Dawes Plan, her apparent determination to retain the Republic, together with the recent guarantee proposals of the Luther-Stresemann cabinet, had combined to enlist a measure of confidence in the allied world, Germany has suddenly voted for the man who, to the outside world, symbolizes the old method and the old men who precipitated the war and conducted it. * * * Undoubtedly the Republic is henceforth compromised and doubtless eventually doomed."

This is a tremendous indictment of republicanism in Germany, and weight is added to it by the fact that it is the candid opinion, frankly and fearlessly expressed within a week of the event itself, of one of the most noted newspaper correspondents writing on international affairs, Mr. Frank H. Simonds. The fact, however, that the same writer goes on to say that the election "exactly contradicts all the evidence which I could obtain in

Germany, it does violence to conclusions distinguished visitors in recent times," perhaps warrants one in examining more closely the evidence in the case, including the events antecedent to the election. In this way, by a careful analysis of the voting, after the smoke with which the political battlefield has been engulfed has had time to be dissipated, it may be possible to arrive at a more accurate explanation of this momentous decision of the German reached by many more experienced and people, the first election of a chief executive by popular vote in more than a thousand years.

The Multi-Party System

It is rather difficult for persons who are familiar only with the two-party system of government, such as the government of Great Britain has been, at least until recent years, to understand quite the problem to be met in the multi-party system prevalent in France, Germany, and on the Continent generally. In the former case, a single party holds the reins of government, and when its program fails to command the confidence of a majority in the House of Commons, it yields to the opposition party of the day—a complete and definite change. In the latter case, however, one party scarcely ever controls a majority of the lower house, and the exercise of the powers of government nearly always rests upon the basis of a

¹ This article is a revision of an article published by the same writer, under the same title, in the *Catholic World* for June, 1925.

coalition of a group of parties. Sometimes it is a rather transient element that binds these parties together, and frequently the coalition loses the confidence of the lower house upon a somewhat trivial question, and thus yields to another "government." Moreover, the new cabinet does not necessarily represent a complete change of personnel, for the crisis may be met at times by the elimination of a discordant member of the coalition and the substitution of a different individual, the other members holding over, perhaps, in identically the same capacities.

Although, generally speaking, it may be said that individuals, according to their political beliefs, fall into one of four classes (reactionary, conservative, liberal, radical), it is clear that these categories are more or less artificial, and that a person might be, for instance, neither an out-and-out liberal nor a dyed-in-the-wool conservative, but a conservative liberal or a liberal conservative. This possibility has an almost extreme exemplification in the party system of Germany, where the average German citizen, as Bismarck said, is unhappy unless he has a party of his own. It will not be necessary, for the purpose of this discussion, to go at length into the many minor parties which have little, if any, representation in the Reichstag, the lower house of the national legislature. In view of the ambiguities and misstatements so frequently seen in public print, however, it might not be amiss to describe briefly the composition of the major parties and the policies for which they stand.¹

The National Freedom Party

Taking the parties in the order in which their representatives are seated in the Reichstag, namely, from right to left as they face the presiding officer, the first party encountered is the National Freedom (*Deutschvölkische*) Party. This is an ultra-conservative group, which preaches the doctrine of direct action in behalf of the counter-revolution from a monarchist point of view. It is extremely nationalist and violently anti-Semitic. Upon

the question of the Dawes Report, this party of the extreme right joined the bitter opposition voiced by the extreme left, the Communists. The leaders of the National Freedom Party are Graefe and Wulle, although General von Ludendorff, who participated in the abortive Kapp Putsch in Munich, is its particular hero, and its chief organs are the *Deutsche Zeitung*, the *Deutsches Tageblatt*, and the *Völkischer Beobachter*.

The Nationalist Party

The main supporters of the old régime, however, are members of the Nationalist or German National People's Party (*Deutsche Nationale Volkspartei*), the successor of the old Conservative and Free Conservative parties. It is anti-Semitic, stands for the hegemony of Prussia, and advocates the maintenance of the Lutheran State Church. Although committed definitely to a monarchist restoration, it differs from the National Freedom Party in that this purpose is to be accomplished by constitutional means. A portion of this group, sometimes voting as a separate party, favors the Bavarian house of Wittelsbach in preference to the Hohenzollern. With regard to the Dawes Report, the Nationalist Party was at first violently antagonistic, but after the death of Dr. Helfferich its leaders characterized the report as "unfulfillable" rather than "unacceptable." It recruits its members principally from the landed aristocracy and certain industrial centers; its leaders are Dr. Helfferich (who died a year ago), Schiele, Minister of the Interior in the Luther-Stresemann cabinet, Hergt, Count Westarp, Admiral von Tirpitz, Professor Höttsch, and Prince von Bismarck, nephew of the former Chancellor of the Empire; and its chief organs are the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, the *Tägliche Rundschau*, the *Kreuzzeitung*, the *Lokal Anzeiger*, and the *Tag*.

The People's Party

Bridging over the gap between the Nationalist and Democratic parties is the German People's Party (*Deutsche Volkspartei*), an outgrowth of the old National Liberal Party. While inclined somewhat to the idea of a monarchy, it can reconcile

¹ Cf. *L'Europe Nouvelle*, March 14, 1925, p. 332.

itself to the idea of a republic. It is one of the four parties supporting the Dawes Report. Its membership is derived chiefly from the industrial magnates, usually included in the term "big business," and from the conservative bourgeois, or upper middle class. Its leaders are Gustav Stresemann, Chancellor from August to November, in 1923, and Minister of Foreign Affairs since August, 1923, Heinze and Vogler, and its chief organs are *Die Zeit* and the *Kölnische Zeitung*. A portion of this party favors revision of the Constitution in a monarchical direction, and therefore sometimes votes as a separate party. Such a hold has this element in Bavaria, where jealousy of Prussia provides the motive, that Stresemann in a speech at Hanover last year glorified the old imperial black, white, and red banner, much to the consternation of the parties of the left.

The Center Party

Similarly, too, the Catholic element of Bavaria early felt that hope for relief from the dominance of Prussia could not be realized under the republican parties. It has been voting as the Bavarian People's Party since 1920, while the majority of the Catholics of Germany, of all shades of political belief, belong to the Center Party (*Zentrumspartei*), founded to combat Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, or May laws of 1873, and, though changing its name in the early days of the Republic to Christian People's Party, is still known and spoken of as the Center Party. Embracing, as it does, both right and left wings, it easily exercises the balance of power; but its very strength is a source of weakness, as the only meeting of minds in the party is on a religious basis, and it is difficult to maintain its full voting strength in a shift either to the right or to the left. The party has been a member of the Weimar Coalition, which was in power from the establishment of the Republic until December, 1924. Its leaders are Dr. Wilhelm Marx, Chancellor from December, 1923, to December, 1924, Wirth (left wing), and Stegerwald (right wing), Heinrich Brauns, and Fehrenbach, and its chief organs are *Germania* and the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*.

The Democratic Party

The republican party in Germany is the Democratic Party (*Deutsche Demokratische Partei*), the successor to the left wing of the old Liberal Party and the residuary legatee of the old People's Progressive Party. Its followers are recruited from the banks, the middle classes, and a majority of the intellectuals. This party occupied a dominant position in the formative period of the Republic, due largely to the personality of Hugo Preuss, who has left his impress upon the Constitution. Besides Preuss, its leaders are Erich Koch, its president and Minister of the Interior in various cabinets from 1919 to 1920; Otto Gessler, Minister of Defense; Professor Walther Schücking, the first German to sit as a judge in the Permanent Court of International Justice; Erkelenz, Dr. Dernburg, and Count von Bernstorff, former Ambassador to the United States. Its chief organs are the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the *Börsen Kurier*, and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. This party, appealing as it does, to the intellectuals, gained little support from the working class.

The Social Democratic Party

The party of the working class is the Social Democratic Party (*Sozialdemokratische Partei*), which was really responsible for the revolution. Organized by the Second International, it was for some time called the Majority Socialist Party to distinguish it from the Independent Socialists, who in 1922 split into two factions, one of which combined with the Majority Socialists to form the United Social Democratic Party (which now omits the first word from its title), while the other moved still farther to the left and constituted an intransigent group, the Communist Party. The leaders of the Socialist or Social Democratic Party are Paul Loebe, President of the Reichstag; Rudolf Breitscheid, Dr. Hilferding, Hermann Müller, Crispian, and Wels, and, although it controls about 120 daily newspapers, its chief organ is the well-known *Vorwärts*. This party has consistently maintained the largest voting

strength of all of the individual parties of Germany.²

The Communist Party

The Communist Party (*Kommunistische Partei*), which is the party of the extreme left, developed out of the irreconcilable, or Spartacist, group of the Independent Socialists, headed by Karl Liebknecht. It adheres to the Third International of Moscow and is the left advocate of direct action. Its voting strength reached its maximum in the May, 1924, elections, but it is still a party to be reckoned with, as its *intransigence* cost the bourgeois-socialist *bloc* the recent presidential election. Its leaders are Ivan Katz, Ruth Fischer, and Clara Zetkin, and its chief organ has the graphic title of *Die Rote Fahne*.

The First President

This was the "line-up" of the political parties when the death of Friedrich Ebert, the first President of the German Republic, necessitated a presidential election. President Ebert, it must be remembered, held his office by virtue of a vote of the National Assembly in 1919, by which he was designated provisional president. At various times in the intervening years he urged that a time limit be determined for the exercise of his functions, but the parties considered Germany's domestic and international affairs too precarious to subject the country to the further strain of a presidential election. However, in October, 1921, the Reichstag abolished his provisional status and fixed June 30, 1925, as the date of the expiration of his term. His sudden death, on February 28, 1925, advanced the date of the presidential election two months.

How a President Is Elected

The German Constitution (Article 41) provides that a candidate for President must have completed his thirty-fifth year, and the law for the election of the President provides that a candidate must obtain an absolute majority of all the votes cast to be declared elected. If no candidate receives an absolute majority, it is provided that a second ballot shall be

taken, somewhat after the manner of the French *ballotage*, except that the run-off election need not be between the two highest candidates on the first ballot, and that new candidates may be named in the second ballot who did not run in the first ballot. In the second ballot, a plurality is sufficient to elect, even though the votes polled by the other candidates taken together constitute a majority. In these two balloting the election is held "by the universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage of all men and women over twenty years of age," roughly a little over 60 per cent of the total population in the full voting strength.

The March Election

March 29th (Sunday, as is customary in Germany and on the Continent generally) was fixed as the date for the holding of the presidential election. It was not seriously believed that any candidate could command an absolute majority on the first ballot. Early in March there was some talk of a united republican left candidacy with Dr. Marx as the candidate, who, if the voting lines were kept intact, was expected to secure, in the second ballot, a victory over the monarchist right on account of the presumed inability of the latter to find a candidate at once sufficiently representative and sufficiently neutral to prepare for the return of the monarchy, without showing it too evidently.

Republican Candidates

But the Social Democrats or Socialists, overlooking the ultimate purpose of the election, which was to elect a candidate of the constitutional Coalition, at least on the second ballot, preferred to prepare a puerile demonstration, for March 29th. Although convinced of the impossibility of success, therefore, they decided to present Otto Braun, ex-president of the Prussian Council, as the party candidate, *Vorwärts* explaining: "It was impossible for the German Social Democracy to renounce the entire struggle under its own banner." Having buried the president, they behaved as if they desired to bury the republic. No false maneuver was in fact more capable of upsetting the Weimar Coalition and driving the Centrists over to the right.

² Rudolf Breitscheid, "La social-démocratie allemande," in *L'Europe Nouvelle*, March 14, 1925, pp. 349-351.

The Democrats, likewise, felt it advisable to nominate their own candidate. Professor Willy Hellpach, a psychologist and educator as well as a finished orator and conciliator, was selected because of his sturdy defense of the Weimar Constitution and the intellectual quality of his speeches. His weakness as a candidate was twofold. He is little known outside of his adopted State of Baden, of which he is premier, and he was presented by a party which has been consistently losing adherents since 1919.

The opinion was somewhat prevalent that the presidential election, as nearly as all political decisions in Germany, would in the final analysis depend upon the attitude of the Catholic Party. Although in its four million adherents there are no Catholic Communists, nearly every other shade of political belief is represented, and there are socialist, democratic, and reactionary Centrists. The party is generally reckoned as republican in sympathy. The Catholics of North Germany and Middle Germany are for the most part loyal to the Weimar Constitution, as they were to the Empire. Their coreligionists of Bavaria are monarchists. The free syndicalist elements of the Center are, with Wirth and Imbusch, tending toward socialism, while the Christian syndicates directed by Stegerwald are politically neutral. The Westphalian Catholics have a populist or nationalist tendency, as have also their colleagues, the magnates of the Ruhr. The problem, therefore, was to select a candidate upon whom these elements could agree. Dr. Marx, the former Chancellor, although there was grave doubt as to his ability to qualify as a rallying point for the liberal elements in the second ballot because of his ill-starred adventure into Prussian politics, was selected as eminently capable of at least retaining the party's vote in the first ballot. The Bavarian People's Party, which is also Catholic, decided to run an independent candidate and nominated a "native son," Dr. Held, President of the Bavarian Council of Ministers.

Monarchist Candidates

The monarchist parties of the Right at first were rather embarrassed. They were at a loss to know which candidate to

oppose to the candidacy of the constitutional union, Dr. Marx; for even before the first ballot it was generally recognized that Dr. Marx would be the candidate of the non-monarchist parties. Two maneuvers were proposed, both extremely dangerous for the left: First, they suggested the name of Stegerwald, a Catholic reactionary, as a bait to the Center Party to rally to the *Rechtsblock* (or *Reichsblock*, as it has been rather appropriately called), since Catholics could not very decently abandon their coreligionist. Yet Stegerwald was passed up and within forty-eight hours Dr. Gessler became the grand favorite. Belonging to the Democratic Party, the Minister of Defense could be relied upon for the votes of his Democratic friends. It was evident that the right was endeavoring to wean away from the Weimar Coalition either the Center or the Democratic Party. Yet, in the face of the personal opposition of Stresemann, the People's Party refused to consent to Gessler, and the reactionary *bloc* then agreed upon Karl Jarres, Vice-Chancellor in the Marx Cabinet and now Lord Mayor of Duisburg. Besides the undivided support of the Nationalist and People's Party, and all the unattached minor factions which invariably make common cause with the conservatives, he had the support of those German Fascists or direct-action Nationalists who disapproved of General von Ludendorff's individual entry as a candidate.

The first campaign speeches of Jarres resulted in threatening anew the solidarity of the *Right Bloc*. Two circumstances seemed to mark him as republican in sympathy. The first was that the advocates of the immediate recall of William II opposed his candidacy. The second was that, if elected, he would take the oath to support the Weimar Constitution. Yet in his speeches he freely showed the character of his republicanism. The republic should be Bismarckian, he said at Hamburg. At Hanover he declared that it should take as its emblem the black, white, and red flag of the old Empire. It should repudiate all solidarity with those who destroyed the monarchy in 1918. "Let us not forget that, at the moment when our army was giving way through no fault of its own, there were

Germans who committed the crime of making a revolution at home, which, God knows, was not necessary."

Extremist Candidates

These speeches, coupled with the fact that he was the candidate of General von Hindenburg, Admiral von Tirpitz, Luther, and Stresemann, caused Jarres to come into the disfavor of the National Freedom Party, especially the remnants of Hitler's Bavarian Fascists, who straightway presented the candidacy of Von Ludendorff. The extreme left, likewise, refused to support the Socialist candidate, Braun. Ernst Thälmann, therefore, was selected as the candidate of the Communist Party.

The Results of the March Election

The elections of March 29th were rather peaceable; at least, no disorders were reported anywhere. There had been great activity among the party organizations in Berlin to arouse the interest of the voters with speeches and leaflets lauding the respective candidates. A presidential election by popular vote was a novelty. Large double-decked busses, placarded with signs and carrying a brass band, paraded the streets, and many features of electioneering which we regard as distinctly American in character were in evidence.

The results of the voting^a surprised even the politicians. Although Jarres led the field, his showing was somewhat disappointing, as he represented the concentrated efforts of the nationalist-conservative elements. He did not poll the vote conceded to him in the Rhineland, where it is supposed he was the victim of his Rhineland policy. The outstanding feature of the voting was the substantial gains scored by the Socialist Party, which again vindicated its title as the strongest individual party in Germany. These gains were partially at the expense of the Communist Party, which is declining as a compact political unit and is ceasing to be a menace to the Socialists. This elec-

tion also effectively eliminated General von Ludendorff, who polled considerably less than half a million votes.

The Significance of the March Election

Dr. Hellmut von Gerlach, a noted publicist, writing in *Die Welt am Montag* on the morning after the election thus sums up the results:

One must not underestimate one's opponent.

The monarchists are the only ones who realized from the beginning the meaning of the strife behind the presidential election. They therefore did their campaigning with two principles in mind: that it was not a party struggle, but a struggle for the right; and, furthermore, that an ideal must be adhered to to avoid at least the lesser evil. For that reason they were resolved beforehand on an ideal, whether their candidate be Jarres, Stegerwald, or Gessler.

The republicans are true Germans—self-centered to a T. Each party had its own candidate, to whom it was pledged, as if they did not know that it was quite immaterial how the republicans divided their votes among Marx, Braun, and Hellpach.

The monarchists concentrated their money and their strength. The republicans dissipated it. The monarchists can win the indifferent voters with the plea of the right before the party. The republicans appear as worshipers of the party. The monarchists welded together their votes with an eye to the second ballot. The republicans differentiate so finely between the Center Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Democratic Party that it will be very difficult to make the eager voters of the election of March 29th realize that the election of April 26th is concerned with the Republic and not the party.

The results of the election of March 29th, therefore, had no political, but only an arithmetical significance, the customary jockeying for preferment in the run-off election, a procedure more or less necessary under those governments based upon the existence of many parties.

Inter-Election Realignment

The results of the March election were scarcely known before active preparations

^a See the table for the votes polled by each candidate.

Presidential Elections Compared with Reichstag Elections

(In millions of votes)

Party	National Assembly, Jan. 19, 1919. ¹	First Reichstag.			Second Reichstag, May 4, 1924. ²	Third Reichstag, Dec. 7, 1924. ³	Presidential elections.		
		June 6, 1920. ²	Feb. 20, 1921. ³	Nov. 19, 1922. ⁴			March 29, 1925. ⁷	April 26, 1925. ⁸	Candidate
National Freedom.					1.92	1.01			Jarres (March).
Nationalist	2.73	3.71	4.18	4.25	5.78	6.21	11.02	14.65	Hindenburg (April).
German People's.	1.11	3.61	3.88	3.92	2.64	3.05			Held (March).
Bavarian People's.		1.17	1.17	1.17	.95	1.13	1.69		Marx.
Center	5.34	3.54	3.64	3.85	3.92	4.12	4.29	13.76	Hellpach (March).
Democratic	5.55	2.20	2.32	2.33	1.66	1.92	1.68		Braun (March).
Social Democratic.	11.11	5.62	6.21	8.18	6.01	7.88	8.26		
Indep. Socialist.	2.19	4.90	4.97	2.97	.23	.10			
Communist				.59	3.75	2.71	1.99	1.93	Thälmann.
Total ⁹	25.26	26.03	27.67	28.20	29.39	29.83	29.25	30.36	

¹ Statesman's Year Book, 1920, p. 897.

² Statesman's Year Book, 1921, p. 918.

³ Statesman's Year Book, 1922, p. 939.

⁴ Statesman's Year Book, 1924, p. 934.

⁵ World Almanac, 1925, p. 627.

⁶ Le Temps, March 30, 1925, p. 2, and World Almanac, 1925, p. 22.

⁷ Le Temps, March 31, 1925, p. 2. Ludendorf received .39 from the Bavarian fascists.

⁸ New York Times, April 28, 1925, p. 1.

⁹ Totals include scattered vote for minor parties or candidates.

were begun for the run-off election, to be held four weeks later. Dr. Jarres, because of his disappointing showing under the most favorable circumstances, was sidetracked as the nationalist-conservative bourgeois candidate. The action was hastened by the attitude of the Bavarian People's Party (Catholic), which notified his campaign committee that it would not support him in the second election because of his open espousal of the Evangelical League. Dr. Otto Gessler was again proposed, only to be dropped, because of the conviction that his removal from the Ministry of Defense would precipitate a heated parliamentary fight for a successor in that post, which it was desirable should be held by a Democrat. Dr. Hans Luther, the Chancellor, was also suggested, but General von Hindenburg was finally prevailed upon to accept the nomination, after he had been assured of the unanimous support of the entire right.

The difficulties confronting the republican campaign managers were considerably more complicated. The Socialists, believing they were morally vindicated by the actual vote for their action in nominating Braun, were now willing, according to *Vorwärts*, to eliminate party consider-

ations and join both liberal parties in an effort to galvanize the republican front. Socialist leaders relied on the solidarity of the party, as evidenced by the vote, for the support of a non-socialist republican candidate, even a Catholic. It was early seen that Dr. Marx could carry a triple party alliance to victory only if given the full support of the Socialists, the Centrists, the Bavarian People's Party, and the Democrats. The outcome proved how difficult the task of welding together parties of such conflicting political, religious, and geographical elements.

The April Election

The run-off election was held on April 26th (Sunday), and, although Thälmann ran again as the Communist candidate and thereby prevented a sure republican victory, the real battle was between Von Hindenburg and Marx.⁴ The vote was large, in some sections 85 per cent of the registered voters participating. The stay-at-home vote came out and there was a vigorous interest on the part of the women.

Marx beat Von Hindenburg in the

⁴ See the table for the votes polled by each candidate.

Rhineland regions, especially those parts occupied by the allied forces. He was also victorious in Berlin, Breslau, Westphalia, Hesse, and Baden. On the other hand, Von Hindenburg, who won the election by nearly a million plurality, made some gains at the expense of the Democrats and the Centrists, being especially successful in the Junker districts. In Pomerania, where the large estates are, he secured 70 per cent of the votes, and over 50 per cent in East Prussia and Mecklenburg, receiving nearly three million votes more than Jarres previously. He was victorious in Thuringia, Schleswig-Holstein and parts of Saxony, and even in Bavaria secured a majority, although he failed to carry his home town of Hanover. Marx had antagonized the Bavarian Catholics by concessions to the Socialists on the eve of the election, and a strong anti-Catholic feeling was prevalent in other parts of Germany. But the Republicans attribute their defeat to the Communists, calling Thälmann "Hindenburg's savior."

The Significance of Von Hindenburg's Election

What is the significance of Von Hindenburg's election? At first, the jingoes wailed and lamented and predicted all manner of disasters. But now they have been forced to admit that, actually, it "does not materially change the domestic political situation," to use the words of Mr. Frank H. Simonds, in an article of a somewhat later date than that quoted at the beginning of this article.⁵ In the first place, Von Hindenburg was not chosen by a majority, but only a plurality of votes; the majority of nearly a million were cast by republican sympathizers.

Furthermore, the powers of the President under the Weimar Constitution are somewhat circumscribed. His right to negotiate treaties is exercised subject to ratification by the Reichstag. A declaration of war must be made by a national law, and, although he has broad military powers, all measures taken for the preservation of public order and safety are subject to revocation by the Reichstag. It is true that he is elected for a term of seven

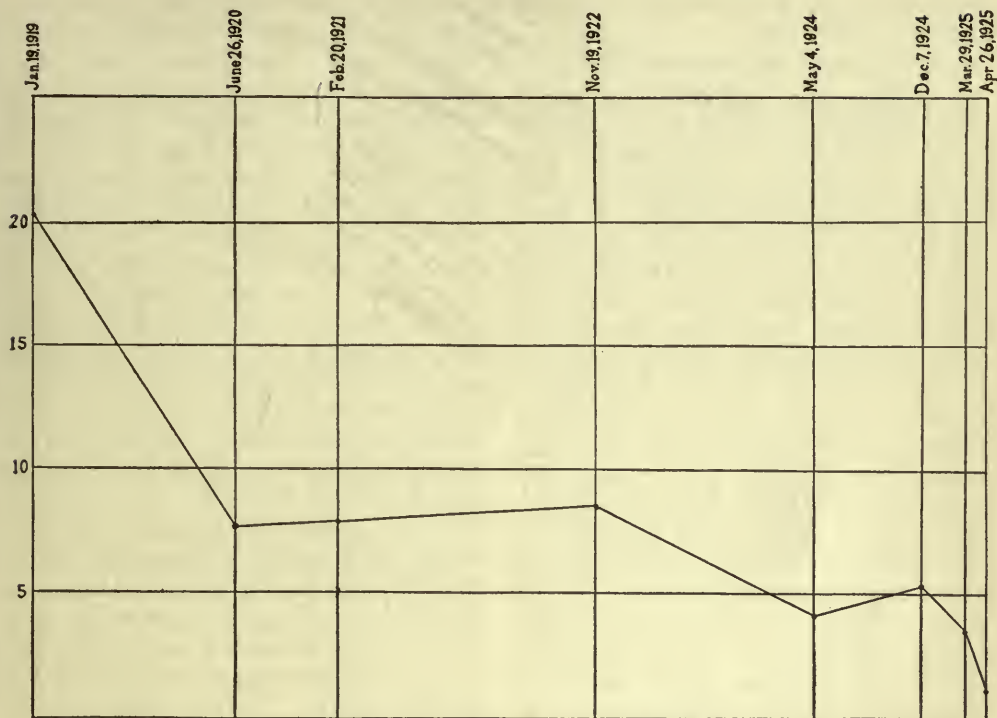
years and is re-eligible as often as he can command the necessary votes, but by Article 43 he is subject to removal by a two-thirds vote of the Reichstag.

Besides, it is the Chancellor who is the real executive. Although appointed by the President, he is responsible to the Reichstag and must be able to command its confidence. At the present time the republican sympathizers have a majority in the Reichstag, and the Luther-Stresemann Cabinet, which is still in power, is pledged to maintain the Republic and committed to a policy of peaceful settlement with the Allies. Dr. Luther himself, within twelve hours after a long conference with the President-elect, made a positive declaration before the Congress of the League of Industries and Commerce, three days after the election, that Germany's foreign policy will be strictly adhered to.

What apprehension there was abroad, and it was confined chiefly to France, with the fresh memory of the Field Marshal's military exploits, has been somewhat dissipated by the calm reception of the election in Washington and generally abroad. Ambassador Houghton's maiden address in London also had a mollifying effect, although he did not directly refer to the German election. The world is fast coming to believe what a prominent member of the German People's Party recently said: "If the outside world believes that the so-called chauvinists will run Germany, it will be disappointed, for just as Ebert tamed the Socialists, so will Von Hindenburg put a damper on the nationalistic extremists."

Events subsequent to the election seem to bear out this prediction. The new President requested Dr. Meisner, who was secretary to the late President Ebert and later to Acting President Simons, to remain in office. And, despite the gloomy picture of monarchist excesses foreshadowed by the parties of the left, the Presidential inauguration took place on May 12th without any untoward incident. Dressed in modest civilian attire, much to the chagrin of his extremist supporters, the monarchist President-elect took the republican oath of office before the Reichstag. Although republican flags were lost in the array of monarchist flags that hung

⁵ However, Mr. Simonds still persists in calling the election "a blunder."



THE SWING FROM RADICALISM

as shown by the majority (in millions of votes) of the combined liberal-radical parties in the Reichstag and presidential elections.

from the houses along his route to the Reichstag, a republican flag was on his automobile and on the table before which he took his oath to support the German Republic. The Luther-Stresemann Cabinet waited upon him to tender its resignation as a body, but it was requested to continue in office. In other words, Von Hindenburg's every word and action suggests plainly his sincerity of purpose and is entirely consistent with the policy of peace and national unity to which he has committed himself.

It remains but to explain his victory at a time when nearly everyone, even the professional politician and the international observer, were expecting his defeat. The reasons are in part psychological. It must be remembered that the German people have only recently been initiated into the mysteries of republican government. Inured to unwavering obedience to absolutist leaders under the monarchy, they still, despite their acceptance of republicanism, yearn for leaders

upon whom they can implicitly rely for the maintenance of republican ideals. The leaders who brought the republic into being served their purpose, and well. Theirs was the task of transforming a decadent and militaristic monarchical rule into a peaceful government of the people. The Empire, though federal in principle and almost autocratic in fact under the Prussian hegemony, nevertheless was strongly confederative in character. It was not easy to weld together, into a homogeneous whole, groups of people jealous of their sectional prerogatives—prerogatives which had been sanctified by long years of tradition and preserved in the Imperial Constitution. We in America must not forget that it was eight years after the conclusion of our American Revolution before our Federal Constitution was ratified, and even after 136 years of successful operation under that Constitution, sectionalism is not unwont to crop out at times in these United States. What, then, must have been the

task confronting the founders of republicanism in Germany?

Several factors contributed to their success. They knew that the treaties of peace would deprive them of all of those regions which were predominantly non-German, and that consequently the race problem would be minimized. Besides, they realized that the population which remained to them had been more or less unified by four years of war. Unity is natural against a common foe. Unity thrives on opposition. Unity is one of the few blessings which war produces. And that unity engendered in the German people by the World War was, at its unsuccessful termination, turned, under the leadership of the well-organized Socialists, against the militaristic monarchists, held responsible for that national disaster. Consequently it is not surprising to find in the elections for the National Assembly of 1919 that 88 per cent of the votes were controlled by the three republican parties, the so-called Weimar Coalition.

As soon as the republic was an established fact, however, and the monarchist supporters had been put to flight, this strong unifying motive disappeared. The parties broke down, or rather broke up into a number of smaller parties. The voting strength of the parties fluctuated, but cabinet changes, occurring in rapid succession, indicated that the people were predisposed to leadership, if only some one would lead them. It likewise became evident that public opinion was shrinking away from the extremes of both the right and the left and was gradually shifting in the direction of the moderate Right.¹ This was the stage set for the presidential election.

The right *bloc* was quick to perceive the spirit of the times, and, instead of dissipating their strength by selecting politicians of their respective parties, liable to the fierce enmities which partisan compromise engenders, they united upon a name to conjure with among the rank

and file of the voters, Von Hindenburg. Here was no callow youth, rash and impetuous, a political trickster, but a man with the wisdom of years, a man of proven ability, who had preserved his dignity and esteem even in defeat—a man of iron. Who will be less apt to maneuver the nation into a situation fraught with international complications than he who knows full well the horrors of war and has quaffed the bitter dregs of defeat? Has he not, since his retirement from military life, frequently urged his countrymen to put aside all thought of war and concentrate their efforts upon building up their industrial resources? Therefore, if he swears to uphold the republican constitution, he can be believed. If he declares that the Dawes Plan should be followed, he can be trusted. If he states that a certain policy is for the best interests of the German people, he can be relied upon. Such was his reputation among the German people before the election, and such it remains today. He was the answer to their craving for strong conservative leadership.

To the present writer, therefore, the election of Von Hindenburg seems to be but another step in the reaction in the direction of conservatism which has been spreading throughout the world since the radical wave that followed the World War. It has been felt in the United States; it has been felt in Great Britain; it has been felt lately in France, and now even in Germany. Moreover, the election symbolizes the realization of a more perfect national unity of a smaller Germany, and this bodes well for the peace of Europe, if not of the world.²

² Since the above was written, Former Ambassador James W. Gerard, upon his return from a trip to Europe, is quoted in the *New York Times*, June 9, 1925, p. 13, as saying: "I said on sailing from America that if I were a German I should have voted for Hindenburg. . . . I now think that the election of Hindenburg was a good thing for Germany and the world. It means a bulwark against the Reds in Germany and against Soviet Russia. Hindenburg is above all an honest man."

¹ See curve and table accompanying this article.

THE CROATIAN CAPITULATION

By GORDON GORDON-SMITH

THE session of the Yugoslav Parliament of March 28 last was, beyond all question, the most important sitting of that legislature since the voting of the constitution, June 28, 1921. In this session M. Pavle Raditch, nephew of M. Stefan Raditch and Vice-President of the Croatian Peasant Party, of which his uncle is chief, announced that that party renounced republicanism, recognized the Karageorgevitch dynasty, and, last but not least, accepted the present constitution as the fundamental law of the country. This meant that a conflict which has lasted nearly four years has come to an end, and that the national unity of the Yugoslav State, which it had jeopardized, was at last an accomplished fact. This capitulation of the Croatian opposition is the crowning triumph of M. Nicholas Pashitch's long career and is the final accomplishment of forty years of effort.

Historical Background

In order to realize the full significance of this surrender of the Raditch Party we must consider the trend of national politics in Yugoslavia since the break-up of the Austrian Empire. When this occurred the Serbo-Croatian provinces of that Empire—that is to say, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, the Slovene country, the Viovodina, and the Banat of Temesvar—joined their brothers-in-race of Serbia and Montenegro in order to form a single State, to which the somewhat cumbersome name of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was given. Many believe that it would have been much better to have simply called the new State Greater Serbia, thus capitalizing nationally the world-wide reputation which the subjects of King Peter had gained for themselves by their heroic conduct during the World War.

It was, however, perhaps too much to ask from the former Austrian provinces that they should merge their existence in that of Serbia and cease to figure in any way in the style and title of the new kingdom. There is, however, one point on which stress must be laid, and that is that

the union of the Austrian Serbo-Croat provinces with Serbia was purely voluntary. Many people seem to be of opinion that these provinces, especially Croatia, were, to a certain degree, coerced into union with Serbia. This is not so. Long before the end of the war, in April, 1917, the Yugoslav National Committee of London (the organization of the Serbo-Croats then under Austrian rule) sent a delegation to Corfu, then the seat of the Serbian Government, where it signed the Pact of Corfu, the magna charta of the Yugoslav race.

These provinces, therefore, entered the new kingdom on an absolutely equal footing with Serbia and Montenegro. No liberty or privilege was accorded to the Serbians which was not accorded to the Croats and the other sections of the new kingdom. At the same time Serbia had certain claims, not to supremacy, but to leadership, in the new State. She was the "Piedmont" of the Yugoslav "risorgimento." Serbia had been a kingdom for over a century; she possessed a king, a government, and an army. It was, therefore, only right that she should be the central point round which the other Serbo-Croat provinces should group themselves.

These aspirations were not, however, universally recognized. Soon after the first National Assembly met in Belgrade it was evident that all the sections of the new kingdom did not see eye to eye regarding the future constitution of the State. The Croatian element especially showed a certain desire to maintain its individual existence in the new State and opposed anything resembling a Serbian hegemony.

To this sentiment a number of factors contributed. First, there was the influence of the former Austro-Hungarian rule. During the time the Croatian people formed part of the Austrian Empire it had valiantly upheld its national life, but nevertheless the supremacy of the Austro-Hungarian Government had had its influence. The intellectual élite was forced to look to the universities and high schools of Austria for its higher education. Many

Croats became officers in the imperial army or served as officials of the civil government. The Croatian people thus received a veneer of Austrian "kultur," which had a tendency to develop in them a sort of "superiority complex" toward the more rude and rustic Serbs, much as a smart New Yorker is inclined to look down upon a "hayseed" farmer who in reality is probably a better man than himself.

Then there was the difference in religion, the Croats being Catholic, while the Serbs were Greek Orthodox. There was, further, the difference in the written language, the Serbs using the Cyrillic alphabet, while the Croats employed the Latin characters, eked out by accents. At the same time there was no fundamental difference between the two peoples. For centuries of Austrian oppression the Croats had clung to their national ideals, while on their side the Serbs had developed the freest democracy in Europe. In their kingdom there was no aristocracy and hardly any middle class. The king was, so to say, just the first peasant in the land—their ruler and counsellor in time of peace, their leader in time of war. Thanks to their agrarian laws, every peasant in Serbia owned the land he tilled, and lived in complete political liberty and independence.

In Croatia, on the other hand, there was, as I have said, a landed aristocracy, a bureaucracy, and a middle class, more or less imbued with imperial traditions. The sturdy race of peasant proprietors, such as had existed in Serbia for over a century, did not exist in the Serbo-Croat provinces under Austrian rule. As a result, there were certain elements in Croatia and the other Serbo-Croat provinces which were inclined to resist the introduction of Serbian methods of government and agrarian reforms on Serbian lines.

In fact, Croatia, at the moment of its liberation from the rule of the Hapsburgs, was divided into cross-sections of national life. On the one hand was the landed aristocracy, the clergy, the bourgeoisie, and the official world, in a word, what claimed to be the "intelligentsia" of the nation. This had had, in a very modified and primitive form, a certain share in the government of the country under Austrian rule. It

had returned members to the national Sabor, or Diet, and had sent delegates to the Parliament at Budapest. It is true that the heavy hand of the imperial régime rendered these rights more or less illusory, but, at any rate, such as they were, they were almost completely in the hands of the urban population.

The great mass of the peasants were, however, practically inarticulate. Their influence on the public life of the country, limited as this was, was practically nil. It is only since the World War that the peasants have been able to give expression to their political aspirations. Being completely without political experience, they easily fell under the influence of any man who could pretend to give expression to their desires. This explains the influence of M. Stefan Raditch, a man entirely wanting in all the qualities necessary for statesmanship, but who possesses the rough, familiar eloquence likely to appeal to a primitive people, utterly wanting in political education and experience.

M. Raditch undertook the task which had been neglected, and even, disdained, by the "intelligentsia" of Croatia. He aroused the peasant to a sense of his value in the body politic. To a certain degree, it was a case of "the blind leading the blind," as, beyond a certain talent as a demagogue, he was wanting in the first elements of real statesmanship. He possessed, however, a real talent for organization and soon welded the Croatian peasantry into a formidable political unit.

But it was when the period of construction began that the weakness of M. Raditch was revealed. Instead of recognizing that the future of Yugoslavia lay in common action for a great democratic ideal, he advocates what the Germans would call Croatian "particularismus," the maintenance of every existing Croatian institution—Diet, administration, education, religion, etc. The union with Serbia he dreamed of was to be a purely personal one. All he recognized was the frontiers of Yugoslavia as laid down by the Paris Treaty of Peace. A Croatian republic was, by some means, to be federated with a monarchy. His views were extremely nebulous and were never clearly defined.

Efforts at Unity

The Serbian statesmen were unable to share or accept his views. They were of opinion that it would be impossible to create a strong State on such foundations. Such a partition of the new State would, they maintained, instead of drawing the peoples closer together, only perpetuate their differences and retard indefinitely the national union to which all Yugoslavs aspired.

That is why that veteran statesman M. Nicolas Pashitch, the Nestor of the Balkans, opposed the idea of any State so loosely constructed, and proposed a constitution providing for a centralized form of government in which the former provincial boundaries should be swept away and a single united country created. The new State would be divided into departments, each under a prefect, appointed by and responsible to the central government at Belgrade. These departments would in turn be divided into counties, each under a sub-prefect, and these divided into communes, each with its mayor and municipal council elected by popular suffrage. This constitution, it will be seen, is modeled on that of the French Republic. It was voted on Kosovo Day, or Vidovdan, the great Serbian national festival on June 28, 1921.

The Croatian Peasant Party, with 70 seats, which constituted 90 per cent of the Croatian representation in the Belgrade Parliament, refused to accept the Vidovdan Constitution and, until nine months ago, adopted the same tactics as the Sinn Fein Party in Ireland, and declined to take their seats in Belgrade. M. Stefan Raditch twelve months ago carried his opposition to the government to a point which was regarded as seditious and a warrant was issued for his arrest. On this he fled the country, first taking refuge in London. To "save his face" with his followers, whom he thus abandoned, he declared that he had gone to London to obtain the support of the British Government for the Croatian national aspirations. His mission in London, it is needless to say, was a complete failure, no public man in Great Britain consenting even to discuss with him such a purely internal question as the constitution of Yugoslavia.

Not daring to return to Croatia empty-handed after all his promises, he went off to Moscow, where he entered into relations with the Soviet Government and affiliated the Croatian Peasant Party with the Bolshevik Peasant Internationale. He further tried to get in touch with the Magyar Government in Budapest and was also in correspondence with Todor Alexandroff, the head of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee.

Those anti-national activities led to his arrest on his return to Croatia and to the arrest and imprisonment of three of the leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party who publicly supported his policy. Such was the situation when the Yugoslav Parliament was dissolved and an appeal made to the country. During the electoral campaign there were, however, signs of revolt against the authority of M. Raditch in the ranks of his own party. A certain number of the candidates belonging to the Croatian Peasant Party repudiated all relations with the Russian Peasant Internationale. Before the party went to the polls there was already a serious split in its ranks. When the final results of the election were received it was seen that M. Raditch's party had returned to the Belgrade Parliament with hardly any loss, securing 69 seats instead of the 70 it formerly held.

But when the vote came to be analyzed it was seen that the success was far from being that which the number of members showed. In the first place, M. Raditch lost quite a number of seats in Croatia proper. This loss he made good only by securing seats in the Slovene country at the expense of the Slovene Clerical Party, led by Father Kososhetz. As the Slovene Clericals were supposed to be the allies of the Croatian Peasant Party, this victory of M. Raditch has done little to consolidate the opposition "bloc," to which they both belonged.

When the Parliament met the following was the position: M. Pashitch was at the head of a governmental "bloc" composed of 142 Radicals and 21 Dissident Democrats, out of a total of 315 members, giving the government a clear majority of 11 votes over all the other parties in Parliament. Of the Croatian Peasant Party, M. Raditch and three other leaders were

in prison, awaiting trial on a charge of high treason, on account of their relations with Bolshevik Russia. Of the remaining sixty-odd members of his party, nearly one-half were opposed to having relations with the Peasant Internationale of Moscow. M. Raditch saw his authority slipping from his grasp. He realized the hopelessness of his former policy of sterile negation of the Vidovdan Constitution. Another general election would, he saw, probably lead to the repudiation of his leadership by the party of which he is still officially the chief. He therefore realized that "the game was up," and that the only way to embark on a really constructive policy was to accept the verdict of the country and base his future action on the constitution voted by the National Assembly four years ago. His party, how-

ever, still maintains its demand for certain changes in the constitution, but at the same time it declares that to effect these it will only make use of the machinery for such revision laid down in the constitution itself. As such a policy is the constitutional right of every citizen of Yugoslavia, no exception could be taken to it by the most reactionary Yugoslav. No one in that kingdom pretends that the existing constitution is faultless in every detail, but all intelligent men see that the only way to improve it is to apply it and make such changes as experience shows are necessary.

Thanks to the change which has come over the spirit of the Croatian opposition, Yugoslavia can now embark on a period of progress and constructive statesmanship.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

SECRETARY KELLOGG AND PRESIDENT CALLES OF MEXICO

(Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, issued a statement June 12 relative to our rights in Mexico. This statement, which was given to the press, follows:)

Secretary Kellogg's Statement

I have discussed Mexican affairs with Ambassador Sheffield at great length. He has gone over the entire situation. It will be remembered that we entered into two Claims Conventions with Mexico, under which Joint Claims Commissions were appointed to adjust claims of American citizens for properties illegally taken by Mexico and for injuries to American citizens of their rights. These Commissions are now sitting and will, in due time, adjudicate these claims. Conditions have improved and our Ambassador has succeeded in protecting American, as well as foreign, interests. Our relations with the government are friendly, but nevertheless conditions are not entirely satisfactory and we are looking to and expect the Mexican

Government to restore properties illegally taken and to indemnify American citizens.

A great deal of property of Americans has been taken under or in violation of the Agrarian Laws, for which no compensation has been made, and other properties practically ruined and, in one instance, taken by the Mexican Government on account of unreasonable demands of labor. Mr. Sheffield will have the full support of this government and we will insist that adequate protection under the recognized rules of international law be afforded American citizens. We believe it is the desire of the Mexican Government to carry out the Conventions and to indemnify American citizens for property taken. So long as we are satisfied that this is the policy of the Mexican Government and this course of action is being carried out with a determination to meet its international obligations, that Government will have the support of the United States.

I cannot go into the details of the many cases which Mr. Sheffield has taken up with the Mexican Government, but they will be worked out as rapidly as possible.

Gives Stand on Revolutions

I have seen the statements published in the press that another revolutionary movement may be impending in Mexico. I very much hope this is not true. This Government's attitude toward Mexico and toward threatened revolutionary movements was clearly set forth in 1923, when there was such a movement threatening the constituted Government of that country, which had entered into solemn engagements with this Government and was making an effort to meet those obligations at home and abroad.

The attitude taken by this Government at that time has since been maintained, and it is now the policy of this Government to use its influence and its support in behalf of stability and orderly constitutional procedure, but it should be made clear that this Government will continue to support the Government in Mexico only so long as it protects American lives and American rights and complies with its international engagements and obligations.

The Government of Mexico is now on trial before the world. We have the greatest interest in the stability, prosperity, and independence of Mexico. We have been patient and realize, of course, that it takes time to bring about a stable government, but we cannot countenance violation of her obligations and failure to protect American citizens.

PRESIDENT CALLES' REPLY

(Under date of June 14 President Calles replied to Secretary Kellogg's statement through the Mexican embassy in Washington. This statement also took the form of a communication to the press. The Mexican President said:)

Declarations of the State Department have been published in which Mr. Kellogg, answering some questions relating to the visit of Ambassador Sheffield to said department, affirms that some properties of American citizens have been illegally taken in Mexico for which no compensation has been made and in one instance taken by the Mexican Government on account of unreasonable demands of labor. At the same time he refers to the Joint Claims Commissions, stating that he is convinced that the Mexican Government wishes to comply with the conventions and indemnify for the properties taken from American citizens; that he has seen the statements published in the press that another revolutionary movement may be impending

in Mexico and that the Department of State very much hopes this is not true, the attitude of said Department being to use its influence and lend its support in behalf of stability and orderly constitutional procedure in Mexico, but it makes clear that the American Government will continue to support the Government in Mexico only so long as it protects American lives and American rights and complies with its international engagements and obligations. He adds that the Government of Mexico is now on trial before the world.

It is a duty for my government to rectify said statements, as required by truth and justice. The best proof that Mexico is willing to comply with her international obligations and to protect the lives and interests of foreigners lies in the fact that although, according to international law, she was not bound to do it, she invited all the nations whose citizens or subjects might have suffered damages through acts executed during the political upheavals that have taken place in the country with a view to conclude a convention to establish joint commissions that might consider said damages in order to grant due indemnifications. Besides that, another convention was entered into with the United States to adjust claims of citizens of both countries against the other, and in said convention are included all cases in which properties or rights might have been affected in disagreement with the Mexican laws. Therefore, so long as the aforesaid commissions do not adjust the cases submitted to their decision, it is irrelevant to charge Mexico with failure to protect American interests and violation of her international obligations.

The application of the agrarian laws cannot be a subject of complaint, because Mexico has issued them in the exercise of her sovereignty, and apart from that, the State Department, in behalf of the American citizens, has accepted the form of indemnification prescribed by Mexican laws.

It is to be regretted the contradiction in Mr. Kellogg's statement when he declared that the United States have the greatest interest in the maintenance of order in Mexico and in the stability of her government and at the same time stating that he has seen news of revolutionary movements since this last affirmation tends to cast some alarm in the world in regard to the conditions of my country.

And, finally, the statements that the Gov-

ernment of the United States will continue to support the Government of Mexico only so long as it protects American interests and lives and complies with its international engagements and obligations embodies a threat to the sovereignty of Mexico that she cannot overlook, and rejects with all energy, because she does not accord to any foreign country the right to intervene in any form in her domestic affairs, nor is she disposed to subordinate her international relations to the exigencies of another country.

The statement under reference affirms also that the American Ambassador has succeeded in protecting American as well as foreign interests, and if he has thus succeeded he has no right to charge Mexico with failure to protect said interests, and attention should be called to the fact that said Ambassador does not represent any other foreigners but his own fellow-citizens, and Mexico could not admit that without her previous authorization the American Ambassador should act in behalf of persons or interests alien to those of his country.

If the Government of Mexico, as affirmed, is now on trial before the world, such is the case with the Government of the United States, as well as those of other countries; but if it is to be understood that Mexico is on trial in the guise of a defendant, my government absolutely rejects with energy such imputation, which in essence would only mean an insult.

To conclude, I declare that my government, conscious of the obligations imposed by international law, is determined to comply with them, and therefore to extend due protection to the lives and interests of foreigners; that it only accepts and hopes to receive the help and support of all the other countries based on a sincere and loyal co-operation and according to the invariable practice of international friendship, but in no way it shall admit that a government of any nation may pretend to create a privileged situation for its nationals in the country, nor shall it either accept any foreign interference contrary to the right of sovereignty of Mexico.

It is now intimated that Secretary Kellogg will soon address to our Ambassador at Mexico City a note presenting a score or more of specific cases where the Mexican Government has apparently made no attempt to protect the rights of American citizens in Mexico.—
THE ENVOY

DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY

SPEECH BY DR. EDUARD BENESH

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, in Foreign Committee of the Senate, April 1, 1925

1. The discussions on the Geneva Protocol in the Council of the League of Nations and the proposal made by the German Government for the conclusion of a guarantee pact among the Great Powers and for arbitration treaties between Germany and her neighbors have naturally aroused the interest of public opinion in every country. Thus once more there has been placed in the forefront of public attention a question which for fully six years has been the subject of the efforts and activities of the majority of European governments—the problem of the security of Europe.

The question of security has a far-reaching significance. The greater part of political events in Europe during the past six years have been connected with this question and its solution can give, to a large extent, the *directif* to European international politics for many years to come. The solution of the question also touches, and to a considerable degree, our own policy, and in the individual phases of this diplomatic struggle we have been called upon to take an active and direct part. The present phase of negotiations concerns us for the most part indirectly, but also directly.

It may be allowed me, therefore, to give a brief outline of the entire course of the fight for European security, for in this way we shall best elucidate the whole substance of the problem as well as the political lines along which our foreign policy has to be directed in this diplomatic struggle.

I. Negotiations for a Franco-British Security Pact in the Years 1919-1923

2. The problem of security arose immediately at the opening of peace negotiations in Paris in 1919. The French delegates demanded that the peace treaties should contain such political and military provisions as would for the future prevent France again becoming the victim of invasion by foreign armies, as had happened three times in the course of the last hundred years. Several plans of securing France's safety were suggested. Some proposed the exclusion of Ger-

many from the left bank of the Rhine and the occupation of several points on the right bank, so that this natural frontier, protected in this way, would in itself be a guarantee. Others demanded that the left bank of the Rhine should be occupied at least for some considerable time, and that some special permanent measures of neutralization on both left and right banks should be taken, and so on.

After protracted negotiations between President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, and the French Premier, M. Clemenceau, the proposal of the so-called tripartite guarantee pact between France, England, and the United States of America was arrived at on the 14th of March, 1919. This pact was to secure to France the aid of England and America in case of an unprovoked attack upon France by Germany. The draft signed on 28th June, 1919, by Wilson, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau was the result of a compromise: the French delegates, in return for the guarantee, withdrew a whole series of demands, such as already mentioned, touching political and military measures on the right and left banks of the Rhine.

It should be emphasized that from the very outset of these negotiations the English Government recognized the justness of the French demand. Lloyd George undertook to see the tripartite pact concluded, and would, in all probability have actually seen it through. When the tripartite pact dropped through, Lloyd George, as well as his successor, admitted that England was morally bound to offer guarantees of security to France, having regard to the circumstances in which the negotiations for a pact took place. If I am rightly informed, this standpoint was supported by Mr. Bonar Law and afterwards by Mr. Baldwin; it was again confirmed by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald when discussing reparations with Mr. Herriot, and it has now once more been confirmed by Mr. Chamberlain, who, on the 2d of February, 1925, expressly declared that the claim of France to obtain guarantees of security was justified, and that until she received them England would do nothing that would signify she had forgotten their common struggle in the World War.

3. Thus it happened that the question of a guarantee pact turned up regularly at all Anglo-French negotiations. The year 1920

was almost wholly taken up with the question of reparations, but in 1921, on the Briand Government coming into power, fresh negotiations began between Briand and Lloyd George for a new guarantee pact. The question reached a concrete stage in December, 1921, at the Cannes Conference, when Lloyd George made an attempt to settle a series of reparation questions, and to arrive at an agreement with Briand as to a common line of policy towards Russia, and when he proposed to Briand on the 11th of January, 1922, a new guarantee pact, according to which England should guarantee aid to France and Belgium if those countries should be attacked by Germany. As will be remembered, it was there decided to convoke the Genoa Conference.

In responsible circles in Paris this proposed pact was not regarded as satisfactory. This, in particular, was the attitude of the then President, Millerand, of several members of the Cabinet and of the opposition led by Poincaré. This opposition led to the resignation of Briand, and to the coming into power of a Poincaré Cabinet. Thus this attempt also came to nothing.

Poincaré drew up in detail the claims of France and augmented them. He desired in particular that the pact proposed at Cannes by Lloyd George should be concluded for a lengthier term and should be supplemented by a military convention. The negotiations came to nothing, and this apparently constrained Lloyd George to attempt to extend the question of security to all Europe and to come to the Genoa Conference with a new proposal for an all-European guarantee pact, known as the pact of non-aggression (*pacte de non-agression*).

This somewhat vague pact, composed of two articles and binding each State simply to refrain from attacking the frontiers of any other State—an obligation expressed in much stronger form in the League of Nations Pact—was rejected by the great majority of the delegates to the Genoa Conference, after fruitless efforts had been made from various sides to supplement and perfect it.

The disaffection which followed upon the Genoa Conference and the standpoint of opposition taken by Poincaré to Lloyd George's proposal caused a temporary break, in July, 1922, in the whole Franco-British negotiations touching security. In the summer of

the following year the London Cabinet made a new effort to discuss this question in connection with reparations, but Poincaré declined to combine the two questions.

The tension arising from the occupation of the Ruhr likewise rendered difficult a direct Franco-British agreement, and also caused the negotiations to be constantly put off throughout the year 1923.

When the MacDonald Cabinet was formed, in January, 1924, following the English general election, and the Herriot Government came into power in France, in May, 1924, the question of reparations first claimed the attention of both. This question, as is well known, was solved at the London Conference last year, and the questions of interallied debts and of security remained open. Herriot, on leaving the London Conference, received the assurance from MacDonald that England regarded herself as bound in the matter of the guarantee pact, and that she would enter into negotiations as soon as possible on this point with France. Such was the state of negotiations between the two countries up to July, 1924.

II. The League of Nations Negotiations for Security; Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol

4. In the meantime, parallel with the negotiations between France and England, the question of security, combined with the question of disarmament, began to be discussed in the League of Nations. By Article 8 of the League of Nations Pact, the members of the League undertake to disarm to a measure consistent with their national security. On the basis of this obligation laid down in the pact, and after difficult negotiations in the Assembly of the League, there was passed, in September, 1922, the so-called Resolution XIV, which lays down in solemn form the principle that the States disarm, but that they must undertake also to render military aid to one another mutually, should a disarmed State be attacked by any other. Thus the problem of disarmament was for the first time clearly and in binding form combined with the problem of security, and in all subsequent negotiations these two principles were not again separated.

In the course of 1922 and 1923 discussions and deliberations took place as to what form of expression should be given to the problem of security thus formulated by the League

of Nations. The well-known projects of Lord Robert Cecil and Colonel Réquin were here put forward and discussed in the League of Nations committees during 1923 and were submitted in definitive form to the Assembly of the League of Nations in September, 1923, under the title of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. I was the rapporteur in committee and in the general Assembly for this project. It was an attempt to insure general European security on the basis of the following principles:

1. Restriction of armaments and permanent control of the same.

2. The States undertake to assist an attacked country. At the same time the necessity is recognized of regional treaties and alliances, which would form the principal means of rendering assistance.

3. A certain measure of differentiation is permitted between the individual parts of the world, so that more freedom is allowed in regard to subscribing to this treaty and to its execution than is allowed in the later general Protocol of Geneva.

4. The entire functioning of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance is placed under the control of the League of Nations.

I defended this project as an endeavor to solve the question of security, for it gave full recognition and acceptance to the principles adopted by us in our foreign policy. In the name of the Czechoslovak Government, I also sent the League of Nations, in August, 1924, a note, in which I laid down the standpoint of our government in still more detail. I supported the principle of regional treaties and the necessity of arbitration, but at the same time I also emphasized the duty of every State to contribute, by all means in its power and within the framework of the League of Nations, to the general security.

The answer of the MacDonald Government, however, was unfavorable; it rejected the principle of special regional treaties and demanded in substitution of them a universal pact; it emphasized the necessity for demilitarizing the individual frontier zones where no danger threatened, and it finally took a decided stand for the principle of arbitration. In view of these objections, the Treaty of Mutual Assistance fell through, and new discussions opened in the League of Nations Assembly in September, 1924,

leading to the publication of the Geneva Protocol.

5. These negotiations are well known. I was entrusted by the subcommittee of the League to formulate for discussion a new general proposal, which should take into consideration all the English objections as well as the suggestions of other States, both members of the League and non-members, which had been made during the deliberations on the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. The draft proposal came before the League Committee; some recommendations of the Law Committee were added to it, and, after discussion and a series of amendments, the proposal was unanimously passed by the League and became the well-known Geneva Protocol.

In spite of the fact that originally, in 1922, the negotiations in the League of Nations touching disarmament did not form part of the general discussion on security, and were conducted quite separately, the development of affairs nevertheless resulted in the League of Nations' Treaty of Mutual Assistance becoming by degrees, and, so to say, automatically, a part of the negotiations between France and England. This was mainly because in the meantime the Ruhr had been occupied and direct negotiations between the French Premier, Poincaré, and the British Government regarding an Anglo-French pact had been broken off.

When, subsequently, the MacDonald and Herriot governments came into power, both of them emphasized, in contradistinction to their predecessors, the idea of the League of Nations, and, seeing from the history of the preceding four years' negotiations the difficulty of arriving at a direct security pact between the two countries, sought to find a solution in the League of Nations, whose more active influence and co-operation in international politics answered more fully to their political tendencies.

The matter was all the more acceptable to France, in that the initiative came from the English Government, and because the French Government saw the great difficulties standing in the way of a direct pact between England and France—a pact opposed on principle by the Labor Party, then in power. France, in collaboration with the English Government, realized the necessity of solving the problem in such a way that the solution

should not, *a priori*, be directed against Germany, and that Germany should be thus enabled to join volutarily in the entire action. Finally France saw that the solving of the problem meant not only insuring security for western Europe, but also for central and eastern Europe—that is to say, it was a matter of universal security and peace. For France, and, of course, for other States—for Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, the neutral States, and the former enemy States—a solution in these circumstances by the League of Nations could signify the maximum attainable.

In September, 1924, therefore, the Geneva Protocol was accepted by all the factors then interested, with sincerity and enthusiasm, as a new general effort to settle the problem of security, all previous attempts having failed, and as a document not only expressing what was then felt to be the practical need of all, but also an expression of sincere desire for definitive peace and for the lofty ideals of the future, as incorporated in the League of Nations.

The events of the last session of the Council of the League of Nations, in March, 1925, are well known. The British Government declared itself against the Protocol as a means of solving the problem of security. An analysis of the speeches of the English Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chamberlain, shows that:

(a) The British Government does not regard a general application of the principle of arbitration as acceptable for itself, and wishes to reserve to itself the possibility of settling certain disputes in another manner; and

(b) That the obligations imposed by the Protocol are, in view of the extent of the British Empire, too great. In particular, it seems to the British Government impossible to take upon itself the duty of guaranteeing the preservation of peace in some regions of eastern Europe.

In other words, the British Government rejects once more what it has always rejected from the very first negotiations (outside the League of Nations) touching security—that is, to give a guarantee for anything more than the frontier between France and Belgium on the one hand and Germany on the other.

Thus the Geneva Protocol, in the form in which it has hitherto existed, has been thrust back, and we come to the last act in the negotiations touching the problem of security.

III. The German Proposals for a Guarantee Pact, and the English Rejection of the Geneva Protocol

6. This leads us to the third chapter in the history of the guarantee pact—the negotiations between England, France, and Belgium—and the discussions of the League of Nations have been supplemented by attempts at solving the problem of security emanating from Germany herself.

Under the influence of the occupation of the Ruhr by the Poincaré Government, which in the official circles of Germany was considered also as a part of the struggle for France's security, and not only as a sanction for not fulfilling the reparation clauses of the Versailles Treaty, there was made from the German side the first attempt to aid in the solution of this question. On December 18, 1922, the Secretary of State of the United States of America, Mr. Hughes, transmitted to the French Ambassador, M. Jusserand, the proposal of the German Chancellor, Dr. Cuno, in which the latter proposed that the Great Powers which had an interest in the Rhine frontier should bind themselves, in which America would serve as a guarantee, that for a period of about thirty years (*i. e.*, one human generation) they would not declare war against each other without the declaration being preceded by popular vote.

Premier Poincaré rejected this proposal as inadequate, and pointed out that the same thing was guaranteed, without limitation as to time, by the Pact of the League of Nations. Beside this, neither America nor England have shown any intention to adhere to these guarantees or to guarantee them.

The second German proposal was made on May 2, 1923, when the German Government submitted to England, France, Italy, Belgium, Japan, and the United States of America its proposals regarding the reparation question, and added an offer to negotiate with France a pact by which she would bind herself to settle all conflicts in a peaceable way and not by war. As a condition to the conclusion of this pact, Germany demanded the evacuation of the Ruhr. In September, 1923, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stresemann, re-

peated, in a public speech made at Stuttgart, the same idea, with little variation and in a form absolutely general. These proposals did not lead to any further negotiations; they were generally considered as tactical steps, aimed at bringing about the evacuation of the Ruhr.

7. The end of the year 1923 and the year 1924 were occupied, as already said, by the proceedings of the League of Nations touching the Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Protocol. Even on the part of Germany the attempts at a solution of the problem of security stopped, just as had the direct negotiations between France and England.

The fall of the MacDonald Government and the reserved attitude of the present British Government during the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations at Rome in December, 1924, indicated that England would not accept the Protocol of Geneva in its present form, and thus new negotiations regarding the problem of security and a new guarantee pact became again a question of the moment.

As opposed to the point of view of the British Empire, all the members of the Council of League of Nations, even if they admitted some shortcomings in the Protocol (as could hardly be otherwise, for every such document, while slightly general in nature, will always display some gaps, owing to the natural differences of geographical, cultural, and moral conditions of the individual nations in different parts of the world), have spoken decidedly for all the principles of the Protocol, and have declared that they will keep to these principles, and that they will work for their realization; that they do not adhere slavishly to the accepted text of the Protocol and do not reject on principle the British standpoint, namely, that of solving the problem of security temporarily by a partial guarantee pact entered into directly between the interested powers and subordinated to the control of the League of Nations.

France having, after six years' negotiation for security, the Geneva Protocol as the only (at least morally) binding act, emphasizes naturally and rightly its importance and her decision to adhere to it. She is willing, however, as are other members of the League, to substitute for it temporarily something which would be able to solve the

problem of security in Europe at least, in some acceptable way. France does not give up hope of the Protocol being brought into effect by degrees.

The British Government on its part declares that it does not desire to solve the problem of security by a diplomatic act of general character, such as is the Geneva Protocol, but that it would rather give precedence to the principles applied in the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, negotiated by the League of Nations in 1923, and that the solution of the problem of security was possible only through the conclusion of the guarantee pacts directly between individual interested powers.

By this the British Government adds to its point of view these two further points:

(1) Such pacts should be concluded with the participation of all directly interested—therefore, in this case, also of Germany—in order that it should not appear that the action aims at the formation of a block against one State.

(2) The pact should be placed under the control of the League of Nations and submitted to the principles which direct the whole activity and policy of the League.

IV. Memorandum of the German Government on the Ensuring of the Security of the Rhine Frontier and on Arbitration Treaties

8. In this situation, and just at the time when the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Chamberlain, had prepared his reply to the Geneva Protocol, came the new proposal for a guarantee pact from the German Government.

This proposal, as well as the first proposal made by the Chancellor, Dr. Cuno, was evoked not only by the general development of the problem of security, but also by current political events closely affecting Germany. On January 10, 1925, the Allied decision was made, according to which the occupation of the Ruhr should temporarily be maintained. To the German protest the French Premier, Herriot, replied in Parliament, on January 28, 1925, with his famous speech, which aroused great attention.

Herriot recalled the negotiations during the peace conference regarding the security of France and recalled the concessions which France made without the promise of security given to her being fulfilled. Further, he

called attention to the fact that the Military Control Commission possessed material which showed that in Germany military preparations were being made, and pointed out in what respects the peace obligations from this point of view had not yet been fulfilled. He therefore emphasized the necessity of accepting the Geneva Protocol and the definitive adjustment of the military control, so that the whole question of the security of France could be settled.

The question of the military control of the former enemy States is now being dealt with in the League of Nations, upon which, according to the Peace Treaty, rests the duty of carrying out this control. The League of Nations has likewise to control the demilitarized left bank of the Rhine in terms of Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles. The solution of these questions was always considered as part of the whole problem of security, and therefore they come under consideration also in the present negotiations.

Two days afterwards the Chancellor, Dr. Luther, delivered his reply—an utterance from which, it is evident, the present offer of the German Government issues—and in that reply he pointed out the following:

1. M. Herriot regards the relations between Germany and France from the point of view of the problem of security. Germany agrees with this, but she is interested in the solution of the guarantee pact and wishes to collaborate, as the question of security exists for Germany, too.

2. Germany agrees even with the final aim of France to attain a general peace convention, such as is the Geneva Protocol. Such general convention, if it cannot be secured immediately, can be prepared gradually by partial guarantee pacts which could immediately guarantee practical security in such places where the problem is most acute. Germany would be willing to co-operate immediately in such negotiations.

In the first week of the month of March the German Government transmitted to the governments of the Great Powers a confidential memorandum, in which the ideas just mentioned, of the Chancellor, Dr. Luther, are stated with some important additions, in detail and with more precision. It would be a matter of the conclusion of a guarantee pact among the Great Powers, by which the

present *status quo* on the Rhine would be guaranteed to all States reciprocally, the stipulations of Articles 42 and 43 of the treaty regarding the demilitarization of the left bank of the Rhine would be carried out, and there would be signed arbitration conventions between Germany and all other interested great and minor powers—*i. e.*, also Germany's neighbors on her eastern frontiers. In the memorandum Germany repeats the idea of Dr. Luther, that this partial guarantee pact can prove a first step to the general world protocol, insuring security in general.

Such is the history and the development of the problem of security. In the first stage at the Peace Conference and up to the year 1923 it was a matter of a guarantee pact between Clemenceau, Briand, and Poincaré on the one side and Lloyd George and Lord Curzon on the other, a guarantee pact concerning only France, England, and Belgium.

The second stage shows the abandonment of this first conception, which today would scarcely find a majority of supporters in England, and the substitution of it by an attempt on the part of the League of Nations to bring about a general pact, such as the Treaty of Mutual Assistance or the Geneva Protocol.

The third stage is a compromise between the two preceding attempts and the proposals made by the German Government: a partial guarantee pact with the admission of the late enemy, combined with obligations to the League of Nations, and regarded as the first practical step towards a universal pact of security in general.

V. Negotiations with the Allies on the German Memorandum and the Standpoint of the Czechoslovak Government

9. To the information regarding the German memorandum were soon added various more or less sensational reports. Shortly after the German proposals had been received, certain English newspapers declared that Germany recognized the Peace of Versailles and the *status quo* in the west, but not in the east, and that she contemplated for her eastern neighbors the conclusion of an arbitration treaty which would cover also frontier questions. From this arose partly polemics and partly fears lest it were a diplomatic

maneuver behind which Germany might be concealing certain intentions.

According to our reports, the meaning of the German memorandum was confirmed in the form that in the west Germany definitively and solemnly recognized the *status quo* and the provisions of the Peace of Versailles, but that as regards the eastern frontier Germany took up the same attitude as had been adopted by all the French governments regarding the question of Alsace and Lorraine before the last war—*i. e.*, Germany, having signed the Treaty of Versailles, would stand by this treaty and would, on account of it, never call forth a military conflict, even over the eastern frontier. The intention of Germany to conclude arbitration treaties on the basis of existing international treaties provided further guarantees in this sense. It was further confirmed to me that the German proposal did not signify also that Germany intended to submit the question of frontiers to the procedure of arbitration.

Under these circumstances I am inclined to consider that the fears that have arisen from these plans are somewhat exaggerated, or at least premature. In all the negotiations and in all the statements which I have made in the name of the Czechoslovak Government, I have been maintaining a necessary reserve, as long as all these questions are not duly cleared up.

I had the opportunity at Geneva to discuss these questions in detail with Mr. Chamberlain, the British Foreign Minister; M. Briand, the French delegate and the former Prime Minister, and with the ministers, MM. Hymans and Skrzynski. I specially communicated our point of view to the Italian Government through the ambassador in Paris, Baron Avezzano. Mr. Chamberlain again emphasized the decided standpoint of Great Britain: her intention to maintain fully and consistently the Peace of Versailles, but her inability under present circumstances to do more than to guarantee the Rhine frontiers. Further, Great Britain was convinced that it was impossible today to conclude a pact such as was planned at the Peace Conference or such as had been agreed upon between Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Briand. The only possible form was a pact which would be a compromise between all the attempts which had been made hitherto, would be participated in by Germany, and would

be under the control of the League of Nations.

10. I communicated to Mr. Chamberlain the standpoint of our Government. As far as we were concerned, we considered that the Geneva Protocol was the best solution of the problem of security, but we agreed in principle to examine the German proposals and arbitration treaties as a certain advance in the universal work for peace. Previous, however, to taking any important step, we desired (a) to know the exact meaning of the pact in question and of the proposed arbitration treaties. Further, we wished to make it clear that (b) we regarded it as inadmissible for the guarantee pact to be drawn up in any way such as to encroach upon or weaken the rights guaranteed to us by the peace treaties, whether of Versailles, Saint Germain, or Trianon; and that (c) we considered it necessary for the guarantee pact, which is intended to inaugurate a new period of stabilized peace and peace treaties in Europe, to be supplemented by the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, which country would thus take over the mutual rights and duties arising from the signature of the pact of the League of Nations; finally (d) that the pact in question would be only the first step, and that it would necessarily lead, under the aegis of the League of Nations, to further guarantee pacts, which at length might lead, just as was indicated by the German memorandum, to a guarantee pact which would be universal, or at least European, in scope—i. e., in the long run, to the principles of the Geneva Protocol. The German memorandum, if I understand it rightly, is penetrated to a much greater extent with these principles than it seems to be at first sight. In any case, we do not surrender anything which we have in the shape of guarantees of our own security and which is provided for us by all our previous or other treaties.

At Geneva Mr. Briand, the French delegate, the ministers, MM. Hymans and Skrzynski, and myself agreed that the German proposal should be examined with all the necessary reserve, but objectively, and that there was no need *a priori* to reject it; also, when I was in Paris, President Doumergue, M. Herriot, the Prime Minister, and myself discussed all these questions again in great detail, and complete agreement was arrived

at with the French Government in the sense mentioned above.

M. Herriot was in entire agreement with our standpoint and with the reservations made regarding these proposals, just as, on the other hand, he was of the same opinion that this attempt could be considered as a serious and sincere one, because in Germany also the majority of the population could be supposed to be feeling today, after ten years of severe war and political struggles, the need for quietness and peace. It is only necessary, therefore, to be circumspect, remain calm and judicious, examine the questions well in all their details, and continue to act in common, so that it may become clear whether we all really desire a solution of the problem of security and definitive peace. According to my information, the same will apply also to the negotiations between France and England.

The further negotiations during the past week have shown only a small amount of progress. The Allies have made official exchanges of their points of view regarding the general German proposal and have already requested an exact formulation of the definitive German proposals. As far as we are concerned, we shall act in common and in agreement with them.

More detailed reports regarding the negotiations cannot be given as yet, because up till now the details have not been discussed. Meanwhile various combinations are arising as to the form of the guarantee pact and of the arbitration pacts. In some quarters it is thought that the guarantee pact will be based simply on Articles 42 and 43 of the Peace of Versailles, relating to the demilitarized Rhine zone, while in other quarters the pact is considered in a more universal form. Some people would like separate arbitration treaties, while others prefer them to be common to all parties. These are questions of form which naturally have also their importance and have yet to be discussed.

VI. Czechoslovak Policy and the Six Years' Struggle for the Solution of the Problem of Security

11. The policy of our government in all the questions of security has several times been discussed in Parliament, particularly in my last two reports of February 6, 1924, when I

explained in detail the principles of our treaty policy, and of October 30, 1924, when I explained the Geneva Protocol. In our policy we have always followed two principles of practical and real politics:

(1) The insuring, by our own power and by alliance treaties of a defensive character and controlled by the League of Nations, of the security of the State; and

(2) The seizing of every opportunity to build up universal guarantees of peace, just as has been done by various projects of the League of Nations.

In our policy we have always endeavored to combine the necessary practical sense and daily political needs with high moral ideals; we have never departed from the actual necessities of the day, nor have we made any mistakes in view of the possible developments of the future. With our own work we have gained every guarantee that it was at all possible to gain and we have used every opportunity to obtain supplementary universal guarantees; also, we have not forgotten that the definitive solution of these questions presupposes the participation of Russia. In the same way it is possible to explain our treaty policy with the Little Entente and with France, and our participation in the League of Nations in the drawing up of the treaty of mutual assistance and of the Geneva Protocol.

In this direction recent events have only confirmed our policy. The Geneva Protocol signified and signifies great progress in the conception of foreign policy held hitherto. Nowhere do objective observers venture to deny this in France, England, and Germany, even if they doubt the possibility of its principles being fully and immediately realized in the sphere of practical politics. It is natural that such a change as this in the conceptions of international law held hitherto cannot win through on the first occasion and without difficulties. The same objective observers simply confirm what I said last October in my reports on the Geneva Protocol: that before the principles came into effect, they would pass through a long period of examination, and that even if they were not effectuated in their present form they could not now disappear from international politics. Moreover, the new guarantee pact, which is now to be brought into being, is

permeated to a large extent with these principles.

Czechoslovak policy, therefore, continues, and will continue, also, from the practical point of view, to follow these principles, not only because they are right and just from the ethical point of view and express the highest moral ideals to which mankind is fighting its way through, but also because they are, and always will be, the best guarantee of the independence of a State like the Czechoslovak Republic. Hence we should prefer an immediate realization of the Protocol. If this cannot be achieved, we do not reject the present negotiations relating to the guarantee pact, although we do not abandon our original aim.

In the last negotiations our policy has proved satisfactory also in the defense of the regional treaties, and this in a quarter where for a certain period they were criticized. This also is a proof that in our policy we are following the right path. We used to be criticized on account of our regional treaties. Now both sides, their opponents and friends, recognize them and are prepared to conclude such treaties. We have been ironically commented upon for our work in connection with the Geneva Protocol, and now this Protocol has led us at least a step further in the struggle for European security, and every country, whether it likes or not, will submit itself in due course to the principles contained therein, even if it rejects the present text of the Protocol.

Finally, I will mention that the next meeting of the General Assembly of the League of Nations (September, 1925), will naturally discuss the Protocol once more and will take its decisions. If before that time anything definitive is done in the matter of security, the situation will be much easier; if the pact is not concluded before that time, the same problem is presented in all its extent and we shall be faced with a more difficult international situation than up till now.

The position of our State after these important negotiations, lasting for six years, is a very good one. By our treaty policy we have achieved all the guarantees which could be obtained under the given circumstances. In addition to the first two sets of negotiations (with MM. Clemenceau and Briand), which were limited to France, we have participated, directly or indirectly, in all the

negotiations, and after the conclusion of our treaty with France we have both direct and indirect benefits from every solution of the question of security, although only in the west.

And in the present negotiations we have defended and still defend successfully our interests. It is, of course, out of the question that we should negotiate with anybody and on anything that would call forth a doubt, even for a short time, lest the treaties relating to our frontiers and our general rights be affected in any way to our detriment.

From the whole report it is finally evident that the relation of our State to the various other States—to France, England, Italy, and Germany—remains the same as it was when I gave my last report to Parliament on these questions; otherwise I consider that, in spite of the pushing aside of the Geneva Protocol, the present position marks a certain advance in the international situation, if, of course, the projected pact is actually concluded. This would mean that we are entering a period which could be described as that of the stabilization of peace and the surmounting of the crisis of the peace treaties.

It would also mean a change in the position of Germany, which would enter from this time into more normal relations with the other Powers and would have, morally and politically, a situation involving equal rights. For six whole years the Czechoslovak Republic has not had a single dispute, even of the smallest kind. The conclusion of the pact and eventually also of an arbitration treaty would signify a further step towards good neighborly and friendly relations, and in my opinion nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of this.

VII. The Austrian Problem, the Negotiations on the Agreement with Poland, and the Meeting of the Entente at Bucharest

12. To this report on the whole situation I should like to add a few words on three other international questions: the Austrian question, our present negotiations with Poland, and the next meeting of the Little Entente.

In the matter of the financial sanitation of Austria a skeptical attitude has recently manifested itself in various quarters, this

being also in connection with the new political plans in view of the future of Austria. Our attitude towards the Austrian problem remains unchanged. It is certain that the sanitation process is very difficult, and that also in the future there will arise a number of economic and financial difficulties; but I believe that with good will and energetic work the League of Nations' financial sanitation scheme in regard to Austria will succeed.

I do not regard as possible either the plans for the joining of Austria with Germany—and certainly the guarantee pact which has been prepared will simply show also in this sense that all the interested parties take their stand in this question on the provisions laid down in the treaties signed—or the plans for a Danubian Confederation or Customs Union. The only correct solution of the economic difficulties and problems of the new Central European States is their close economic rapprochement in the spirit of the last commercial treaty between Czechoslovakia and Austria, the principles of which can be developed further in conjunction with the maintenance of the full economic and political sovereignty of the respective States. I repeat that, given the good will of the parties concerned, this policy will certainly lead to the desired end.

I consider our negotiations with Poland, particularly in the present international situation, to be very important for both States. It is a question of the liquidation of all the unsettled questions arising from the Treaty of Saint Germain and from the decision on the division of the Tesin district—*i. e.*, a number of minority, administrative, economic, and financial questions; further, it is a question of the conclusion of a commercial treaty which is to lay a more lasting basis for the future economic relations between the two States.

These are very important questions, in view of the fact that it means the definitive liquidation of all the disputes which have existed between the two countries and the opening of a new period of friendly relations between the two States. For us and for the whole situation in our neighborhood and for Europe generally it means once again a good step forward towards the consolidation of conditions.

The commercial treaty will further be sig-

nificant economically and politically, in that it will contain important transit clauses and will settle for both States the question of transit in general—for us to the east, for the Poles to the west. It is a question of each of the two States being able, on account of its special geographical situation, to insure for itself transit in all circumstances and in all cases, both to the east and to the west. For us the insuring of transit to Russia is naturally of first-rate importance, just as for Poland transit to the south and to the west of Europe is important.

Finally, there will be the question of the conclusion of a political arbitration treaty. After repeated negotiations, we have come to an agreement with M. Skrzynski on all these questions. It was important for us, at a time when on the one hand we are liquidating all the disputed questions of the past, to prevent any disputes arising for the future and to insure a permanent, sincere friendship between the two sister States. The history of the Polish people and of the Czechoslovaks urges us to think about this more than was done by our forefathers, so that we may not fall into their mistakes.

We desire always to live in agreement and in neighborly friendship with Poland. For our own existence we need that of Poland, just as Poland needs our existence. The benefit to both nations will here be equal. We do not interfere in Polish affairs because we truly desire for the Polish nation a happy and peaceful future, real peace, and economic and cultural prosperity; and we wish to live in true and sincere co-operation with Poland in the future in all these fields.

Our treaty on arbitration is to be the expression of these ideas and needs. At a time when a guarantee pact for the consolidation of European peace and various arbitration treaties with Germany are to be concluded, this treaty also will be a valuable supplement to the universal consolidation and the peace of Europe.

The meeting of the Little Entente will be held in May, at Bucharest. As always, the current international questions will be discussed, particularly all those matters to which I have referred in my report today. We are in communication with both the Yugoslav and Rumanian governments, and in these questions we hold a completely united standpoint. Our interest is, of course, more

immediate, but it is natural that all the above-mentioned questions affect very closely the Little Entente as a whole. In these questions our government acts in full accord with the foreign ministers of our two allies.

The Geneva discussion on the regional pacts and on the guarantee pact in general has again given a sanction to the whole policy of the Little Entente. At the coming meeting in Bucharest the existing policy of the Little Entente will again be emphasized and confirmed.

Conclusion

That is about all on which I wish to report to Parliament, and in the main features it characterizes the present international situation. During the last few weeks a number of alarmist reports have been spread, which have disturbed somewhat the public in our own and other countries. I have said everything which can be said at the present stage of the negotiations. I think that my remarks will give the right perspective for all these reports. Our policy has its own firm and clear tendencies. We have successfully defended the interest of the State in the negotiations hitherto and we shall continue to do so in the future negotiations. In the present negotiations we maintain reserve and remain circumspect, and do not wish in advance to draw attention to what may or may not happen if the pact is or is not realized. We are prepared for both eventualities. In two matters, however, we emphasize again our determination and intentions: We shall not surrender any of our rights nor any of the guarantees that we have obtained, and we shall never cease to work, as heretofore, for the consolidation and stabilization of universal peace.

PEACE

By ARISTOPHANES

From the murmur and the subtlety of suspicion with which we vex one another,
Give us rest.

Make a new beginning,
And mingle again the kindred of the nations
in the alchemy of Love,
And with some finer essence of forbearance
Temper our mind.

News in Brief

JAPAN IS MAKING EXPERIMENTS in exchanging Boy Scouts with other countries for several weeks during the summer season. Fifty boys are to be sent to China, another group is going to Port Arthur, and some two dozen Chinese boys are going to Japan. Hungary has approached Japan with the proposal that she be allowed to send fifty boys to Japan next year, with the understanding that Japan is to send a like number to Hungary the following year.

JEREMIAH SMITH, OF BOSTON, High Commissioner of Hungary, has reported to the council of the League of Nations on the results of the first year's effort in the reconstruction of Hungary. He showed that the 100,000,000 gold crowns allotted from the loan of 253,000,000 crowns to meet the expected deficit will not be needed; instead, a small surplus will be realized. He reported also excellent prospects for the harvest and anticipated a good financial year for 1925-26.

FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS between Japan and Russia were restored May 16, when Mr. Tokichi Tanaka, former Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, was appointed as Japan's first Ambassador to the Soviet Government at Moscow. Mr. Tanaka entered the diplomatic service of his country in 1898. He has traveled widely, holding posts in the Orient and in Western countries. He served at Honolulu as consul-general. One of his important posts was in America, where Mr. Tanaka was counsellor and later Chargé d'affaires at the Japanese Embassy in Washington. Returning to Japan, Mr. Tanaka went into the Foreign Office, becoming chief of the Commercial Bureau here. He gave up this post to become Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs.

SOME 200 AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN attended the third biennial meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce at Brussels, June 21 to 27. Important international trade problems were discussed at the meeting by representatives from 36 countries.

BOOK REVIEWS

NEW BOOKS ON LATIN AMERICA

A real demand for more information about our sister republics to the south has been felt of late by most North American papers and news magazines. Evidently publishers, too, have heard the call, for there have been an unusual number of books on Latin America published during the past year.

Out of a three-foot shelf of quite recent books we can select many really good ones, even judged by the standard set by Donn Byrne. In Messer Marco Polo he says: "But a story is how destiny is interwoven, the fine and gallant and the tragic points of life. And you mustn't look at them with the eyes of the body, but you must feel them with the antennæ of your being."

We begin our shelf with travel books.

MEN, MAIDENS, AND MANTILLAS. By *Stella Burke May*. Pp. 362. Century Co., New York, 1924. Price, \$3.50.

"Too little has been written about the women of Latin America," says Mrs. May in the introduction to this book. So she takes us with her on a year of travel which almost circles South America.

She is alive to the voice of each land she touches, from Mexico and Panama down the western countries of the southern continent, across to Uruguay, up the eastern coast, and so home.

The women and youth of Latin America especially concern her; but so fresh and delightful are her other impressions it is almost with a start that we come back, in each country, to a consideration of feminism. We do get here a charming introduction to other American lands. We do also get, as she predicts that we will, a better understanding of many social customs there. Having seen the "flash of Mercedes' eyes" and heard the fervor of Carlito's "Que Linda," we better understand why the Alameda of Santiago is thronged with chaperones.

Interesting, human, and humorous, Mrs. May is a charming guide. Her outlook is breezy, her observations graphic. The book

is one of the best travel books we have recently seen. Easy to read, crystal clear, and authentic withal.

2,000 MILES THROUGH CHILI. By *Earl Chapin May*. Century Co., New York, 1924. Pp. 462. Price, \$3.50.

One gathers many bits of interesting information from this book, especially from some interviews which Mr. May had with Chileans and Peruvians regarding the Tacna-Arica dispute. In other spots certain guide-book facts are made graphic, as, for instance, when Chili's length is compared to the distance from New Orleans to the Arctic Circle.

The book does not, however, give a unified impression. There is a certain conscious smartness of style, too, which is unpleasing. We find Mrs. May more "sympatica," more really humorous, and, by that much, more instructive.

CASUAL WANDERINGS IN ECUADOR. By *Blair Niles*. Century Co., New York, 1923. Pp. 249. Price, \$2.50.

COLOMBIA, LAND OF MIRACLES. By *Blair Niles*. Century Co., New York, 1924. Pp. 389. Price, \$2.50.

It would be hard to choose between these two excellent and entertaining books. Mrs. Niles does not write hastily, though one feels that she takes copious notes as she goes. Thus the salient points of any place or experience are fresh and immediate. But she waits, before finally writing, until she feels the spirit of the place; and that not with the outer sense, but with "the antennæ of her being." Fortunately, her "Being" is a deep-minded and altogether delightful person.

The book on Colombia excels the earlier volume, at least in this: it furnishes a useful bibliography at the end of the book, and the map is on the inside cover, where it can be found without unfolding or fear of tearing.

A GRINGO IN MAÑANA-LAND. By *Harry L. Foster*. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1925. Pp. 357. Price, \$3.00.

"To be fair to these countries, no story of revolution is altogether typical of any of them. . . . Bloodshed and comic opera are not the rule, but the exception." So says Mr. Foster in closing his book.

A trained newspaper correspondent and editor on the hunt for stories is pretty sure to find them anywhere, however. He gives us between the covers of his book some very interesting adventures in Mexico and Central America. The book deals with "a romance or two, a revolution or so, and a hodgepodge of personal experience."

Aside from its amusing qualities, the volume helps one clearly to distinguish between the various Central American countries, whose people the author so evidently likes and whose history he finds dramatic.

CENTRAL AMERICA, NEW PATHS IN ANCIENT LANDS. By *L. E. Elliott*. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1925. Pp. 280. Price, \$5.00.

A beautifully published, well-printed and illustrated book about lands the author really knows. Were it not for an unreasonable irritability of temper toward the United States, which crops out, especially in the latter half of the book, Miss Elliott's travels and observations would be wholly instructive. We might be willing to place some credence in her assumption that the United States has always blundered in Latin America, while her own country, Great Britain, has always been right; but her irascibility so boils over at last that one distrusts her conclusions. An American who happened to have secured the best accommodation in an inn before Miss Elliott's arrival had come "quite unnecessarily" to the town. Race prejudice and lynch law are dragged in by the heels, as enunciated by one person, as if they represented the policy of the United States Government. When all other derogatory phrases have been used, she digs up the buried myth of "American indigestion" to express her scorn.

Nevertheless, though not a consecutive narrative of travel, though interlarded guide-book information is inserted rather than incorporated in the story, the book is interesting and generally accurate. Especially does one get a disturbing sense of volcanoes; of Fuego, whose Indian name is never spoken aloud, and which Indians will never ascend; of "the volcanic ash of the Pacific, with its queer, unforgettable smell." The poetry, also, and beauty of Indian races are impressive, and she gives wonderful pictures of tropical forest life.

This, read in conjunction with Foster's "Gringo in Mañana-Land," will fix Central

America in mind. They will create an appetite to know more.

IN AND UNDER MEXICO. By *Ralph McAllister Ingersoll*. Century Co., New York, 1924. Pp. 235. Price, \$2.50.

Not exactly a travel book, but because it accurately and delightfully describes a part of Mexico, it has the same sort of value for the reader. Mr. Ingersoll is a mining engineer who knows, in and out, a copper-mining town in Mexico. He has a predisposition toward fact, humorous, but keen observation and a flair for chat. He writes with the rush of a ready and rapid talker; he has the picturesque diction of an out-of-door man, with culture in the background.

Therefore the American small-town life, the Mexican miners, the mine, and the country round about live for us like those in a well-told yarn. You will read the book from cover to cover.

HEIRS OF THE INCAS. By *Carroll K. Michener*. Minton, Balch Co., New York, 1924. Pp. 287. Price, \$3.00.

Had Mr. Michener confined himself to what he saw and experienced, this might have been a useful as well as a readable book; but his comments bristle with errors, due to ignorance of South American history and to misunderstanding of the people and their customs. Lima, for instance, was never the "heart of the old Inca Empire," nor near it. The Incas could not live on the coast. Again, Cajamarca, where Atahualpa was executed, is 200 miles from Lima and across the west range of the Andes. No wheeled vehicle could go there, much less the "rubber-neck bus" yearned for by Mr. Michener.

Yet he gives an impressive sense of the desolate heights, of the grandeur of scenery in the mountains; the towns he shows us are colorful, the desert Indians full of lifelikeness.

Perhaps we should ascribe the blindness to historic fact no less than the excellencies of fine color and high lights, to the incident that the author seems, from the dedication, to have been "honey-mooning in the Andes."

WORKING NORTH FROM PATAGONIA. By *Harry A. Franck*. Century Co., New York, 1922. Pp. 650. Price, \$5.00.

This author, a teacher of modern languages, has taken many trips and journeys about the surface of the earth. He is one who goes "Vagabonding" about the continents, earning his living as he goes, and looking scornfully at "train-riders," as distinguished from real travelers.

This is not his most recent book, but is the latest of two or three on South America. It is the only one in our list which describes much the thriving country of Argentina or that "most lovable country of South America," Uruguay. Nearly half the book is devoted to Brazil. Perhaps Mr. Franck's impatience with that republic is partially due to the fact that he was forced to remain there for some time after he wished to return home, because of the outbreak of the war in Europe. Finally, through heartbreaking difficulties, he made his way, through the Guianas and Venezuela, home.

Mr. Franck has the outlook of the sociologist as well as the linguist. If this book is less fresh than "Vagabonding Down the Andes," it may well be because the war intervened between the experience and the actual writing of the story. As it stands, it is a clear record of wonderfully revealing experiences.

HEAD HUNTERS OF THE AMAZON. By *F. W. Up de Graff*. Duffield, New York, 1923. Pp. 337. Price, \$5.00.

"Those in search of adventure can read this book as they would a novel." So says Kermit Roosevelt in the foreword. The author, an electrical engineer, went, some twenty years ago, to Ecuador. After a disheartening experience in an industrial venture, Mr. Up de Graff determined to put into effect a lifelong dream and explore the uncharted regions of the upper Amazon. It was another "Dark Continent." So, equipped with the indomitable spirit of youth, he started into that primeval maze of forest, swamp, and river, peopled by "men as wild and free as the animals which shared their gloomy home." For seven years they wandered, he and his little party; they met with dangers innumerable; met with experiences startling, threatening, ghastly—everything except the usual; they saw things which no other white men have probably ever seen.

From the notes, taken two decades ago, Mr. Up de Graff has finally written this large

and astonishing book. Its accuracy has not been impeached.

DON JOSÉ DE SAN MARTIN. By *Anna Schoellkopf*. Boni & Liveright, New York, 1924. Pp. 142. Price, \$2.00.

It is a great pity that this book so teems with misstatements, misspelling, and misunderstanding. There should be, and there is not a good English biography of San Martin. He was, to the south of South America, the deliverer, as Bolivar was to the north. He was one of the great heroes of the new world, whose vision and genius threw off the European yoke from his people.

This book, however, is not a safe guide to the life of "El Gran Capitan." A few interesting illustrations are bound in, the Argentine blue of the cover is charming; but, having seen these, let us lay it down and take up the next book.

BRAZIL AFTER A CENTURY OF INDEPENDENCE.

By *Herman G. James*. Macmillan, New York, 1925. Pp. 587. Price, \$4.00.

Here is a pleasantly written book for the student. It has maps, an index, tables, besides numerous photographs. It is a real history of the country of the Amazon. More than this, it describes the Brazilian governmental system, the natural resources, industry, and commerce, and, last, the salient features of each separate State of Brazil. The author, a well-known lawyer and student of government, is acquainted with other parts of South America. He speaks, therefore, as a North American, but with sympathetic understanding of Latin America.

Many of Brazil's problems are similar to ours. For that reason, and also because, since the war, commercial relations between Brazil and the United States have become more important than before, this book is of special interest to us.

BEAUTIFUL MEXICO. By *Vernon Quinn*. Stokes, New York, 1924. Pp. 398. Price, \$4.00.

This is, properly, neither a travel book nor a text-book history. The author freely makes use of history, however, and much of Mexican legend. Her beautiful scenery is indicated

not only by fine photographs, some in color, but also in simple but glamorous description. The book emphasizes the lovelier side of Mexico, from her tropical jungles to her perpetual snows. It aims to give all of importance in her history—such an amazing past!—and to give the unusual, often beautiful, Indian customs of today. In short, Mr. Quinn will succeed in his effort to interest the ordinary man in the romantic story of Mexico.

PALM GROVES AND HUMMING BIRDS: An Artist's Fortnight in Brazil. By *Keith Henderson*. Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, 1924. Pp. 133. Price, 21 shillings.

Written in diary form, over a trip from England to Brazil and back, covering barely two months, this is a unique and altogether charming book. "Will you come with me, gentle reader?" says Mr. Henderson in the bit of a preface. "You are to go with an artist, you understand, just enjoying what he enjoys. Therefore, you must not hanker after political turmoils or trade openings or railway ventures and debentures, because—because things of that sort have no *outline*."

In truth, we are glad to go with him by means of this English book, so light in paper, so lovely in type, so richly sprinkled with line drawings and pencil portraits full of character. And the map is where the map in a travel book should be—on the inside cover.

TALES FROM SILVER LANDS. By *Charles J. Finger*. Doubleday, Page & Co., 1924. Pp. 225.

The last book on our shelf will leave us with a pleasant and fitting sense of the far past of Latin America. Mr. Finger has gathered up many tales from the cold far south to the Brazilian forests. These tales he tells with an unerring feeling for values. His English is rhythmic and dramatic, even as the primitive peoples themselves.

As Kipling has preserved the lore of the jungles of India, so this writer, English by birth, American by adoption, traveler and writer by profession, has preserved the spirit of certain tribes of South America.

The tales are all quite wondrously beautiful. The beauty is that of music, of the folk-song type. Therefore, like the Jungle books, this one will long be read and enjoyed by old and young alike.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

Edited by ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

1815-1828

Suite 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

(Cable address, "Ampax, Washington.")

PUBLISHED MONTHLY EXCEPT SEPTEMBER

Sent free to all members of the American Peace Society. Separate subscription price, \$2.00 a year. Single copies, 20 cents each.

Entered as second-class matter, June 1, 1911, at the Post-Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917; authorized August 10, 1918.

It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

CONTENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD..... 443

EDITORIALS

Encouragements in China—Dangers in Literalism—Some Phases of Literalism—Reason and Emotion—Theory and Practice—French Intelligence to the Rescue—Editorial Notes..... 445-452

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

The Security Pact—Fighting for Peace in Morocco—British Imperial Development—War Pensions in Great Britain—Payments under the Dawes Plan—The Little Entente Conference—Police Organization in Palestine—Greek and Bulgarian Minorities—Political Deadlock in Belgium—New Constitution for Peru—Important International Dates (June 16-July 15, 1925)..... 452-466

GENERAL ARTICLES

Demilitarized Zones and European Security..... 467
By Brig.-Gen. E. L. Spears, M. P.

Is Disarmament Possible..... 480
By Arthur Deerin Call

The Need of the Hour, a poem..... 484
By Edwin Markham

One Way to Keep Out of Foreign Entanglements..... 485
By Jackson H. Ralston

A Century of Unitarian Service for Peace..... 488
By Edwin D. Mead

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

German and French Notes on Security..... 491

British Financial Policy..... 493

Allied Disarmament Notes..... 496

NEWS IN BRIEF..... 499

BOOK REVIEWS..... 503

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.

Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.

It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.

Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.

It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.

FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is two dollars;

Sustaining Membership, five dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of ADVOCATE OF PEACE, Washington, D. C.

Hon. P. P. CLAXTON, Ex-United States Commissioner of Education, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Senator from Illinois, Washington, D. C.

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN, 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, Esq., Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

HENRY C. MORRIS, Esq., 1155 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

Prof. ARTHUR RAMSAY, Ex-President Fairmont Seminary, Southern Pines, N. C.

THEODORE STANFIELD, 126 W. 74th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Hon. HENRY TEMPLE, Representative from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS

HENRY C. MORRIS

THEODORE STANFIELD

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D.

Hon. HENRY W. TEMPLE

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE

OFFICERS

President:

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

GEORGE W. WHITE, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Washington, D. C.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

A. T. BELL, Esq., Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.

GILBERT BOWLES, Esq., Richmond, Ind.

Dean CHARLES R. BROWN, New Haven, Conn.

Pres. E. E. BROWN, New York University, New York.

GEORGE BURNHAM, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston, Mass.

Rt. Rev. Bishop J. DARLINGTON, Harrisburg, Pa.

Dr. W. H. P. FAUNCE, Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.

GEORGE A. FINCH, Washington, D. C.

EVERETT O. FISK, Esq., Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM P. GEST, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hon. CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Washington, D. C.

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D. D., New York, N. Y.

Dr. DAVID STARR JORDAN, Stanford University, Calif.

GEO. H. JUDD, Washington, D. C.

Bishop WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Mass.

JOSEPH LEE, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM H. LUDEN, Reading, Pa.

L. H. PILLSBURY, Derry, N. H.

Judge HENRY WADE ROGERS, New York, N. Y.

Hon. ELIHU ROOT, New York, N. Y.

Mrs. FREDERIC SCHOFF, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. RUTH H. SPRAY, Denver, Colo.

Senator THOMAS STERLING, Washington, D. C.

EDWARD STEVENS, Columbia, Mo.

*Pres. M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

*Pres. C. F. THWING, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pres. MARY E. WOOLLEY, South Hadley, Mass.

* Emeritus.

Suggestions for a Governed World

(Adopted by the American Peace Society, May 27, 1921)

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference

for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council in the performance of their respective duties whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment whenever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council

of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that.

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for and, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instructions in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
87

AUGUST, 1925

NUMBER
8

EDITORIALS

ENCOURAGEMENTS IN CHINA

THE recent ratification of the nine-power treaty by France completed the ratifications of this treaty and opened the way for the settlement of some of the serious problems with which China is beset. This nine-power treaty, signed in Washington, February 6, 1922, relates to principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China. It was the purpose of the treaty to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to perpetuate the principle of the open door. Under its terms the contracting powers agree to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and the administrative integrity of China; to provide the fullest and the most unembarrassed opportunity for China to develop and to maintain for herself an effective and a stable government. It is a very broad and a high-minded treaty. All the powers having ratified it, the treaty is now in force.

The way is open for definitive action. It is time that the engagements set forth in the treaty should be made effective.

For instance, the treaty provides that a special conference shall be called to meet in China within three months after the coming into force of the treaty, on a day and at a place to be designated by the Chinese Government. This conference will deal with customs matters. For ex-

ample, it shall authorize the levying of a surtax on dutiable imports, and the revision of the customs schedule of duties on imports into China, and with charges for transit.

The first step, of course, is to make a thorough study of the Chinese customs system and of the financial needs facing China. It is the duty of the powers to do everything in their power to help the Chinese Government to regain control of its fiscal system. The Chinese Government is sadly in need of revenue. China is in debt. She is unable to maintain the necessary machinery of government. In a number of ways she is denied the rights belonging to an independent nation. The ancient system of extraterritorial rights insisted upon by foreign powers in China should be abolished and the protection of foreigners left to the judicial system of China. In no other way can the governments fulfill their pledge "to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China." It is high time that the conference on extraterritoriality rights in China should be called.

The attitude of our government toward these matters, as far as we are able to learn, is most encouraging. We have faith that the other governments in turn wish to co-operate in the reconstruction of China. Of course, much depends upon China. If China wishes to impose a

tariff, the governments cannot object, providing the tariff is not discriminatory. We have no doubt that the governments will be willing to revise their treaties with China and to do away with their extra-territorial rights if only China can convince a commission that she is able within her own courts to maintain a reasonable justice. China's task is to end her civil war and to lay the foundations of a free government at Peking. The intelligent leaders of China know this. The way is open at last. One can say with measured statement that the situation in China is highly gratifying.

DANGERS IN LITERALISM

THERE is no occasion for surprise that liberals and fundamentalists are after each other. This has always been the case; it ought always to be so. It was Samuel Crothers, we believe, who once defined progress as "a series of rear-end collisions." As it appears to us, rather, progress seems to be what is left after a series of head-on collisions.

These head-on collisions fail sometimes to appeal to our esthetic sense. When Mr. Bryan says of our evolutionist friends that they are as a stagnant pool, "the center of disease and death," his words somehow seem to fail in carrying power. When Mr. Bernard Shaw calls Mr. Bryan's fundamentalism the "stigmata of the blockhead," we enjoy the phrase, but that is the end of it. Two sets of opinions are exercising their rights to a head-on collision. As in the case of every professional sport, the actual contestants are few in number. The crowds sit on the stands and applaud their favorite teams. When the game is over, the "fans" go home to dinner and to the serious affairs of life.

It is not the business of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* to take sides over the lassitude that has been Dayton, Tenn. We watched that contest, albeit from a respectable dis-

tance, with the result that we doubt very much that either side knew what it was talking about.

And yet there were two sides. As nearly as we can see, looking at the thing in the large, one group would adopt a standard of belief fixed in some past time as the standard for all time. The other prefers to adopt a standard of belief adaptable to new facts as such facts may, from time to time, be discovered and demonstrated. Perhaps our definitions are not wholly accurate. They certainly do not fit all of the contestants. These descriptions, however, are as accurate as any set up by the parties to the Dayton dispute. Conservatives on the one hand and liberals on the other; this seems to be the division.

Such a classification is not only inevitable; it is desirable. No two people are alike. This means that our old world is sprinkled over with one and a half billion persons who are different. We can't prove that there are one and a half billion different religions, one for each person; but each person sees his world with what he has within him to see with. Yet for purposes of co-operation there must be some classification. The classification of persons into conservative and radical groups is certainly as good as any.

Evidently these groups exist in the realm of religion. They exist in the peace movement, which at its best is a visible expression of religion pure and undefiled. The peace movement has its conservatives and its liberals. The conservative peace-workers are mainly fundamentalists, the literalists, men and women who pick out certain sentences, phrases, catch-words, and measure all their thinking by them. Sometimes these sentences, phrases, and catch-words are lifted out of the Bible as given of God and as therefore finally and universally authoritative. Of course, there is a danger here because these sentences, phrases, and catch-words, when lifted from their context, are different from the

things they were in their setting. Sometimes these sentences, phrases, and catchwords are lifted from some other text, as a text on international law, or out of a treaty, or a declaration. Here, too, there is the danger of forgetting that by themselves they are not the same things they were in their native place.

The Bible may be said to be the world's most influential set of books. It is an immortal literature measured by the standards applied to any great literature. It is made up of many writings, beautiful in form and expression, recording some of the best in the thoughts and feelings of mankind. It is varied as life itself. It is a faithful and a many-sided expression of real human experiences, universal in their appeal. It is of a long historical development, filled with those literary qualities which endure. It is a creative expression of racial ideals. The world's greatest writings, of Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Emerson, are great because of these qualities. These qualities are peculiarly characteristic of the books of the Old and New Testaments. Conservatives and liberals agree upon this. Art and science agree. But when sentences are taken from their context, they may remain great and useful; but they are different things, and they may be quite misleading. For example, one familiar with the context of the tenth chapter of Joshua and with that general's attempt to hearten his soldiers by quoting a still more ancient song from the book of Jashar would not be disturbed over the question, Did Jehovah make the sun to stand still upon Gibeon and the moon to do the same in the valley of Aijalon? It is by taking sentences out of their context that literalists often go astray.

In our judgment, it is more profitable to live with the great literatures as wholes. But even here we shall not profit by them the same way in youth as in old age, for, to repeat, we interpret as we have mental

machinery to interpret with, and our mental make-up differs from day to day, month to month, and year to year.

But the efficiency of this machinery improves as the mechanism is used. Where opinions are in conflict, minds are at work. It was through the heat of conflict that Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior" kept the law. Mr. Bryan's "fight to the death" between science and religion, if such it be, will leave us of America a saner people.

EXPRESSIONS OF LITERALISM

THE expressions of literalism are sometimes as surprising as they are distressing. The Hindu religion, for example, built upon the doctrine of Karma, lops off some thirty million of the population in India as "untouchables." These unfortunate persons are looked upon as wicked sinners undergoing a just punishment for the evil deeds of a previous existence. Their souls are assumed to be as foul as their bodies. It is considered a wrong to pity them and an evil to fraternize with them in any way. To our Western ears this sounds like literalism run wild.

Another trouble with literalism is its tendency to rob from us our sense of humor. Thomas L. Masson has recently said that humor breaks up bad feeling and tides things over. He says that "humor is nothing but tolerance." It robs us of our false attempts at dignity. Without humor it is doubtful that we can have either insight or imagination. The literalist is prone to take himself too seriously and thus to lose the spontaneity of love, humility, and cheerfulness. Literalism is too cocksure, primitive, and unseasoned. It tends toward stability, but stability may become wooden and lifeless, especially where it does not break out in various kinds of intolerance.

And it is of the essence of intolerance

to persecute, to show contempt, to be unjust. This intolerance seems to thrive in the weakness and the fears of men. The arrogant man, the man who lives in his own conceit, feels safe only so long as others agree with him. The moment others disagree with him he is disturbed and offended. It is then that he feels called upon to bring others to his view or to discipline.

There seems to be no place where this intolerance may not break out. It has broken out in Tennessee. It broke out in New England because of the Quakers and because of the witches. It burned Giordano Bruno and many others at the stake. It expresses itself from time to time in the peace movement. Every time a collective effort in behalf of international peace starts, a group of literalists springs up around it, often filled with partisanship and intolerance.

One would say that this is impossible of such a distinguished group as the teachers of international law. But evidences of intolerance are not lacking even there. There are "schools" of international law. One school is made up of men quite clear in their minds that international law depends upon international conferences of duly accredited delegates, such as The Hague conferences. Another, that the new machinery of the League of Nations must be employed for developing the law of nations and in a manner wholly different from that followed at The Hague. An interesting fact is that around and within each of these schools has developed an enthusiasm and devotion beautiful in themselves; but in each case literalists are at work. These literalists are intolerant, for neither group recognizes any merit whatsoever in the other. A dispassionate observer would say, Why not let both schools go ahead? But the literalists in neither school are dispassionate.

REASON AND EMOTION ARE FRIENDS

LITERALISTS are sometimes found among the liberals. Where the literalist is comforted by his literalism, enabled by it to live and to die happily, he may be left to his literalism. But it seems to be a fact that the acceptance of any creed or philosophy or system of ethics without reference to the definite application of such a creed or system to concrete situations places one in the danger of becoming a mystic, a hypocrite, or a dweller along the lunatic fringe.

For example, a writer in the July number of *The Forum* accepts the thesis that war is of great moral value, and that the profession of arms is the "most ancient and most noble of all professions." He points out that nations have grown to greatness under the profession of arms, spiritually, mentally, materially. He states as a fact that nations have prospered proportionally as they have warred. He points out that the fundamentals of military service are discipline, self-sacrifice, co-operation, comradeship of arms, and the song of the flashing bayonet. He finds the great ends of military training to be a will to win, a strength to endure, and a courage to die. War, he argues, is the greatest school of unselfish citizenship, "graduating men into the noblest manhood."

Here is a perfect example of a man who accepts a creed without reference to actual life. For, if we were to apply his creed in actual life, we should have to foment wars at once unto the salvation of our souls. The attempt to apply his creed ends, therefore, in an absurdity.

A scientific examination of prison records in Wisconsin proves that war frequently turns men into common criminals. There is no doubt that the war was directly responsible for a wave of crime among ex-service men directly traceable to

their military experiences. "Weaker men were broken in moral fiber under the experiences of war," we are told. Our military friend, writing in the *Forum*, accepts certain facts—and some of them are facts—as the sum of his creed. He pursues this creed as a literalist, a fundamentalist, and loses his perspective because of his fundamentalism.

What we are trying to say was said much more effectively some years ago by Mr. Justice Holmes, of the United States Supreme Court. In delivering an opinion of the Court he said, "A word is not a crystal, transparent and unchanged; it is the skin of a living thought, and may vary greatly in color and in content, according to the circumstances and time in which it is used."

We may meditate upon the divine immanence of truth, for it is truth and not the head-on collision which is at the heart of progress. And, as we have tried to say, our conception of what truth is grows with the growth. In spite of our shame over the unseemly contests of men, it does no violence to our intelligence quietly to maintain our belief in the developing realization of truth. We should not be called upon to be intellectually dishonest for the sake of some "infallible code." We can afford to cultivate the impartial view of the attitudes taken by others. If in the process we find ourselves intellectually in the dark, that is no sure sign we are in error. If there be a nobility because of the Christian aspiration within us, it should not mean the death within us of that other aspiration which we may call Greek. There surely is no irreconcilable conflict between truth and beauty. No creed worthy of acceptance can rightfully demand of its followers that they close their minds either to facts as they are or to the calls to reverence in a world where we finite mortals must sense infinity on every hand.

INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE

WE HAVE said that the acceptance of creeds, philosophies, or systems of ethics without due regard to their relation to real business tends to lead to uncomfortable ends. Literalism sometimes leads to disastrous results. When it was proposed to create, possibly in Geneva, a world center of bibliography from which international catalogs, indexes, and the like would be distributed to the scientific workers of all countries, certain scientific persons applauded with enthusiasm. A closer examination of the situation, however, revealed so many language difficulties, so many great libraries in different capitals, so many vested interests, so many national rivalries and ambitions, that the job proved to be altogether too big. But the Rockefeller Foundation, with funds amounting to over \$165,000,000, settles upon a program and goes about its realization with neither fuss nor feathers. It concentrates for a considerable period upon vital activities within limited fields. For the present it is centering its work upon public health and medical education. But this effort is neither looked upon as permanent nor rigid. The officers of this Foundation seek direct relations with responsible agencies. It undertakes nothing until a careful first-hand study has been made. When field demonstrations of the control of disease are made, the board deals only with government agencies. Plans for medical-school development are carried out in conjunction with permanently established universities. No aid is given unless there be promise of qualitative advance in a given piece of scientific administrative or educational work. The result during 1924 was: a contribution to a plan for publishing an international abstract journal of the biological sciences; bulletins of progress in medical education in many countries; greater international

knowledge about medical equipment and teaching methods; direct aid to some ten of the world's leading medical schools; the maintenance of a modern medical school and teaching hospital in Peking; improvement in the teaching of medical sciences in China and Siam; a mobile staff on guard against yellow fever in Mexico and central America; malaria surveys in Haiti, Porto Rico, Nicaragua, Brazil, Italy, Palestine, Queensland, and the Philippines; work against the hookworm in thirty-two States and countries in the West Indies, Central America and Mexico, South America, Europe, and the Far East; contributions to the budgets of rural health services in 207 counties in twenty-four American States and in New Brunswick, Brazil, France, and Czechoslovakia, not to mention other services. Surely this is healthy creative work within the social field. Theory and practice are hand in glove.

There are literalists among the peace-workers who look upon our army and navy as bloodthirsty organizations, bent upon leading this country into war. The trouble here is that much thinking upon the peace movement has ended in a literalism disassociated from the facts. Take, for instance, the corps of engineers of the army. We admired their work in France during the war. They built some 325 miles of barracks, provided hospital facilities for 141,000 beds, built railroads thousands of miles in length, cut and milled over 200,000,000 feet of lumber, installed great water-supply systems and the like. But for some reason it is not generally known that these army engineers are building the parks of Washington, dredging the channels of our rivers and harbors, and contributing in various other ways to the health and wealth of our country. This body of highly trained men is in charge of the greatest transportation system on earth, the water transportation system of the United States.

The civil work alone of the corps of engineers of the army covers the improvement and maintenance of the continental United States and outlying territories of 200 harbors, 291 rivers, 53 canals and inland waterways, the enforcement of Federal regulations affecting navigable channels, flood control on the Mississippi and the Sacramento rivers and other streams, and other duties. The organization of this branch of our national labors, its freedom from scandal and red tape, its quiet, effective work at a minimum of expense, is now and has been for a hundred years one of the most romantic and inspiring facts in our national life.

It is the weakness of reformers to waste their energies over theories, to lose every vestige of a divine disregard for the non-essential, and to ignore the practical thing to be done. Theory is practice comprehended, and practice is theory at work. For sensible purposes they are inseparable.

FRENCH INTELLIGENCE TO THE RESCUE

TO DEFEND oneself on occasion may be both necessary and dignified; but there is an even chance that it may be unwise and self-defeating. But a man defending his enemy, especially where a principle of justice is involved, commands attention and influence. When the ninety-three German professors and men of science, in the early days of the war, addressed their letter "to the civilized world" defending German aggression and denouncing German enemies, the effect was harmful to the German cause because it savored too much of self-interest. It is difficult for human beings to weigh justly their own merits. The many recent German attempts to prove Germany's innocence of war guilt have not been convincing, probably for this reason.

But a remarkable manifesto has just been published in France. It is one of the most impressive documents of modern times. It is a thing of another stripe. A hundred French professors and men of letters have protested against article 231 of the Paris peace treaty, the article which extorted from Germany a confession of guilt for having started the war. There are other considerations in the manifesto; but this is the main matter. Among other things, the manifesto says: "It is impossible to prejudge the issue like this. There can be no way of conducting this immense trial, in which the whole of humanity is interested in all the complex detail of its causes, without having all the archives opened, and anywhere save before a supernational court. Nevertheless, it is true (the official documents bear evidence) that article 231 was extorted from Germany only by violence and under a threat of the immediate re-starting of the war, which might have led to her complete ruin. The day of such summary judgments without appeal has gone by. It is just as iniquitous to condemn a nation to dishonor unheard as to sentence an individual unheard to death. We are at the crossroads. On the one side are all the evils of war perpetuated by the spirit of revenge; on the other side sincere reconciliation and fecund labor."

The hundred French gentlemen who have signed this manifesto are neither weaklings nor cranks. Among them are Catholics and Protestants, many of them world figures in science, literature, and the arts. In no sense can they be accused of weakness or fear. Here we have the France of Hugo and Pasteur speaking to the Germany of Goethe and Kant. We know of a no more stirring evidence of the new hope in Europe than this manifesto out of France.

FRENCH aid to the founders of our Republic is a matter of history. No service is rendered to justice by trying to belittle that help. There are debts which can never be paid in terms of cash. Such is our debt to France. As we have pointed out heretofore, we have met every obligation submitted to us by the French Government. But there were indirect expenses to which France went because of us, expenses indeed which ended in the bankruptcy of that country. We know that France gave us at least 10,000,000 livres outright. One authority, James B. Perkins, states that our Revolutionary War cost France 772,000,000 livres. In 1783 France was charging us from four to five per cent for money for which she was obliged to pay seven per cent. Our Revolution could not have been fought without loans. All the loans which we obtained abroad were made only by and through France. Some of these facts are fittingly set forth once more in the *Dearborn Independent* of July 4, 1925. Two years before the close of the Revolutionary War, Benjamin Franklin wrote of the French king's inability to lend us 25,000,000 more, but of his decision to show his good will by making us a free gift of 6,000,000. It is proper to pause now and then and to speculate on what would have been the future of our United States had it not been for France.

DEMILITARIZED zones, discussed elsewhere in these columns by Brigadier General E. L. Spears, member of the British House of Commons, are of special interest at this time because of the efforts on the part of France, Great Britain, and Germany to solve the problem of security along the Rhine. This whole plan of demilitarization will be laid before the Conference of the Interparliamentary Union during its sessions in Washington early in October. Our readers will wish

to be reminded that General Spears entered the world war as a second lieutenant and came out as a brigadier general.

THE criticism that the United States are pursuing a policy of isolation is quite without foundation in fact. We are very much tied up with world affairs. This is true in the diplomatic, the commercial, the scientific, the literary, and in a very large number of personal ways. We are particularly related to other peoples in a financial sense. Foreign governments owe our government eleven times the amount of our national debt in 1913. Besides, Theodore R. Goldsmith, of

the Finance and Investment Division of the Department of Commerce, estimates that American investors now hold nearly ten billion dollars in foreign securities. During the first half of 1925 our investments abroad greatly increased over the amount for the first half of 1924. The number of issues also greatly increased, sixty-three foreign issues having been brought out up to July 1, 1925, as compared with forty issues for the first half of 1924. During the first six months of this year, Europe was the largest borrower, Latin-America second, Canada third, and Asia fourth. Whatever these activities abroad may suggest, they certainly do not indicate a policy of isolation.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

SECURITY PACT

THE French note to Germany dealing with the question of the security pact (the text of which appears in the International Documents section of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*) was not dispatched until complete accord had been reached between France and Great Britain on the various points involved. The two nations came to a final understanding on June 8, at a conference between their respective Foreign Ministers, which took place in Geneva. At the conclusion of the conference, M. Briand, in a statement to the press, expressed his belief that the chances of arriving at an agreement with Germany are very great. He also said:

A very large place is given to the League in our project of a pact. . . . The desire to see Germany enter the League is general. . . . Our reply will contribute toward accelerating the conversations in view of that entry, which is the condition of the coming into force of the pact.

The first German comment on the French note was made on June 18 by Chancellor Luther, in a speech which he delivered at Düsseldorf on the occasion of the Rhineland military celebrations in the Provincial Diet. He said:

In view of our actions up to this time in respect to security, I need not especially emphasize that the German Government would offer a welcome, not less than has been promised by the French Government in concluding its note, to negotiations which were set in movement with the purpose of finding agreements which would constitute an effective guarantee for peace.

In another passage of his speech the Chancellor stated that there could be no doubt whatever that the Ruhr and the pledged towns of Düsseldorf and Duisburg at latest would be evacuated on August 16 in accordance with the pledge made by the Prime Ministers of France and Belgium in a letter to the German Chancellor. He said the German Government retained its former point of view in regard to the

Cologne zone, namely, that it ought legally to have been evacuated on January 10. The Allied note of June 4 had gone to prove that Germany was effectively disarmed. The observation made by the Allies that the German defaults, if not promptly rectified, would in the aggregate enable the German Government eventually to reconstitute an army modeled on the principles of a nation in arms was entirely incomprehensible and in contradiction to every objective interpretation of the facts.

It was, however, self-evident, the Chancellor went on, that arrears of fulfillment, where they were proved to exist, would be made good with all possible dispatch. On the other hand, it was necessary for him to state that demands which were not justified by the treaties could not be recognized. Several of the demands the government had failed to understand, while others clearly had no relation to armaments. As soon as it had completed the examination of the note the government would lose no time in entering into communication with the Allied governments.

In a semi-official commentary on the French note, attention is called to the fact that the note confronts Germany with a series of problems, some of which are new. The German suggestions comprised a series of alternative schemes and the possibility was mentioned of bringing two or more of them into association. The French answer constructs a single scheme on the basis of the German alternatives, and adds a number of new considerations. New, for example, is the requirement that Germany should enter the League of Nations before the signature of a pact; new, also, is the way in which arbitration procedure is to be built into the pact system and the way in which courts of arbitration are to be made obligatory.

While the idea of the Rhineland Pact as it was originally proposed by Herr Cuno is accepted without limitations in the form outlined in the German Memorandum and without a request for territorial guarantees in the East, and while there is no reference to a "marching right" over neutralized territory, difficulties may arise from the methods of arbitration which are hinted at, if not clearly described, in the note. The introduction of a guarantor

to a contract between Germany and Poland or Czechoslovakia is questionable.

The French note contemplates the right of a guarantor to intervene when one of the parties refuses to summon the Court of Arbitration, or to carry out a judgment given by that court, and resorts to hostile action. Nothing is said as to who shall be empowered to decide when such an offense has been committed, although it might be assumed that the important Section 6 attempts a solution of this question by referring the decision to the League. It is there laid down that rights and obligations accruing to members of the League in the Covenant should not be affected by the new treaties to be concluded in execution of the pact. Here there is apparently a contradiction in terms which needs clearing up. How is this regulation to fall in with Section 4, which says that forcible measures in case of a conflict between France and Germany may be adopted under the Versailles Treaty, under the Rhine Pact, or under the guarantee to the Arbitration Treaty—that is to say, as good as immediately? The method of interpreting what constitutes a conflict at any given period requires definition.

FIGHTING FOR PEACE IN MOROCCO

UPON his return from the French front in Morocco, Premier Painlevé announced his conviction that the only way to achieve peace in Morocco is to increase the efficiency of French forces there sufficiently to force Abdel-Krim to come to terms. He expressed himself also in favor of complete military co-operation with Spain in the carrying on of the Moroccan campaign. He said:

Everybody wants peace, and peace as quickly as possible. It is a question of humanity and wise policy. But do those persons in Paris, who spend their time in declaring that France does not want to fight, think that they are serving the cause of peace? If Abdel-Krim was convinced that the French were ready to go away, he would not ask for peace. It would, on the contrary, be a good way of making it inevitable that we should have to fight. I shall make the proper declarations before the Chamber of Deputies and I shall

take my responsibility, as the Chamber must also accept its responsibility. We have reached a time in which the basis of peace is the respect of treaties. If one of those treaties is touched, the edifice of peace will fall. In Morocco there is the sovereignty of the Sultan; France has the maintenance of that sovereignty delegated to her in the zone indicated by the treaty. We ought to have an understanding with Spain in order to reach a stable peace, and not merely a truce of which our enemies would take advantage, to fall upon us once more in conditions more favorable to them. French, Spaniards, and Moroccans should co-operate. We are not making war for conquest, but to obtain a peace in conformity with the treaties.

M. Painlevé added that France would have a right to pursue Abdel-Krim's forces into the Spanish zone, but that right should be exercised in agreement with Spain. If, as he hoped, they had an *entente cordiale* with Spain, their conditions of peace would be frank and open. Whatever might happen, no peace was possible unless France found the territories confided to her charge once more free of the invaders. If the French abandoned these territories, they would be abandoning all the rest.

But there are immense difficulties confronting France in Morocco. According to a well-informed British observer in Morocco, the situation of France on the Riff frontier, owing to the very wise determination of the French Government and the Protectorate authorities to embark upon no adventure, is clearly one of stalemate. Her road northward into the Riff is blocked by great physical difficulties and by political considerations. That both might be overcome is possible, but at what cost? On the other hand, Abdel-Krim's route to the south is closed by the French lines. Briefly, the French have no intention whatever of invading the Riff, but might against their will be dragged there. Abdel-Krim has every intention of going to Fez, but will never be able to do so.

It is a complete *impasse*. The two armies are face to face, fighting almost daily in a campaign which must not be allowed to end till France's local superiority is demonstrated, not by the conquest of the Riff, but by clearly showing that she is

capable of protecting the tribes for whose security she is responsible and of driving the invaders out of French Protectorate territory. That will be sufficient.

If the French situation is an extremely difficult and arduous one, that of Abdel-Krim is far more so. He has failed to carry out the program he announced to the tribes. The losses his followers have suffered are exceedingly heavy. The Rifi contingents cannot come on forever. The suffering of the Rifi wounded without medical aid must be appalling. It is borne with a spirit, courage, and sacrifice which can only be admired and wondered at.

It is by a series of events, probably uncontrollable on both sides, that France and Abdel-Krim have been brought to war. It is likely that the latter was unable to restrain his frontier tribes. It is certain that France could not escape fighting when she was attacked. It is her duty, too, to protect the friendly tribes and drive the enemy off the Protectorate territory. At that juncture Abdel-Krim will be forced to treat. For the present it is stalemate.

Spanish Situation

The Spanish situation is less complicated. Wisely, but at great cost, both moral and material, the Spanish forces in the western part of their zone were withdrawn last year almost back to the sea. By all the natives in North Morocco the Spaniards are looked upon as a defeated foe making their last stand upon their present lines. As a matter of fact the Marquis de Estella, by untiring energy and force of character, has brought about a very great improvement in the state of the Spanish army in Morocco. The men are now fed, clothed, and tended as soldiers should be.

While the French forces are immobilized on the borders of the Spanish zone for the reasons given above, the Spaniards are free to operate almost in any direction, for, with the exception of the Tangier zone, the whole country in front of their lines is their own zone, for the order and security of which they alone are responsible. There is, therefore, ample scope for coordinate action. Combined action

would not only be advantageous to France and Spain alike; it is an absolute necessity for both.

Although at the present moment Abdel-Krim's main efforts are being directed against the French, he is not neglecting his Spanish enemies to the north. Among the majority of the northern tribes the weakening of enthusiasm for Abdel-Krim which was noticeable a fortnight ago seems to have completely disappeared, no doubt largely owing to the arrival upon the scene of new Rifi contingents, and to the purposely circulated reports of Rifi victories on the French front. Already attacks upon Spanish positions near Tetuan have begun, and Hariro has mounted guns on the Beni Hosmar hills overlooking that town. An attack is also expected upon the Spanish lines on the frontier of the Tangier zone.

Although the Spanish position may during the last two months have been eased by the Rifi attack on the French, Abdel-Krim has no intention of leaving the Spaniards alone, and whatever may be the result of his southern campaign on the borders of the French Protectorate, he will turn again upon the Spaniards. The comparative immobility today of the French troops, owing to political and other circumstances, will become a forced immobility after the fall of the autumn rains in three or four months' time, and Abdel-Krim will then turn his whole attention to a systematic attack upon the various Spanish fronts, while maintaining guerilla warfare against the French. The whole outlook is one that cannot be regarded without anxiety. All such fighting will probably be largely without result, but will entail great effort and great sacrifice.

The remedy is combined action, but there are many kinds of combined action, and it is not yet known which of these many kinds will emerge from the coming meeting of French and Spanish experts in Madrid. All kinds of rumors are in circulation, some wise, many foolish. A great deal has been made of the question of contraband, which, as a matter of fact, is today of minor importance, for so well supplied with arms and ammunition is Abdel-Krim that very little contraband is being carried on. Rifles and cartridges are being sold in the Riff at a price which

is lower than that at which they can be imported, and the Riffs demand the best. The contraband trade should have been stopped several years ago, especially during that period which preceded the disaster at Anual in 1921. Since then the Riffs have captured large quantities of rifles and cartridges and are sufficiently supplied today to carry on a long campaign.

The Heel of Achilles

In Tetuan and the northern districts the Spaniards have retired too far back to attempt a new advance from that base. Many miles of Jabala tribes separate them from the Riff, and though these Jabala tribes are at one with Abdel-Krim, their local defeat, if they could be defeated, would have but little effect in the Riff itself. In some quarters an advance on Sheshuan has been recommended, but is clearly impossible.

Even if it could be successful, there remains the eastern front in the direction of Melilla, and it is from that direction, and that direction alone, that a serious and useful advance could be made. From that front the Riff is really vulnerable, and its very heart can be struck at with much less risk and difficulty than a landing near Agadir, however useful such a diversion from the sea might be. An advance from the east would take the Riffs fighting the French in the flank, and would necessitate the division of Abdel-Krim's forces. At the same time, local offensive movements might be carried out on all fronts, French and Spanish. But, important as combined action may be from a military point of view, its real and ultimate aim should be for the purpose of securing peace.

These views of the well-informed British observer are quite in agreement with views held in many other quarters, though the actual realization of the program he describes is not easy of achievement. In the meantime, the strengthening of the French forces in Morocco continues steadily.

At this writing, July 25, it is reported that, having abandoned the dissident tribes to their fate, Abdel-Krim's regulars are in full flight toward the north. In the meantime co-operation of the French with the Spanish against Alhucemas is progressing rapidly.

BRITISH IMPERIAL DEVELOPMENTS

TWO important steps on the part of the British Government in the course of the past few weeks constitute significant developments in British imperial relations. In the first place the Parliament has announced itself unmistakably in favor of a system of imperial preference. In the second place, Prime Minister Baldwin has announced the intention of the Government to establish a new Secretaryship of State for Dominion Affairs.

Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs

The Dominions have objected for some time to a system under which their relations with the Government in London have had to be carried on through the intermediary of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. They have pointed out that the difference of their status as self-governing units from that of colonies ought to be recognized by the Home Government. The creation of the new Secretaryship is in response to these objections on the part of the Dominions.

The announcement concerning the creation of the new office was made by Mr. Baldwin in reply to a question in the House of Commons. He said:

The government have come to the conclusion that the existing organization of the Colonial Office is no longer in correspondence with the actual constitutional position of the Empire and is inadequate to the extent and variety of the work thrown upon it. It fails, more particularly, to give sufficiently clear recognition to the profound difference between the work of communication and consultation with the self-governing partner nations of the British Commonwealth and the administrative work of controlling and developing the Colonies and Protectorates for whose welfare this House is directly responsible. The following changes are, therefore, proposed:

1. The conduct of affairs with the Dominions will be under a separate new Secretaryship of State for Dominion Affairs, with its own Parliamentary Undersecretary of State, who will also act as Chairman of the Overseas Settlement Committee, and Permanent Undersecretary of State.

2. For reasons of practical convenience, the new Secretaryship of State will continue to be vested in the same person as the holder of the Secretaryship of State for the Colonies, and the Department of Dominion Affairs will continue to be housed in the Colonial Office.

Approval by the Dominions

The changes thus inaugurated at the Colonial Office have met with hearty approval in the Dominions. Mr. Coates, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, has issued the following statement:

The proposals represent an earnest desire on the part of his Majesty's Government to recognize the status and sentiment of the Oversea Dominions. The name "Colonial Office" has long since grown out of date as being appropriate for Great Britain's self-governing Dominions, and on this account the new designation is to be warmly commended. The proposed organization will tend greatly to facilitate the increasing volume of communications on foreign policy and the work of oversea settlement, and will, I hope, enable British Ministers to have greater opportunity of personal intercourse and travel among the various portions of the King's Dominions. I feel sure that New Zealand public opinion will warmly approve the proposals as evidence of a desire both to recognize the Dominion position and to co-operate more effectively in matters of mutual or common interest.

Similar approval has been expressed by the Government of Australia, where it was pointed out that the change would make for better understanding between the Dominions and Great Britain through the separation of the interests of the Dominions and the Crown colonies, which are not always identical, but which have often suffered in the past because of the fact that they have been handled through the same office.

Victory for Imperial Preference

The question of Imperial preference, which had lain dormant for a whole year so far as parliamentary action was concerned, was again brought forward by Mr. Baldwin at the beginning of June. On June 11, a debate on the question took place in the House of Commons, at the end of which a vote was taken showing the

advocates of preference to have a majority of 184. One of the most significant features of the vote was the fact that three former members of the Labor Government, including Mr. J. H. Thomas, and seventeen other Labor members, voted with the majority. The following summary of the debate, given by the *London Times*, presents a very interesting picture of the manner in which this question, which was defeated a year ago, has now been handled by the Parliament:

Certain people, of course, spoke against imperial preference, beginning with Mr. Lees Smith, who moved an amendment to the proposals emanating from the Imperial Conference of 1923. He pointed out that so small a proportion of the commodities in question came from the Empire that a preference could not affect the price, but would only be a present to certain Dominion and Colonial producers. But a roar of laughter greeted his destruction of his own argument contained in the statement that, therefore, capital would flow to other parts of the Empire.

"That," retorted Mr. Guinness, "is exactly what we want." Such an encouragement to Empire production would ultimately result in a reduction of price, and, in fact, an immediate reduction in pure Empire tobacco was promised. These particular preferences were a debt of honor which we owed to the Dominions, not merely because of the agreement at the Imperial Conference of 1923, but also because the Dominions had given us preferences—today grown to a figure of £10,000,000—long before we had given them anything in return.

Sir Robert Thomas, with quotations dating back to 1907, complained that the actual preferences were no use to the Dominions, and was at once reminded that the latter were better judges of that than himself. He urged that the Dominion preferences did not benefit the British exporter so much as the Dominion consumer. "So preference does mean cheapness!" chanted the Unionist benches.

Labor Advocacy

There followed a most significant series of pro-preference speeches from the Labor benches. The first and most elaborate came from Dr. Haden Guest, who revenged

himself as a politician for supporting the views of his opponent by complaining of Mr. Churchill's tepid advocacy thereof. Under cover of the latter's astonishment at this unprecedented ground of reproach, Dr. Guest turned and rent his own colleagues for neglecting the larger issues—unemployment, imperial union, better labor conditions—which were all involved in this modest proposal. Empire markets were the only ones we could confidently count on, and were already infinitely and increasingly the most important. In 1924 foreign trade fell off by £4,000,000, but Empire trade went up by £32,000,000; and Australia, with a population of seven millions, took more British goods than the whole 700 millions of Asia. Therefore, the fiscal mentality of 1907 must go, as the economic conditions of 1907 had already gone. Preferences were not gifts, but a stage in fiscal and economic reorganization, which should ultimately include stabilization of prices, the elimination of costly middlemen, and the prevention of insanitary or sweated production.

This speech was much interrupted by friendly foes of the speaker's own household, but Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary in the Labor Government last year, announced his intention of voting for the preference resolution. He said he was in favor of a free breakfast table, and if a tax was borne by the consumer it followed that the consumer must benefit by a reduction of the tax. To his Labor colleagues, who pointed out that only six per cent of our consumption of dried fruits and tobacco came from the Empire, he retorted that that was an added reason for supporting the resolution, in order to make this country less dependent on the foreigner.

Other Labor supporters of preference were Mr. Robert Young and Mr. Kirkwood, the latter of whom defended the Empire with a power and vigor second only to his defense of Clydebank. An astonished House heard and applauded the contention that if we could not make peace with our own kith and kin, we could not hope reciprocally to understand foreigners, and therefore could not hope for world peace. The Commonwealth of British Nations was the corner-stone of peace and better working conditions.

"That," finished Mr. Kirkwood, triumphantly, "will show you what Clydebank thinks of the Empire."

Sandwiched in between these professions of faith were useful contributions from Col. Angus McDonnell, an ex-Canadian, who exposed Canada's temptation to separation, and the value to her of fiscal reciprocity; and an ex-Australian, Mr. Harney. The latter, having been anti-preference even in Australia, was able to make more than a theoretic speech. He agreed that a certain measure of reciprocity could be achieved, but it was very minute. The Dominions, for example, would give us nothing which would injure their own carefully nurtured factories. Moreover, such reciprocity would actively prevent, in some rather dubious manner, the ideal of a Customs Union for the whole Empire, in which everybody believed. But no one else achieved anything more than the stock arguments that preference was the beginning of food taxes and a source of irritation to its recipients.

Mr. Churchill's Reply

Mr. Churchill, in reply to a "most remarkable" debate, asked these critics whether they seriously challenged the resolution of the brotherly days of 1917 to develop imperial trade by every possible means. He pointed out that since those days, in which they still lived, there had been the radical change of the solemn dropping of the proposals for taxing food. Imperial preference was therefore free to advance without the clog of a threatened general tariff.

Taking up the parable, Sir Robert Horne also asked whether these critics would like the Dominions to drop their preferences on British goods, and whether they were prepared to face General Hertzog's threat to drop South African preferences unless he obtained a *quid pro quo*.

Those courageous enough to answer in the affirmative numbered 93, but those who responded to Mr. Churchill's appeal to treat Empire matters as non-party outnumbered them by 184.

WAR PENSIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

AT ITS sitting of May 26, the British House of Commons took up a piece of official business which brings home to the British people annually the tremendous bill that still remains to be paid for the last war—the vote on war pensions. In presenting the matter to the House, the Minister of Pensions explained that two million persons are affected by it, and that the total amount required this year is £66,000,000, the largest figure expended for the year by any single department of government.

Details of the Pension Policy

The minister gave some astonishing details. There were still 600 fresh claims to pensions from men and 120 from widows every week, largely because of the approaching expiry of the time limit for claims of seven years after discharge. These new charges were slightly more than counterbalanced by the deaths of pensioners, the remarriage of widows, and the adolescence of dependent children; but it was a gratifying fact that the death rate among the disabled was not higher than that among ordinary civilians. The natural and progressive diminution of work arising from lessening numbers, greater practice in administration, and changes in policy (such as the system of final awards) had reduced the ministry's staff from the peak point, 32,000 in 1921, by 50 per cent. Two-thirds of the staff were men and 97 per cent of that two-thirds, ex-service men.

Dissatisfaction with the Present Policy

There has been a great deal of dissatisfaction with the present policy, which is based upon the act of 1921. This proceeds mainly from those who are awarded lump-sum payment rather than life pension.

The Minister pointed out that under the existing system a pension is independent of the class of a man's employment or the wages he earns, and is assessed solely upon his physical condition. He realized that it is those disabled under 20 per cent, who had a lump-sum award instead of a life pension, who are dissatis-

fied; but to grant them a general indeterminate right of appeal would be to treat the less seriously disabled more favorably than the more seriously disabled; and, moreover, every successive government and Parliament had considered a lump-sum payment fair in their case. He had allowed for a certain possibility of correcting errors, and it was his practice, after personal review of all cases of complaint, to recommend *prima facie* cases to the treasury for an improved award. He could not keep in being a vast and expensive machinery for so small a number of cases, but would investigate personally, both centrally and locally, the arrangements made to bring injustices to light.

Time-limit Difficulty

There is also dissatisfaction with the seven-year time limit, fixed by the act of 1921. In reply to it, the minister pointed out that as long as the right to pension continued to depend on disability due to war service, some date must be fixed. The seven years from discharge condition had been widely advertised. Half the whole British army had actually claimed, and only one in five of the cases now coming forward was admissible. Generally speaking, therefore, full justice had been done, and he could only reserve a personal discretion to deal with special cases.

He thought it was admitted that between 80 and 90 per cent of the pensioners were fully covered and satisfied by the existing system. For the remaining exceptional cases exceptional treatment was necessary, and he was going on a tour of the local organizations to study cases and conditions on the spot. It was the personal initiative of the minister which alone could satisfactorily fill the gaps in the law.

Criticism of the Pension Policy

The minister's statement aroused considerable criticism, principally from government supporters, though the first criticism came from the present minister's predecessor in office, Mr. Roberts. The latter called attention to the fact that pensions were due for revision in 1926 according to the cost of living. He wished for a promise now that the flat rate should not be reduced. It was certainly neces-

sary to have finality of award, but medical prognosis was not infallible, and the correction of error should not depend on the treasury. The seven-years time limit sounded a long time, but if after six years there were still 600 fresh claims each week, it was obviously insufficient. In his opinion, there should be no limit whatever.

He criticized also the system of payment of education grants, which should depend solely upon the capacity of the child. In fact, he had so many points to raise that he felt the only way out would be to appoint another select committee.

The Liberal ex-Minister of Pensions, Mr. Macpherson, thought that there was nothing such a committee could advise which the ministry could not do already. He also, as its original author, disapproved of the abolition of the time limit. There was nothing wrong, either, with the principle of final awards; in fact, a greater exercise of his personal discretion by the minister was all that was necessary.

Lieutenant-Commander Astbury engaged in a long dialogue with Lieutenant-Colonel Stanley as to whether or not assessment officers reduced a man's pension without seeing him. The former declared that they did, the latter that they couldn't.

Major Cohen, a recognized expert, delivered a more menacing attack. He thought it certain the flat rate would not be reduced. But since the minister had not met criticism an inch, and would not give a select committee, he would, without political prejudice, vote against the government. This brought up the latter's representative, Lieutenant-Colonel Stanley, who rode off into an interesting account of the finest medical service in the world. He said that £60,000,000 had been spent on treatment, including £2,000,000 on tuberculosis. He re-explained the old problem of the mental cases. The State could not run special asylums, even if the relatives of the men wished it, which they did not, as a rule; but it insisted on all cases being treated as private patients.

THE Geneva Conference, having barred disease germs in time of War, will some Assembly be kind enough to do the same in time of Peace?

PAYMENTS UNDER THE DAWES PLAN

MR. S. PARKER GILBERT, Agent General for Reparations Payments, recently issued a new statement covering receipts from Germany and payments made to the Allied Powers under the Dawes Plan, up to March 31, 1925. The first Dawes annuity covers the period from September 1, 1924, to August 31, 1925, during which time Germany is supposed to pay one billion gold marks. At the end of the first six months—that is to say, on February 28, 1925—she ought to have paid 500 million gold marks, but she actually paid 580 million gold marks.

The total receipts for the first seven months of this annuity (September, 1924, to March, 1925) amounted to 580,081,046 gold marks. It is the same sum as recorded at the end of February, plus 170,212 gold marks, representing differences in exchange and interest cashed in.

Payments Made by Agent General

Payments made on the first Dawes annuity amounted to 555,387,333 gold marks for the first seven months (91,691,038 gold marks for March). This leaves in the Reichbank a balance of 24,693,713 gold marks at the Agent General's credit. The following payments were made to the Allied nations:

France, 235,442,357 gold marks for the first seven months, out of which 37,960,600 gold marks for March; Great Britain, 128,489,219 and 37,960,600 gold marks for March; Belgium, 57,704,973 and 12,539,643 gold marks for March; Italy, 44,142,476 and 3,949,899 gold marks for March; Serbia, 17,320,599 and 2,381,149 gold marks for March; Rumania, 3,866,413 and 579,656 gold marks for March; Portugal, 2,898,409 and 299,934 gold marks for March; Japan, 2,518,321 and 594,567 gold marks for March; Greece, 1,191,964 and 5,123 gold marks for March.

The Agent General for Reparations Payments also made the following payments during the first 7 months of the first annuity:

Coal deliveries, transportation, etc., to Belgium and Luxemburg, which are to be reimbursed to the Agent General for

Reparations Payments: 10,375,869 gold marks.

Expenses of the Commission of Reparations, 3,811,769 gold marks; expenses of the Rhineland Commission, 3,132,640 gold marks; expenses of Military Commission of Control, 6,500,000 gold marks; expenses of the Naval Commission of Control, 70,000 gold marks; service of 800 million gold marks German external loan, 39,294,658 gold marks; administrative expenses of the office of reparation payments, 1,627,666 gold marks.

Payments Received by France

As mentioned above, during the first seven months of the first annuity, France received 235,442,357 gold marks, representing about 1,060,000,000 francs.

The amount paid to France is itemized as follows:

Coal, coke, and lignite deliveries, 72,732,783 gold marks, out of which 15,017,074 gold marks in March; deliveries of fertilizers, 11,921,902 gold marks (2,446,636 gold marks in March); deliveries of dyestuffs and pharmaceuticals, 4,310,526 gold marks (718,465 gold marks in March); deliveries of coal by-products, 132,268 gold marks; transportation of coal, coke, and lignite, 31,931,626 gold marks (3,682,808 gold marks in March); operation of mines and coke ovens by the "Régie," 7,662,456 gold marks; reparation recovery act (levy of 26 per cent on value of German goods entering France), 9,451,098 gold marks (3,155,413 gold marks in March); paper marks handed over to the army of occupation, 18,709,690 gold marks (1,524,259 gold marks in March); requisitions, damages and supplies as stipulated in the Rhineland agreement, 53,300,756 gold marks (7,076,333 gold marks in March); deliveries of river craft, 1,366,171 gold marks (555,519 gold marks in March); supplies in the Ruhr, 23,472,222 gold marks (3,333,333 gold marks in March); miscellaneous deliveries, 450,758 gold marks, all made in March.

Observations of the Agent General

Mr. Gilbert's statement is accompanied by the following observations:

1. The amount stated for requisitions, damages, and supplies, as stipulated in

articles 6, 8, and 12 of the Rhineland agreement, as well as the amount stated for the Rhineland High Commission and for the Control Commission's expenses, are tentative, as they have been figured out on estimates approved by the Allied and German governments. The distribution of the total amount among the different nations and commissions was made tentatively on the basis of information supplied by the German Government. The amount stated as expenses of the Rhineland Commission includes only that part of the expenses which is assumed by the German Government and will have to be paid back to it.

2. The amount stated for supplies in the Ruhr is also tentative, as it was figured out on estimates made by the French, Belgian, and German governments.

3. The amount stated for the service of the German external loan includes interest up to April 15, as interests for the month ending on April 15 had been paid two weeks in advance, as stipulated in the general agreement.

THE LITTLE ENTENTE CONFERENCE

THE current conference of the three States forming the Little Entente, viz, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia, was held in Bucharest, May 8-11. MM. Ninčić, Duca, and Benesh, the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente States, were the chief members of the conference. A complete agreement was arrived at on all the questions discussed. Stress was laid on the necessity for further common action in regard to all matters of international importance, as long as the general European situation is not cleared up.

Problems of Austria and Hungary

The discussion of the Austrian problem was very detailed. Stress was laid on the need for common action, also, in regard to the Great Powers which are interested in the financial sanitation of Austria. The emphasis laid on the necessity for the maintenance of the peace treaties naturally means that the States of the Little Entente will not in any case recognize a

union of Austria with Germany, just as France and Italy will not recognize this.

As regards Hungary, it is necessary to state that the speech by Count Bethlen, when in a very untactful manner he declared that a revision of the Treaty of Trianon was necessary, and hinted that if it could not be done by fair means it would have to be done by foul means, came just at the right moment for the States of the Little Entente to be able to show that such speeches are provocative and do not in any way help to bring about better relations with Hungary or to improve the Hungarian situation. In this connection the impression made at Bucharest by Count Bethlen's speech is a very bad one.

Relations with Neighboring States

Further, the questions were discussed which relate to the attitude of the Little Entente towards the neighboring States. Dr. Benesh communicated to MM. Ninčić and Duca the results of his negotiations with Poland. Yugoslavia and Rumania are particularly satisfied with these results because they consider them as a new important step towards the stabilization of peace.

Dr. Ninčić communicated to MM. Beneš and Duca the state of the Yugoslav negotiations with Greece which have been conducted for the same purpose. Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania have equally a great interest in undisturbed peace in their neighborhood, and therefore declare with satisfaction that the Bolshevik propaganda in Bulgaria has had no results, and that consequently they do not intend to undertake any action which would hinder the definitive victory of the forces of order in Bulgaria.

Results Discussed by MM. Benesh and Duca

At the end of the conference the Ministers made a statement to the journalists.

Dr. Benesh discussed the international problems and expressed the conviction that the idea of the Geneva Protocol would win through in the end. The pact proposed by Germany would also mean a step in this direction if Germany respected the peace treaties and if the pact were combined with the entry of Germany into the League of Nations. The Little Entente

was watching over the strict carrying out of the peace treaties and over the maintenance of the *status quo* in Central Europe. The States neighboring on Austria would co-operate, however, with Austria in the economic field. The proposals for a Danubian Federation could not be realized.

M. Duca emphasized the complete solidarity and perfect agreement which reigned in the Little Entente. Speaking on Hungary, he expressed the hope that the standpoint of the Little Entente would be understood at Budapest, especially as regarded the maintenance of peace based upon the existing treaties. Any attempt to revise the peace treaties would meet with determined opposition on the part of the Little Entente.

The next meeting of the Little Entente will be held at Belgrade.

Poland and the Little Entente

The recent Polish-Czechoslovak treaties and the Bucharest meeting of the Little Entente have induced Poland to pay particular attention to the question of the Polish attitude towards the Little Entente. It is generally recognized that for the time being there can be no mention of the entry of Poland into the Little Entente, but that this is not impossible, under certain conditions, in the future, and that even today Polish co-operation with the Little Entente has great importance.

The *Rzeczpospolita* says that the Little Entente is a group of States with special aims, in which Poland is not always immediately interested. Poland does not feel any special desire, therefore, to join the Little Entente or to be invited to join it. But the political situation may change and the aims of the Little Entente may change. It would then be possible to change also the composition of the Little Entente and at the same time new treaties between the interested States might be drawn up. It is known that Rumania desires a reconstitution of the Little Entente, and the same wish is entertained also in Poland, but to speak of it today would be premature.

The *Gazeta Warszawska* says that Poland has so far formed an alliance only with one State of the Little Entente—that is, with Rumania. But at the present time Poland is following a path which is leading to a political agreement with Czechoslovakia. A Polish-Czechoslovak agreement is the basis for the consolidation of Central European and Eastern European conditions. The treaties of April 23 last form the basis on which must be built consistent and thorough political, economic, and cultural co-operation between the two States. The time has not yet come for the three-State alliance to be transformed into a four-State one, but it is time for the preliminary work for this purpose to be commenced. Polish relations must be stimulated and deepened, not only with the individual States of the Little Entente, but also with the Little Entente as a whole.

Mr. Benesh addressed the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliament at Prague on June 23. In this speech he called attention to the fact that he had signed the commercial and arbitration treaties with Poland. The Minister of Foreign Affairs said that, throughout his journey in Poland, the Polish population and the government circles were so cordial and sincere that the negotiations must be valued as a really great step forward towards a truly amicable relationship between the two nations. The arbitration treaty, he said, "relieves us of the danger of a conflict or differences arising between us which would not be settled in due time and in a peaceful way. We may, therefore, look at this chapter in our policy as one definitely closed and as the entry upon a new era—one of quiet and friendly future political co-operation with Poland." Mr. Benesh also referred to the commercial treaty as very important for both States. He said, "As soon as the present negotiations with Poland caused by the increase in the Polish customs tariffs subsequent to the conclusion of the commercial treaty are closed, the treaty will be presented to Parliament for discussion. I cherish the hope that it will be accepted without delay and to our mutual satisfaction."

POLICE ORGANIZATION IN PALESTINE

DURING the past five years the organization provided by Great Britain, in her capacity as the Mandatory Power, for the policing of Palestine has undergone radical changes. At the beginning of the British exercise of power there, Palestine was under a military administration entirely. The expenditures of this administration amounted in 1921-22 to over four million pounds sterling.

At the present time the country is administered by a civilian High Commissioner, and the expenditures for this administration amounted last year to only 624,000 pounds. The frontiers of the country and its internal security are assured by civil forces. The only military forces now in the country are a cavalry regiment, the 9th Lancers, at Surafend, and a squadron of R. A. F. (with an armored-car company) at Ramleh and Amman, in the Transjordan.

Police and Military Forces

The civil forces employed in the country number 2,000 officers and men, viz., 1,000 police (including the C. I. D.), 450 native gendarmerie, and 550 British gendarmerie.

The police, mainly foot, with a small mounted section, is locally recruited, only the senior officers being British. The native gendarmerie, which is mounted, under British officers, consists of one-third Arab (Moslem and Christian), one-third Jew, and one-third foreign element, mostly Circassian—a mixture which was much condemned at the outset, as not conducing to harmony or efficiency, but which, according to its officers, has worked out extremely well. The British gendarmerie is on foot, with a small mounted section and motor transport, and consists of British ex-soldiers under British officers, all with war service.

The police do normal police duty in the towns and districts. (Tel Aviv, the Jewish suburb of Jaffa, has its own municipal force, consisting of Jews.) The native gendarmerie patrols the land frontiers and fulfills police duties in the areas adjoining. The British gendarmerie is a militarily trained force acting as a mobile

reserve and backing for the other forces, in addition to which it is used for special duty, where only British can be usefully employed, and for general patrol work throughout the country from Dan to Beer-sheba.

As regards the military forces, the R. A. F. squadron is stationed here mainly because of the necessity of controlling the imperial airway to the Middle East, which passes through Ramleh and Amman. The cavalry regiment is part of the general scheme for maintaining a British garrison at strategic points on the line of imperial communications, as, for example, in Egypt.

Complicated Problem of Public Security

Palestine is, it is true, a relatively small country; its area is approximately 10,000 square miles. But it presents features that complicate the problem of public security. Its population comprises 600,000 Moslems, 86,000 Christians, belonging to no fewer than a score of more or less conflicting rites, 108,000 Jews, and about 10,000 miscellaneous sects. The atmosphere of religious fervor produced by the existence of the sacred places and the ceremonies and festivals periodically held in and around them exercises an exciting influence on these constitutionally antagonistic communities and gives to the daily situation a potentiality of explosiveness that exists in no other land. Then there are topographical difficulties to be contended against. The Holy City itself, with its narrow, tortuous streets and its rabbit-warren-like houses, surrounding and leading to the various shrines and points of religious interest, is a never-ending source of serious preoccupation to those responsible for the maintenance of peace and order, while the scattered nature of the inhabited centers and settlements and the formation of the country itself complicate the task of supervision and control. Finally, it has an abnormal length of land frontier—some 280 miles—bordering for the most part on regions inhabited by nomad tribes and exposed to the constant danger of raids.

It may here be pointed out that the city of Cairo—where the population is only 12 per cent greater than that of Palestine and is nowhere as antagonistic in its com-

position, nor exposed to anything like the same exciting influences—requires a police force more than double the total civil forces employed in Palestine. To this is added a force of 1,400 public *ghaffirs*, and behind them all is the moral influence of the British garrison of some 4,000 men.

Need for British Gendarmerie

As the London *Times* points out, no radical changes in the present system need be made for the purpose of continuing the existing satisfactory situation. That some British support for the native civil forces is imperative, all authorities agree. However efficient these forces may be, they require to have at their back the moral stiffening of a non-native element.

Purely military units are not of the same value in this respect as a white element forming an integral part of the civil forces. The former can only be called upon in a crisis, when the situation has for all practical purposes got beyond the control of the ordinary civil force, whereas a militarily trained British element in that force has the advantage of being able to come into action as a normal feature of the public security organization while there is still a possibility of circumscribing or even preventing the threatened trouble. In other words, the presence of a British civil element acts as a salutary deterrent, and it is no secret that during the critical period of the Balfour tour, although the police and native gendarmerie very satisfactorily afforded the necessary protection and maintained public order, the key to the situation was furnished by the white element, in this case the British gendarmerie.

GREEK AND BULGARIAN MINORITIES

A GLOOMY report was made the last of April by two delegates of the League of Nations, Col. Corfe (British) and Maj. de Roover (Belgian), regarding the Greek and Bulgarian minorities.

The Neuilly Peace treaty left several hundred thousand Bulgarians in Greece, and vice versa. Since many naturally wished to emigrate, a League commission

was established to supervise emigration, evaluate property which the émigrés owned, and arrange with the Greek and Bulgarian governments for indemnities.

Matters proceeded more or less smoothly until the autumn of 1922, when the Greek defeat in Asia Minor resulted in some 1,300,000 refugees fleeing to old Greece. Space could be with difficulty found for these refugees, and when it came to housing, the authorities were inclined to billet the refugees in houses belonging to Bulgarians. About the same time numerous Bulgarians living in Thrace were deported to Thessaly and islands in the Greek archipelago, on the plea that they constituted a military menace.

Gradually this state of affairs caused the Bulgarian minority to begin emigrating in mass to their own country. On arrival very ineffectual attempts were made to distribute them about the country, and the majority made their homes near the frontier, perhaps with a hope that one day they would be able to return where they had come from. But as it happens, there are large numbers of Greeks living in the same vicinity, and it was perhaps only natural that the Bulgarian refugees should decide to avail themselves of this accommodation. The Greeks, in their turn, then became alarmed and began to emigrate.

A very serious situation was thus created, which, the report states, is growing steadily worse. Both minorities have on many occasions been the objects of hardship and even terrorism. Local officers have often disregarded the orders of superiors, and the governments seem to be powerless to handle matters. In Greece the police have been inadequate, and Bulgaria is admittedly hampered by the smallness of its armed forces.

In general the report is a gloomy one. Almost a million and a half new inhabitants put Greece in a difficult position; indeed, all of the circumstances have resulted in much suffering of perfectly innocent persons. In the Balkans doubts are expressed as to whether the League of Nations has moral and material power enough to bring about an early improvement in the situation.

POLITICAL DEADLOCK IN BELGIUM

THE political deadlock in Belgium, resulting from the last parliamentary election, has proven to be exceedingly difficult of solution—much more so than the various party leaders had foreseen when they first contemplated the alignment in the new Parliament. In the course of two months, starting with April 14, no less than five attempts were made to constitute a Cabinet, and each attempt failed. As has already been noted in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, the reason for these repeated failures has been the fact that not one of the three major groups in the Chamber of Deputies has the requisite majority to support a Cabinet, while a coalition of some sort has so far proved to be impossible of achievement.

Various coalition combinations have been tried. M. Vandervelde, the Socialist leader, first attempted to form a Socialist-Catholic coalition, the two parties being the strongest in both the Chamber and the Senate. The theory on which he and the rest of the Socialists are working is that while the complete unity of the Socialist party is a solid fact and altogether above attack—which, let it be added, is universally recognized—the same cannot be said of the two other parties, especially of the Catholic party. This latter party has a distinct democratic group of some 25 members whose electoral platform is scarcely distinguishable from that of the Socialist party. Therefore, so runs the Socialist argument, there is actually a definite democratic majority in the Chamber which will materialize the moment the democratic Catholics and Liberals are ready to detach themselves from the discipline to which their Conservative colleagues would tie them and join the Socialists on the basis of a practical democratic program.

These arguments undoubtedly carry weight with a number of Catholic and even Liberal democrats, but naturally these two parties defend their unity, and this is the real cause of the prolongation of the crisis. M. Vandervelde's first attempt in this direction failed, though he went to the length of negotiating with the whole Catholic party officially, with a view

to obtaining from it the authorization for its democratic members to ally themselves temporarily with the Socialists.

M. van de Vyvere, the Catholic leader, then made an attempt to form a minority Catholic Cabinet, but was defeated in the Chamber. He followed this attempt with an effort to achieve a Catholic-Socialist coalition, and failed also. Failure attended as well the attempts made by M. Max to form first an extra-parliamentary Government, and then a Socialist-Liberal coalition.

The deadlock finally resolved itself into the necessity of following out a plan somewhat similar to that originally advocated by the Socialists, i. e., the formation of a democratic coalition irrespective of party lines. The initiative had to come from the Catholic, and it was finally taken late in May by Vicomte Poulet, the leader of the Catholic democrats. However, he has run into two great difficulties. In the first place, each of the parties entering into the coalition claims the Premiership. And in the second place, the opposition of the conservative Catholic elements to such a union with the Socialists as will give the latter a preponderant rôle in the coalition has proven to be more bitter than had been anticipated. At the present writing, the deadlock still continues, though there seems to be distinct hope of a solution along the above lines.

NEW CONSTITUTION FOR CHILE

THE new constitution being drafted for Chile, which it is hoped will be accepted by the people in a plebescite, will contain the following radical changes:

(1) The separation of Church and State, which will solve a grave problem of fifty years' standing.

(2) The abolition of the parliamentary system and the adopting, in part, of the presidential system, as in the United States.

(3) A change in the laws governing property rights, which will give the government the right to expropriate real property for public utilities (with adequate compensation to owners) when such expropriation is necessary for the good of the community.

(4) Decentralization of administrative power, allowing more authority to the local

officials, who know best the needs of the communities.

President Alessandri declared that he considers it best to submit the new constitution to a plebescite of the people, rather than call a constitutional convention, believing the latter method would only prolong the unsettled condition of the country. It is his intention to hold presidential and congressional elections on the same date as the plebescite.

Upon the organization of Congress, after these elections, the House of Deputies may proceed to make any necessary amendments to the new constitution.—*La Prensa (New York)*.

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DATES

(June 16-July 15, 1925)

June 16—The French reply to the German Security Pact proposal is delivered to Herr Stresemann, German Foreign Minister.

June 17—The Conference on the Control of Traffic in Arms adjourns, eighteen nations signing the arms traffic convention and twenty-seven subscribing to the protocol outlawing the use of bacteria and poison gas in wartime.

The report of the agent-general of reparation payments to the Reparation Commission is issued for publication.

The Belgian ministerial crisis ends with a vote of confidence in the new ministry headed by M. Poullet.

June 18—The text of the German proposals for a Security Pact and the French reply is published as a White Paper.

June 19—At the opening of the eighth session of the Permanent Court of International Justice, it is announced that the Council of the League of Nations has asked the Court to give an opinion on the expulsion of the Ecumenical

Patriarch from Constantinople, and that Germany has instituted proceedings against Poland with regard to certain German interests in Polish Upper Silesia.

June 20—Announcement is made that France expects to send a commission to Washington early in the fall for the purpose of beginning negotiations looking toward a funding of the French war debt to the United States.

The Soviet Government announces its decision to issue a new internal loan of 300,000,000 rubles.

The Third Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce is opened in Brussels by the King of the Belgians, with some 700 delegates from 37 countries present.

Captain Donald Baxter MacMillan, with his two vessels—*Bowdoin* and *Peary*—sails from Wiscasset, Me., on an expedition of exploration in the region of the North Pole.

June 23—The French Cabinet decides to begin the evacuation of the Ruhr at an early date—i. e., before the date stipulated in the agreement of August, 1924.

June 25—Negotiations are opened between Italy and the United States with regard to the payment of Italy's war debt to the United States.

The Greek Cabinet of M. Mickalakopoulos is overthrown by General Pangalos.

June 26—The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations opens its sixth session. The Franco-Spanish agreement on the subject of naval co-operation between the two governments for the purpose of the blockade of the Rifi coast is communicated to the Powers.

June 27—The bill embodying M. Cail-
laux's proposals for meeting
the immediate difficulties of
the French treasury is passed
by both houses.

June 29—The transfer of the greater part
of the province of Jubaland
from Great Britain to Italy
takes place, as arranged under
the terms of the Anglo-
Italian Treaty of London
(July, 1924).

The Belgian Cabinet decides to
send a mission to Washing-
ton to discuss the Belgian
debt to the United States.

July 1—Great Britain suggests to
France that the time is ripe
for France to make an offer
for the settlement of her debt
to Great Britain.

Premier Painlevé wins a unani-
mous vote of confidence in

the French Senate for his
program in Morocco.

A new government for South-
ern China is formed in Can-
ton, with Wu Hon-min as
Civil Governor.

July 5—The Ninth Annual Congress of
the Federation of League of
Nations societies opens in
Warsaw.

July 7—The French Chamber of Depu-
ties ratifies the Washington
Disarmament Conference
treaties relating to China.

July 10—The French Senate ratifies the
treaties negotiated at the
Washington Conference in
1922.

July 13—The third session of the Acad-
emy of International Law
opens at The Hague.

The budget of France for 1925
is passed.

DEMILITARIZED ZONES AND EUROPEAN SECURITY

By BRIG.-GEN. E. L. SPEARS, M. P.

IT IS my purpose in this paper to deal
with the question of European secur-
ity, and to suggest how this difficult prob-
lem can best be dealt with.

Why is this question important? Why
is it a matter of interest even to far-dis-
tant America?

It is important because on it peace de-
pends. It affects the whole world because
a conflict in any quarter may easily lead to
a general conflagration.

And as at present, by a strange contra-
diction, France, the people with the great-
est military force, is the nation which feels
least secure as to the future, it has become
increasingly evident that the European
problem will not be settled until France
feels secure. Until she feels secure she is
certain not to reduce her armaments. Un-
til she reduces her armaments any pros-
pect of general disarmament is out of the
question, and without some measure of
general disarmament the danger of war
will remain great.

It will be realized therefore how ex-

traordinarily important the question of
French security is to the whole world.

Events Since the Armistice

To paint an accurate picture for an
American reader it is necessary to describe
events as they have arisen since the armis-
tice. To one who is far removed from the
stage on which these actions have taken
place, who sees pictures thrown on the
screen representing past events, criticisms
will easily occur. Such a spectator may be
overcome by a sense of irritation at the
blindness displayed at the time by the
principal actors. Let him control his
sense of annoyance. "La critique est aisée
mais l'art est difficile," say the French,
and it is true.

To understand the situation it is neces-
sary to realize the conditions of desperate
strain under which Europe lived, or rather
existed, during the years of the war, when
hope itself seemed to weep over the world,
and when a desperate faith in the right-
ness of the cause and the remorseless ne-

cessity of fighting for all that made life worth living, provided the only distant glimmering light toward which the allied peoples strained.

Who can cavil at the reaction? Who can complain if the nations felt that come what may, some means, any means, must be taken to insure that they and their children should be free of a recurrence of the sanguinary nightmare? What wonder then that when they held the culprit they loaded him with chains? Indeed it is strange that their vengeance was so tempered, for all knew what their fate would have been had victory gone to the other side; they were well aware that they would have ceased to exist as free people.

Of all the nations, France had suffered most; she envisaged the future with gloom. She feared a war of revenge on the part of Germany. Frenchmen of 60 years old had seen their country twice invaded in their lifetime. How could the French people believe that suddenly Germany had changed her mentality and would never attack France again? When men of good will prophesied a pacific Germany, France thought of the Ethiopian and the Leopard and remained skeptical.

She realized that the Central European Powers were only defeated in 1918 after a stupendous struggle on the part of the Allied and Associated Powers. France had lost one million four hundred thousand killed and had had her richest provinces in the hands of the enemy for four years. The British Empire, whilst maintaining command of the seas, with all the terrific effort of construction and manufacture that implies, had lost nearly eight and a half million tons of shipping, and had mobilized nine and a quarter million men, of whom nine hundred and fifty-six thousand had been killed. The losses of the other Allies were proportionate. America, whose entry into the war proved so decisive, lost 115,600 men and at the time of the armistice had 1,876,000 men in France.

France knew how helpless she would have been had she not had great Allies by her side.

A more disconcerting thought still was that of her own inherent weakness. Her population was barely 40 millions of people, compared with the German popu-

lation of 65 millions, to whom should be added the 7 millions of German Austrians, and the knowledge that her population was diminishing, whereas that of Germany was increasing by leaps and bounds, filled her with foreboding. She knew that a large and powerful section of the German people refused to acknowledge their defeat. Reports came in from all sides of secret armaments all over Germany. It was more than suspected that large quantities of arms were being wilfully concealed from Allied eyes. She felt, in spite of the temporary superiority her large army gave her, that the fact that the Allies, by whose help and by whose help alone she had succeeded in defeating Germany, had gone home and refused to promise any form of co-operation in the future, made it impossible for her to release the strangle hold she had on Germany until in some way, by some means, she had been able to devise a plan by which Germany would be prevented from springing upon her and completely overwhelming her. She felt that so great was Germany's material preponderance that even partially disarmed she was more than a match for her. And so, desperately, she has been clinging on, from panic fear that a slackening of her grip would mean her own immediate overthrow.

It is fear that has caused France to maintain a huge standing army; it is fear that has made her disregard the risk of financial ruin to pursue her great need of security.

To people in this state of mind, with fear knocking at their hearts, it is quite hopeless to put forward those arguments which would appeal to individuals living in seclusion and in safety. The first and essential thing is to make them safe, to make them realize they are safe, and then you may be sure that they will become as normal and as reasonable as anyone else.

It is in the light of her desperate quest for security that French policy must be judged.

It was fear that prompted her to demand that she should maintain permanently an army in German territory, lined up on the Rhine, so that she should always have the barrier that great river afforded between herself and a possible attack.

Arguments to this effect were put for-

ward by Marshal Foch at the Peace Conference, but neither England nor America could tolerate the idea. Their peoples could not accept that the war which had been fought in the name of liberty should end in a peace which would mean the enslavement of a portion of the German nation, that is, of those living to the west of the Rhine, amounting to some seven and a half millions of people.

At last as a compromise M. Clemenceau, the Prime Minister of France, accepted instead of the permanent occupation of the Rhineland, which Marshal Foch demanded, a military alliance with both England and the United States, these two countries undertaking to come to France's help should Germany attack her. Basing herself on this assurance, France consented to many things in the Peace Treaties which she would certainly not otherwise have accepted, so that when this Military Treaty was not ratified by the United States Senate, and in consequence lapsed as far as England also was concerned (for it was not operative unless both countries accepted it), then France, finding that the very foundations, as she felt, of the Peace Treaty had been destroyed, and thrown back on her own resources, endeavored to evolve a scheme of protection of her own, to reinforce the weakened instrument which she clung to nevertheless as being all she had in the way of guarantee against Germany. England and America were apparently unwilling to help her. Russia, her ally of pre-war days, had disappeared. She endeavored to substitute for these the armies of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the other members of the Little Entente, organized by herself.

But such a policy not only implies military organization and the financing of those countries to the east of Germany, but of course also implies backing them financially. If France was to rely upon them she must identify her policy with theirs, take an interest in their other problems, stand by ever watchful to see that nothing was done to impair their strength. So her policy has ever become more closely identified with that of the Eastern neighbors of Germany, especially Poland, until it has become an absolute axiom of French policy that should Germany attack her Eastern neighbors, it would be tanta-

mount to an attack upon France herself.

A common fear of Germany has therefore kept Germany's neighbors, the French, the Poles, and the Czechs, closely together, but it may also be noted that these latter have a further reason for valuing French support. The new countries created since the war have in many cases by no means perfect frontiers from their neighbors' point of view; for instance, there is the highly controversial question of Silesia, on the German-Polish frontier. It is but natural then that these new countries should look to France, the great champion of the Treaty of Versailles, to help them to resist any attempt to alter that Charter, from which they derive such manifest benefits.

Evidences of Wrong Policy

As fear and mistrust have played so large a part in European policy since the armistice, what wonder that many mistakes should have been committed?

For instance, it would have been far wiser on the part of the Allies to have encouraged German democracy at the end of the war, but this was not done. In the days immediately following the armistice it was hard to realize, and indeed it would have required more than ordinary pluck on the part of any politician to preach, that the war had brought about the end of the military autocracy of Prussia, that there had been a revolution in Germany, and that the government was in the hands of democratic forces which ought to be encouraged so that the people of Germany should realize that their former rulers had misled them, that safety lay in a complete change of spirit, and that under the guidance of democratic leaders it might be possible to regain the confidence of her erstwhile foes. The Germans were mistrusted, which was natural, and their political reactions were not studied, which was unwise, so that the forces of militarism, the fanatics of Kaiserdom, again began to lift up their heads and to say, "True, we have been beaten, but then the whole world was against us. The democratic leaders of Germany, who promised reconstruction, have only succeeded in wearing down our defenses by surrendering more and more to the demands of the Allies. They have handed over our power,

they have bartered our honor, but there is no hope and no mercy to be expected at the hands of the Allies. We must recover and we must be revenged, for nations only respect strength, and there is no place in the sun for a people that is not feared."

Meanwhile the Government of Monsieur Poincaré in France did everything calculated to give color to such a line of argument. Every pretext was taken to coerce Germany further. Rather miserable pretexts were taken to occupy the Ruhr and inflict very real hardship not only on the populations affected by the new occupation, but on the whole of Germany, which found itself deprived of its last remaining mineral resources, for the coal fields of Silesia had been handed over to Poland under arrangements provided for by the Treaty of Versailles.

It even looked as if Monsieur Poincaré were never going to abandon the occupation of the Rhineland. The Peace Treaty had laid down that the left bank of the Rhine and some of its bridgeheads should be occupied by the Allied troops, the bridgeheads to be evacuated one by one at intervals of five years, the whole evacuation to be completed at the end of 15 years. It was stated, however, in the treaty that the evacuation might be delayed in case Germany did not conform to its provisions. The Poincaré Government, basing itself on the fact that certain clauses of the treaty, mainly dealing with deliveries in kind, had not been carried out, announced to an astonished world that the period of fifteen years had not even begun to run by 1923. There was further grave suspicion that agents, acting with the cognizance either of France or of some of her representatives on the Rhine, were fomenting an agitation in the Rhineland for the purpose of creating a separate Rhineland Republic. The German police were powerless in the face of hooligans, calling themselves Separatists, who, under French protection, terrorized whole areas in the Palatinate and in the Rhine Provinces.

The European situation indeed appeared hopeless in 1923. Monsieur Poincaré seemed to have but one idea, and that was to bind Germany tighter and tighter, rendering her helpless, and never to spare a pin-prick to the prostrate giant. And yet

it seemed evident that in time France's power, physical and financial, to mount a perpetual guard over Germany, was bound to come to an end, and that then that country would seek fearful retribution for what she had suffered at French hands. And that time might not have been so long delayed, for the policy pursued by France during this period, dictated as it was by panic, was alienating her Allies of the war, and public opinion in England especially, stimulated by the additional distress caused by Monsieur Poincaré's Ruhr policy, was moving further and further away from France month by month.

Return to Reason

But happily in France itself consciousness of the danger of the policy she was pursuing began to appear. People began to wonder where the Poincaré policy was leading. The Ruhr occupation, which was to have paid for reparation, was costing and not yielding money. The amount of men France had to maintain under the colors for the sake of carrying out this policy of force was a burden that was keenly felt, and Frenchmen began to wonder what was to be the end of it all.

Fortunately, for the sake of peace, the general election held in France in 1924 brought in to power men who realized that a permanent peace could not be based purely on force, that the relation between victor and vanquished could not be endlessly prolonged, and that without abandoning the thesis that in so far as was possible the aggressor should pay for some of the harm he had done, yet that the havoc wrought had been on such a gigantic scale that it required the co-operation of all to set the world on its feet again, and that a period ought to be envisaged when Europe would be ruled by men ready to work and co-operate with each other.

Attitude in Great Britain

Meanwhile, what had been the attitude of England?

Of all the Allies, owing to her determination to discharge her financial obligations, the period of recovery was hardest for her. Crushed by taxation, her agricultural industry in desperate plight, the streets of her great cities filled with col-

umns of unemployed, she had plenty of problems at home. Nevertheless, she watched with grave anxiety the trend of events in Europe, and her government, backed by public opinion, had shown both France and Belgium plainly how strongly she disapproved of their policy, culminating in the occupation of the Ruhr, which occupation she went so far as to declare illegal. From then onward, and for so long as the Ruhr was occupied, England refused to take any interest in the question of French security, and indeed her efforts in this direction had had little enough encouragement in the past. She had felt that although the Anglo-American pact offered to France in 1919 had lapsed, yet as that country had conceded so much during the negotiation of the Peace Treaty on the faith of ultimately receiving the military support of her Allies, that, so far as lay in her power, England was in honor bound to do what she could to compensate her for the loss of this assurance. At the Conference of Cannes, therefore, in 1921, the French Government was offered by Great Britain a form of treaty of limited duration by which the French eastern frontiers were guaranteed. The then Prime Minister of France, Monsieur Briand, accepted these proposals as a basis of discussion, but Monsieur Poincaré succeeded in overthrowing the Briand Government and in taking his place. He rejected these proposals, as he considered they did not go far enough. The British then at the Conference of Genoa made an attempt to arrive at a general settlement, inviting both Germans and Russians to participate, but either the idea was premature or the problems were unripe for solution on this basis. Monsieur Poincaré, the chief opponent of Mr. Lloyd George at Genoa, was bitterly opposed to this wider conception, and the British Government, of which Mr. Lloyd George was head, shortly afterward fell. Mr. Bonar Law, who succeeded him as Prime Minister, in January, 1923, made proposals to the French, with a view to meeting the financial differences between the two countries. This was a most generous offer, which was, however, not understood by the French, and which is only mentioned here, as Monsieur Poincaré immediately afterward decided with

Belgium upon occupying the Ruhr in spite of the British Government's protests. This situation lasted until the Dawes Commission had reported, and Monsieur Herriot, who had succeeded Monsieur Poincaré, evacuated that region.

England's overtures to France had been repelled, but her own vital interests made it a matter of profound concern to her to deal eventually with a problem which was not likely to be solved without her help.

England's position in all European matters is anything but an easy one. She herself is a European nation closely affected by events on the Continent. She is but one, however, of the group of free nations forming the British Empire. Questions of war and peace affect them all equally. They have all a right to equal consultation, and these great young nations, living under different conditions, at immense distances away, find it hard to realize the difficulties and problems of Europe. Their tendency has been to hold aloof and to beg the mother country not to commit herself to European entanglements, and a large section of opinion in England, responding to the opinion of the Dominions overseas, has preached a policy of isolation.

Unfortunately for England and for the British Empire, far from being able to isolate herself from Europe, England is today more closely bound to that continent than ever before. Even in the centuries that have passed, protected as she was by the Channel, having remained free from invasion for a thousand years, she has nevertheless inevitably become involved in conflicts of any magnitude in Europe, since, sooner or later, her vital interests as a European nation have been affected.

If this was true in the past, how much truer is it now when modern invention has diminished distances and shrunken space? England used to be as safe from invasion or from attack as America is today, but time has reduced the Channel to a mere ditch, and the Atlantic Ocean to what the Channel used to be.

England remains an island, with the difficulties of supply that position involves, but the sea is no longer the all-protecting barrier it once was, for with her shores within fifteen minutes' flight of France, with some of her southern towns within gunshot range, it is an un-

pleasant reality that an enemy in whose hands were the Channel ports of the Low countries and of France, using these as submarine bases, could make the supplying of the southern counties and of London an impossibility and could therefore starve England out in a few weeks' time, for she has never more than a month's supply of foodstuffs within her borders, and year in and year out her inhabitants are fed on five days out of seven by supplies drawn from abroad.

In these circumstances England cannot but take from motives of self-protection a most lively interest in those European problems which may affect peace. Her people are too politically-minded not to see the danger, and they will look for the minimum insurance they will have to pay to maintain peace.

Nothing, however, will induce the British public to consent to any commitments in Eastern Europe. England will naturally do everything in her power to maintain peace in that as in every other part of the world, but she cannot and will not be inveigled into guaranteeing these to her distant frontiers.

The protection of the French frontier, however, is another matter. She has to consider whether the crossing of the Rhine by a hostile army is not a direct threat to England. If, as seems evident, she is forced to the conclusion that such an act *would* imperil her vital interests, then the question of preventing such an act, and consequently the question of French security, becomes of the first moment to her.

A Way Out

It is to be hoped that the foregoing has made it clear that security is the keynote to Europe's problems, that most of the errors in post-war policy have been due to the fact that security has been wanting, and that until that want is supplied all hope of a reduction of armaments is illusory; Europe will not disarm until she feels safe.

This being established, it remains to consider what is the most hopeful proposal to meet the situation.

Several attempts, notably the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee and the ill-fated Protocol, have already been made to draw up

a general scheme for security, but all these attempts have failed.

The reason for this failure is perhaps that these schemes embraced too wide a field, a field of which every square foot bristled with individual difficulties.

By tackling these difficulties severally, there will be far more hope of reaching a satisfactory final settlement.

The proposal put forward here is to isolate the most difficult question of all, that of the relations between France and Germany, and by dealing with that, make of it the foundation stone upon which the whole structure of world peace may be built up. Enough has been said of the preponderating importance in European affairs of the question of French security, and also of the importance of this question to England, to make it clear that if this problem is solved, it is not too much to hope that it will make a general settlement possible, and will advance very considerably the day when a reduction of armaments can be hoped for.

The Rhine has always been a bone of contention between France and Germany. It has been shown how since the armistice French apprehensions have centered in the fear that Germany might again in the future, as she has twice done in the past, use the river as a great jumping-off ground from which to attack her neighbor.

If instead of being a source of distrust and suspicion the Rhineland area can be made an impassible barrier which neither French nor German troops can surmount, if it can be made impossible that the screen which the river affords should be used for purposes of aggression; in other words, if it can be made impossible that there should ever be war between France and Germany on their common frontier, we shall have gone very far toward the goal we have set ourselves.

That this can be done it is the object of this paper to establish.

The essence of the solution proposed is to establish a really effective demilitarized zone for the Rhineland.

Demilitarization

The principle of demilitarized zones is a simple one. It is based on the conception that to create a zone between countries in which no armed forces can move

and in which no fortifications can be erected, should render frontier incidents impossible and will therefore do much to prevent those sudden conflicts which so often occur when in a period of political tension armed forces animated with hatred, or at least with distrust of each other, stand face to face across the frontier line.

But it is possible to make of demilitarized zones not merely a means of avoiding or postponing the final spark that starts a conflict, important as that would be, but to make of them in themselves an important guarantee of peace.

An important consideration which should be borne in mind is that if great precautions are required at first, if in dealing with the case of two countries one or both of which is in positive fear of an overwhelming attack by its neighbor across the zone, special measures are necessary, this is so only because the idea is new. It is to be hoped that in time practically all guarantees within the zone can be withdrawn, for when the idea has become firmly anchored in men's minds that under no circumstances can such a zone be violated, that to do so would be an unspeakable crime against humanity, then the sense of justice of the world will be a more effective guarantee than any special measures which the ingenuity of man may be able to devise. But that time is not yet.

When dealing with the proposal envisaged for the Rhineland zone, it will be made clear what is meant by such "special measures."

An important advantage of the demilitarized zone idea is that it gets over one of the greatest difficulties that international lawyers have encountered, that of defining an act of aggression.

For instance, is a mobilization an act of aggression? Does a political attitude such as that adopted by Austria toward Serbia in July, 1924, constitute an act of aggression? Should a nation provoked as Serbia was provoked, and threatened as she was threatened, be considered as an aggressor if she takes military precautions? The difficulties are endless.

Historical Aspects of the Rhine Problem

The Rhine has always been a problem since the dawn of history.

The defensive line that mighty river

afforded has often in the past tempted nations to stretch out and to expand to what was so obviously a strong natural frontier.

It has been so since Roman days, but the Rhine has never been an effective frontier for long, so true is it that rivers are but seldom political barriers and do not like mountains divide nations.

As soon as France emerged from the turmoil of the Middle Ages, tottering still under the strain of terrible civil wars, she turned her gaze to the Rhine. It was almost her first thought as a united nation. For ages there had been no question of the Rhine, there had been a period of dark decline under the later Carolingian kings, followed by a period of steady, relentless expansion. The tiny province of the Isle de France was the nucleus of the new kingdom, conquered or won province by province and town by town. The fearful ordeal of the Hundred Years' War had been long forgotten, but Louis XIII had but just affirmed his hold over his rebellious Protestant subjects when his great Minister Richelieu died, and we read in his testament that his aim had been to restore to Gaul her natural frontier, the Rhine.

This ambition, left as a bequest to the following reign, was not forgotten. But unfortunately for France, Louis XIV's idea of Gaul far exceeded those of the prudent and wily cardinal. To him, no doubt, by Gaul was meant the immense Empire of Charles the Great.

Be that as it may, he evolved a new policy.

He had conquered and ravaged the Rhine and annexed Alsace and Lorraine; the question was how to make sure of the river as a barrier, flowing as it did amongst purely German populations which politically defied absorption, for the time being at least. To meet this problem he therefore invented the Rhenish League of 1658.

The Rhine could not be his; he made sure it should be no one else's. What better plan than to insure that the river should flow through States almost as numerous as the pebbles of its bed, divided against each other, dominated and maneuvered with the utmost ease by the autocrat who reigned without question or

demur over France? Jealousy, which has been described as a kind of friendship between women, was to be given as a handmaiden to Old Father Rhine to help him control his unruly subjects.

The League, however, the dike of security on which such high hopes were founded, was swept away by the enormous tide of the final defeat that marked the end of the old king's ambitions. The hopes of earlier days had fled with youth, and as he said to Marshal Villeroy, "Mon-sieur le Marechal, on n'est plus heureux a notre age."

But the idea of the Rhine as the frontier for France was not abandoned.

After the Revolution, whose destinies were presided over by the Goddess of Reason, had given France the frontier dreamed of by a cardinal, Napoleon, heir to the conquests of '89, bolstered up the immensely strong frontier by the creation of the Confederation du Rhin (1806-14).

France at last seemed safe. Not only did she extend to the Rhine, but she possessed powerful outposts beyond.

We all know how completely this buttress was shattered when the Napoleonic edifice collapsed, and how futile this barrier proved against the anger of the nations when they rose to smash an unbearable tyranny.

The system of small States, quarrelsome custodians of the vital river, had utterly failed, never to be revived save in the minds of certain ill-inspired French officials, who last year disported themselves in the Palatinate and other neighboring places, seeking to stir up Separatist agitation.

After the Napoleonic era there was no question of the Rhine for many years in a France set on her feet by her old enemies, and it was not until Napoleon III, "Napoleon le Petit," as Victor Hugo called him, embarked on schemes of expansion intended primarily to coven his own fatal weakness at home, that the Rhine mirage began to delude the mind of the entourage of Bonaparte Minimus.

So the French army sallied forth, prepared for conquest, with the last button sewn on to the gaiter of the smallest drummer boy, declared Marshal Leboeuf, only to find that pipe-clay and bright equipment were no match for strategy

and training, and that buttons, however tightly sewn on to gaiters, could not insure that the legs they were attached to should step in triumph down the Sieges Allee and Unter den Linden.

Von Moltke had understood the real underlying principles of Napoleonic strategy. He had realized the possibilities of the Rhine as a *Place d'Armes*. Behind that incomparable screen the armies were mobilized, from its bridgeheads they sallied forth. Sure of their base, secure against attack during the dangerous period when a mob of civilians is being transformed into an army, their generals could elect at leisure and with deadly certainty the points at which they meant to hurl their troops, the channels along which the main bodies were to force their way, shooting forth with the irresistible force of surprise from behind the great secretive river.

The Rhine gave the initiative to the invader. The German army, sheltered behind it, could attack on any point it might select, thus reducing the French to the defensive, and in the weakness that position involved forcing them to rely on the construction of ponderous and expensive fortresses along the most probable line of an enemy's advance.

We all know how, subsequent to 1870, the Germans built strategic railways and turned the Rhineland into the greatest jumping-off place an army has ever had, and with what skill they took advantage of the favorable position they had carefully exploited.

And at the end of the World War, in 1918, when the forces of the world were at last pressing back the invader, how many people knew or dreamt of the thoughts in the minds of the Allied generals when they had to consider what action they would take if the German retreat continued and they had to face the Rhine. I am sure I am saying what any soldier will endorse, that had it been necessary to pursue Prussian militarism beyond the Rhine, that river would have proved a formidable obstacle, even to the most modern weapons, supported by victorious armies, strengthened and revived by the appearance of corps upon corps of entirely fresh American troops.

Based Upon Good-will

So the end of the war left the problem of the Rhine unsolved; it remains today, what it has always been, a formidable military obstacle with great strategic possibilities to whomsoever is master of its course. During its long history every method known to the ingenuity of man has been tried with a view to making it into an absolute and safe barrier, but experience has shown that, like the castles erected during the Middle Ages, the edifice built primarily for protection was bound to become a threat and a menace to the neighborhood. Now the Rhine has once more become, in the eyes of the Latins, what it was 2,000 years ago, the great potential barrier against Germanic invasion. The proposals set forth in this paper have for their purpose the solution of this age-old problem.

Demilitarized zones, without doing away with these difficulties, simplify them considerably. An aggressor is he who first violates the zone, and the principle of common law is absorbed into international relations. The law of the civilized world is that no matter what the provocation may be no man is entitled to avenge himself by personal violence. He must have recourse to the courts of law of his country. In the same way, if demilitarized zones become really effective, no nation, however provoked, will be entitled to violate them. It can appeal to the international tribunals that exist. The League of Nations can ultimately decide to allow a nation to have recourse to arms, but nothing would justify any nation, however righteous its cause, in violating such a zone before the decision of the League had been made known.

Demilitarized zones are likely to appeal to the public opinion of the world, since the principle is of universal application, merely requiring modification in particular cases owing to geographical or other local considerations. Indeed it may well be that demilitarized zones may prove to be in the future the solution of most frontier problems.

But the application of the principle cannot be successful unless the zones are freely accepted by the parties concerned,

as a contract entered into between themselves to avoid a conflict in the future; in other words, any such arrangement would have to be reciprocal.

Defects in the Treaty

The Treaty of Versailles in the following articles establishes a demilitarized zone for the Rhineland:

Article 42

Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometers to the east of the Rhine.

Article 43

In the area defined above the maintenance and assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military maneuvers of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

Article 44

In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of articles 42 and 43 she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the Powers signatories of the treaty, and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.

Why is it that these clauses of the treaty are not satisfactory?

In the first place, they transgress the important principle that an instrument of this kind should not be unilateral. This demilitarization is imposed upon Germany without any reciprocity whatever.

In the second place, unilateral though they are, they have absolutely failed to carry out the object for which they were designed, that is, to give France security.

The reason for this failure is that this portion of the French frontier, the most vital portion, is thus merely protected by an area which the Germans, whom the French cannot and will not trust, have undertaken to keep free of troops and fortifications; the guarantee of France's Allies does not even extend to saying that they will consider the infringement of this zone a *casus belli*, and there is no inspection of any kind stipulated for, to ascer-

tain whether or not the Germans *are* carrying out their undertakings. In other words, the French feel as if a vital means of access into the very heart of their country lies wide open, in the face of an enemy who has often made use of this very road to attack her by.

It is evident, therefore, that it is necessary to enlarge or supplement these clauses so as to remove these objections.

French fears are largely based on military considerations. A glance at the map will explain.

The Rhine from Switzerland to Strasbourg divides France and Germany; from Strasbourg to Holland it flows through purely German territory. We need not concern ourselves with the river between the Swiss frontier and Strasbourg, since there it forms the frontier between France and Germany, and further, save at Belfort, the country is most unsuitable to the movement of large bodies of troops. North of Strasbourg, however, the river assumes the greatest possible military importance.

At present, should the Germans intend a war of revenge on the French, there is no material obstacle whatsoever to prevent their seizing the Rhine. Assuming they had specifically observed the clauses of the treaty until the moment when they decided to attack, all they would have to do would be to send forth raiding parties to seize the Rhine passages. These would be followed up by troops to hold these passages, and the Rhine, with all that this implies, would be in German hands. The French would have much further to go, across hostile and difficult country, to reach the river, and would inevitably be forestalled by the Germans.

It is necessary to understand the advantages the Germans would derive if they carried out such a plan. Once the Rhine and its passages are held all troop movements, however intricate, can take place in absolute secrecy behind the screen the river affords. The enormous advantage an enemy possessing the passages of the Rhine has was proved by Germany in 1870 and 1914: they proved that possessing the great river and its passages, masters of the most intricate railway systems in the world—the Rhine railways were built in

the first instance with the objective of strategic concentration and movement of troops—they could hurl their armies at points chosen by themselves and thereby thrown their opponents on the defensive, which, as everybody knows, is the greatest advantage a commander can hope for. That is why Marshal Foch pressed so hard to be allowed to maintain a French army on the Rhine permanently, for he claimed that France could only be satisfactorily defended on the Rhine, meaning thereby that to deprive the German army of the use of that river was the best possible defense France could have. Were the Rhine from Strasbourg to the Dutch frontier to be rendered impassable to armed forces, an enormous advantage would therefore be derived by the French, for they would have between themselves and the Germans the two neutral States of Switzerland and Holland, both prepared to resist sturdily the attack of an invader, and in the area extending between those two countries, which comprises the dangerous area of the Belgian and French frontiers, a band of territory would be created protected by an international guarantee, implemented as set forth below.

Details of the Proposal

The whole Rhineland area as defined by article 42 of the treaty, would be placed under the supervision of the League of Nations, and the members of the League would undertake to go to war against any country violating this zone. This supervision would, of course, not entail any interference with German sovereignty, or with the liberty of the inhabitants of the area, and would be exercised merely for the purpose of seeing that the demilitarization was effective.

The League would appoint a permanent commission which would reside in the zone. This commission would, in the first instance, see that the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles above referred to were strictly observed.

It would be a matter for discussion whether international troops or some other representatives of the League should be appointed, but small posts of some kind would be permanently stationed at the

more important points of entry into the zone. By their presence these men would remind all and sundry that to enter the zone meant to enter into armed conflict with the League. The moral guarantee thus afforded would be very considerable, for it is one thing to penetrate an empty zone, however protected by treaty, so as to get at your enemy on their side of it, but it is quite another to enter into immediate armed conflict with the representatives of all the guaranteeing nations.

As has already been stated, an army in possession of the bridges of the Rhine would be in a most favorable position. To counteract this, to remove the temptation to seize them, small posts of engineers would be permanently posted on all the Rhine bridges, whose duty it would be to blow these bridges up without further orders upon the zone being violated. Engineers would also be posted on those bridges and tunnels leading into the zone, who would treat them in exactly the same way, and road bridges leading into the zone would be so constructed as not to be able to bear heavy tanks or heavy guns. The strategic railways of the Rhine, already referred to, built by the Germans, especially with a view to the rapid concentration of troops, would have to be specially dealt with, and it is suggested that a small expert staff should be appointed which would have as its duty to insure that the railways be not adapted to the use of an army bent on invasion. All existing plant installed by the Germans for this purpose and not necessary to the commercial use of the railways, would be destroyed.

The question of policing the zone would always be a difficult one, for recent history shows how a well-ordered police force can be rapidly transformed into a military force of the first order. So vast an area, comprising some ten millions of people, cannot remain without police. In fact, it is necessary that the police force should be particularly strong, since it is essential that it should be able to deal with all emergencies, so that no neighboring nation should have the temptation or the pretext of interfering in case of serious civil disturbance to invade the zone. It is suggested that the police force, which must be purely German, since it would otherwise be unable to deal with the German popula-

tion, should be recruited entirely from the inhabitants of the Rhineland, to remove all suspicion of Prussian interference. It might be considered whether this force should be under the supervision of the League, or even whether the higher appointments might not either be made by the Commission or at least with its sanction.

It is sometimes said that owing to modern conditions a demilitarized zone such as that suggested would be of little value, since it can be flown over. Such an objection is quite invalid, as any soldier knows. The day has not yet come when armies can be transported by air. No nation in its senses would commit so obvious an act of aggression, put itself in the wrong and give away its intentions, if such an act of aggression, be it on a small or be it on a huge scale, were not immediately followed up by an army to take advantage of the destruction and disturbance wrought by the air attack. An air attack passing over the demilitarized zone must, therefore, inevitably be followed by a violation of that zone by troops.

It goes without saying that flying over the zone would entail exactly the same penalties as transgressing its borders. It might be worth while to station a few *aéroplanes* in the zone, under the authority of the League Commission, for air police purposes. Such a provision might have considerable moral importance.

The merest outline of the scheme proposed has been given, since in a matter of this kind very considerable alterations and concessions by both sides are necessary before a final draft can be worked out, but it is claimed that on the basis of these proposals the maximum of security can be given to France. She can never hold the Rhine herself, but her reason for wanting to do so was to protect herself from attack. This protection is taken off her own shoulders and placed upon those of the members of the League of Nations. Moreover, by the means suggested above, it is made impossible for Germany to derive any advantage from an attempt to seize the Rhine for purposes of aggression.

Not a Unilateral Plan

Having dealt with the manner of rendering the zone effective from the point of

view of French security, it remains to deal with the other aspect from which the articles of the Treaty of Versailles are unsatisfactory—that is, that they are unilateral.

One of the greatest advantages claimed for these suggestions is that an opportunity is given of modifying the unilateral aspect of these clauses, which it is superfluous to say will not under any circumstances be abandoned by France. At present Germany has to submit the Rhineland to a special régime without any sort of compensation.

The proposals envisaged above would entail that Germany would be asked, in the name of world peace, to undertake obligations over and above those to which she is committed by the treaty. As there is nothing whatever to compel her to accept anything not contained in the treaty, she would naturally only agree to an arrangement giving her compensation for any extra concessions which she might consent to make.

The sort of arrangement that is suggested as fair is that if the process of transforming the clauses of the treaty so as to give France security, some extra concessions have to be asked of Germany, France should be asked as a gesture of good-will to demilitarize some of her own territory and to submit it to the same régime as that suggested for the Rhineland.

It is not possible to ask France to demilitarize a corresponding area to the Rhineland (*i. e.*, Alsace-Lorraine) for military reasons, for this would entail her having to destroy what is practically her one line of defense, the line of Strasbourg-Metz, which cannot be used for purposes of aggression. The only alternative defensive line of Toul-Verdun, now dismantled, would if the line Strasbourg-Metz were demilitarized have to be re-erected at vast expense, and if once broken through by an invading army leaves the plains of Champagne and therefore Paris open to an invader. But France might well be asked to demilitarize the Department of the Haut Rhin and a band of territory ten kilometers wide on the French side of the frontier, and to place this area under the supervision of the same Commission of the League of Nations as would

have the Rhineland in charge, and this might be accepted by Germany as an equivalent for the extra sacrifice demanded of her. It is, after all, very much to her advantage that France should feel secure, and there is nothing humiliating to her national pride in the proposals outlined.

It is obvious that the area which it is suggested that France should demilitarize is less extensive than the area demilitarized by Germany, but it must always be remembered that if no change takes place, Germany is bound by her undertakings under the Treaty of Versailles to keep demilitarized an area as large as Belgium, and that she has agreed to this.

It is most curious to note that a very similar proposal to this was put forward by the great French statesman Guizot in a letter which he wrote to Mr. Gladstone which was published in the *Times* newspaper of January 26, 1871.

He writes:

"Why should not the two great States (France and Prussia) establish a military neutrality between certain portions of their respective territories; that is, prohibit fortresses, arsenals, and military stores throughout a certain district in which they made no political change whatever? For example, why should not the two banks of the Rhine cease to be a standing menace to France and Prussia, and cease throughout a given length and breadth to bristle with fortresses and cannons. There can be no doubt that such a stipulation, if it is to be really just and valuable, must be reciprocal. . . . Nothing could give a more certain proof that both France and Prussia are anxious to secure a real and lasting peace. . . . We must not delude ourselves with the hope of making war impossible; we must be content to try to make it difficult and obviously wrong. When we do so we shall have attained the maximum of human power and wisdom in this direction."

What makes this suggestion particularly interesting is Guizot's insistence on the importance of reciprocity. You will note how very reasonable he is, but then Paris was being besieged at the time, a situation which makes for reasonableness.

This suggestion affords a valuable precedent. If France, invaded, beaten, almost

begging for mercy, could still suggest to Prussia a reciprocal arrangement, and ask her, the victor, to consent to demilitarizing some of her own territory, for the sake of permanent peace, then surely it is not too much today, and for the same reasons, to ask of France, as Guizot asked of Prussia, to demilitarize some of her own territory, and this only an area far less important than that suggested to Prussia in this communication to Mr. Gladstone.

Previous Examples of Demilitarized Zones

This plan for demilitarization is no new idea. Demilitarized zones have been established in the past. For example:

In 1816 a treaty was negotiated between Great Britain and the United States, limiting naval armaments on the Great Lakes, which treaty is still in force between the United States and Canada.

In 1894 a demilitarized zone was established between the frontiers of Burma and Tibet, extending to ten miles on each side of the frontier.

In 1905, by treaty between Norway and Sweden, their common frontier was demilitarized, all fortifications save those possessing historic interest being destroyed.

In 1905, also, a proposal was put forward for the demilitarization of the Alps by France and Italy. In consequence, the French Parliament reduced their military budget by 100,000 francs, and the Italians followed suit.

The Pacific Agreement between the United States and Japan establishes a kind of neutral belt of islands between these two countries, thus withdrawing the armed frontier so as to reduce to a minimum the possibility of friction.

The Aland Islands were very successfully demilitarized by the League of Nations in 1921.

The Treaty of Lausanne, 1923, establishes demilitarized zones along the littoral of the Straits, and between Turkey, Bulgaria, and Greece.

Concluding Remark

We trust that enough has been said to prove to any fair-minded person that the scheme above outlined is worthy of careful consideration.

As has been said, before it could be adopted in its final form a very great deal of discussion would, of course, be necessary, and objections put forward on both sides would have to be met and compensation offered wherever necessary.

But as the idea contains principles which can give nations security, that essential forerunner of disarmament, and as its basis is fair-play and equal sacrifice for equal privilege, it is a plan which can properly commend itself to free people who have faith that if blundering, faltering mankind be given a chance to develop in peace it is possible to hope that in time war will become a thing of the past.

Moreover, arrangements such as the one suggested have another enormous advantage from the point of view of our great democracies: they always see things simply, and want simple issues to judge upon; the man in the street in Berlin or Paris or Chicago can perfectly well understand that a band of territory has been set apart between two nations, and that it is against the law of humanity for any one to transgress it with armed force. The peoples can realize the advantage of this, and they will also appreciate that the greater the number of nations subscribing to this arrangement, deciding to underwrite these security bonds, the greater chance will there be of the zones never being violated. In fact, to guarantee zones such as this is probably the cheapest form of premium that can be paid for peace.

War has always been one of the worst inflictions of humanity, worse than the worst form of epidemics known to mankind, since the human race is irretrievably weakened thereby, the best and strongest being sacrificed. War has assumed such formidable proportions that it may well be doubted whether civilization, which rocked at its base during the last conflict, might well sink into chaos had it to face such an ordeal again.

It is, therefore, the duty of all to consider earnestly what can be done to save humanity from the abyss of despair into which new wars might fling it, and to work so that our children, and our children's children shall in peace and security be able to co-operate with every human being the world over for the improvement of mankind.

IS DISARMAMENT POSSIBLE*

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

AN ever-widening stream of words continues to flow over this question. Listening, one gathers an impression of confusion, of wonder that so many words can leave the inquiry unanswered.

An Old Question

Many of the attempts to reply to this question have been noble and inspiring. Such men as Immanuel Kant and Jeremy Bentham assumed that disarmament is possible.

On the twelfth of August, 1898, Count Mouravieff, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, handed to the diplomatic representatives at Saint Petersburg a prophetic, and now an historic, letter, in which he said: "In checking these increasing armaments and in seeking the means of averting the calamities which threaten the entire world lies the supreme duty today resting upon all States." It was this circular note, familiarly known as the Czar's Rescript, out of which grew the first peace conference at The Hague in 1899.

January 8, 1918, President Wilson gave to a joint session of the Congress his conception of "the only possible program" for the peace of the world. Item number 4 of those fourteen points called for "adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety." Article 8 of the covenant of the League of Nations recognizes that the maintenance of peace requires the same thing. Article 23 of the same covenant provides that members of the League agree to entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition. Delegates from many States are trying to carry out this provision at a meeting in Geneva at this very moment. Under Article 8, the members of the League agree that the manufacture, by private enterprise, of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objection. As an eyewitness of the plenary

sessions of the Paris Conference, I gathered the clear impression that this last was the one principle upon which all of the delegates agreed with some show of enthusiasm.

The Washington Conference of 1921 was called "to relieve humanity of the crushing burden created by competition in armaments."

It was my lot to witness the energy and devotion put into the "Protocol" at Geneva last fall. The object of this protocol was to facilitate the reduction and limitation of armaments. The three watch-words of the document were security, arbitration, and the reduction of armaments.

It must be granted that Miltonic labors and intent studies have been put into the attempts to answer the question, Is disarmament possible?

Yet Armaments Increase

And yet the building of armaments goes on apace. This is true of all the larger powers and of nearly all of the smaller. The increase of cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and of lethal gases is a fact of common knowledge. There are on the way in Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy—all parties to the Washington Conference—42 cruisers, 121 destroyers, and 126 submarines. Since the armistice the total has been 345. Formerly our gunmakers were trying to produce guns to pierce any armor; at the same time the makers of armor were trying to produce a covering for ships that would be proof against any projectile. Now the competition is between the designers and the diplomats, the designers laboring to increase navy efficiency under the terms of a treaty set up by the diplomats—a treaty calculated to decrease the navy. Every effort to be ready for a maximum danger on the sea, on the land, or in the air continues with the same old feverish anxiety.

So our question, Is disarmament possible? remains unanswered. And naturally one wonders why.

*An address delivered before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, May 15, 1925.

Reasons for Our Confusion

One of the reasons undoubtedly is a certain lack of precision in the use of words as we talk about the problem—a weakness, it must be confessed, that sometimes affects discussion.

Just what does the question mean? It may be interpreted to mean, Can the United States of America disarm and set an example to the rest of the world? If the question means that, most of us would unhesitatingly say, No. Indeed, such a question is of interest only to the mystic or the dialectician. It can be of no importance in serious discussion, for it is of no interest to persons responsible for our foreign policies. Confirmed pleader for an international peace with justice that I am, I cannot conceive that our United States of America could now do away with her army or her navy with safety to herself, or, for that matter, with any advantage to the cause of a desirable international peace. Evil men do break through and steal and murder. In practical life we have reduced stealing and murdering by education and by religion; but also, it must be admitted, by something of a display of organized force. We of the United States are not less powerful in world affairs because of our physical strength. Defenselessness, as such, prevents no wars. It once meant, rather, the burning of our National Capitol.

The cause of international peace is not jeopardized by our national defense act of 1920. By the terms of this act we are provided with a small regular army, easily enlarged; with a national guard; with an Officers' Reserve Corps; and with plans, more or less scientific, for a rapid mobilization of all our national resources in case of need. There is a strong movement to buttress all this with a universal draft act, under the terms of which every available source of power could be enlisted forthwith on a proportional basis of effectiveness and fair play. At this stage of international development—little better than a condition of international anarchy—I am heartily in favor of these things for my country. For the United States of America to disarm at this time might easily mean the destruction of this nation. The overthrow of our United States would be of no benefit to the world

at large. My personal belief is that such a misfortune would be the most serious calamity that could happen to any prospect for a permanent international peace.

Many of the attempts to prove that disarmament must be possible seem to break down because of a certain lack of respect for the laws of logic. Inexact use of words in a premise leads inevitably to a false conclusion. For example, it is said that armaments cause wars; that this nation is armed; and that, therefore, this nation is a cause of war. Of course, an armed nation provokes war only when it decides to become an aggressor. Furthermore, it does not appear just what is meant by armaments. A nation with a large fleet and no army may be said to be armed, but it is not a menace to other nations for the reason that a fleet without an army is practically powerless away from home. Since the Dutch wars of the 17th century, Britain has had no success in war save with the use of an army. In the main, it must be granted that an armed nation becomes a menace only when its armament finds expression both in an army and in a navy larger than those possessed by some potential victim. Furthermore, armament is not limited to guns and navies. Every expression of the nation's life is now an essential part of the nation's military strength—fats, leads, factories, pulpits, knitting needles, binoculars, theaters, not to mention such lesser matters as money, old rags, empty bottles, and editors. In any event, the premise of the syllogism is inexact, and the conclusion is therefore fallacious. Belgian armaments were not the cause of Germany's rape of Liège in 1914.

We are told that the Esquimaux are not prepared for war, and that therefore they have no wars. It should be added, of course, that they have nothing else to speak of, save a steady climate. In any event, nothing in logic makes it desirable for us to pattern after our friends of the north.

It has been pointed out that there was a great peace-loving people, centuries ago, on the stretches of what is now Russia, for upon opening up the mounds in various sections of that territory no war implements have been found. Out of respect to history, however, it must be confessed

that that great peace-loving race has itself disappeared. Nothing in reason seems to indicate, therefore, that we should follow that example.

It is argued that we should trust to moral forces—say, to the school teacher—rather than to the machine-gun for our defense. That is all right, so long as no aggressive enemy has muskets trained on some of our vital parts.

It is argued that no man is safe in Philadelphia, for example, who carries a pistol and a bowie knife; and that, by the same token, no nation is safe with armies and fighting ships. There is only a measure of truth in the premise, for there are sections of the world where one is not safe without some weapon of defense.

When people say, "Let us disarm and shame the world into disarmament," we may recall that we have reduced our army on various occasions. We have never noted that any one else was inspired to follow our example. Our army of less than 100,000 in 1914 did not seem to shame any one in Europe, at least noticeably. Britain's pacific gestures of reducing armaments since the war have been followed by increases of foreign armaments, her ratio to the four other naval powers standing at 11 to 334. For nearly a generation it was a cardinal principle of German tactics to bank on the weakness of Belgium.

"Blessed are the meek." Yes, especially if the meekness works. Meekness is of little help to the lone sheep when the unfettered wolf is hungry. France, unarmed in 1914, probably would not have lost so many boys; but quite as probably she would have lost something far dearer. Death of the body is not the worst thing that can happen to a man or to a nation.

We are told that swashbucklers invite attack. This is quite true, after they have launched or threatened an offensive.

When we are reminded that over-preparation for war is an incentive to war, we have to admit it, especially when the preparedness is nervous and indefinite. But it is also true that under-preparation for war is sometimes an invitation to war.

"The way to prevent war is not to fight," said a distinguished Bishop of a Christian church. That seems reasonable. So far as we now are permitted to know, however, that is what a certain lady might have unprofitably suggested to the tiger.

When men like Mr. Novicow, for example, urge that all the nations should disarm completely, they surely do not mean to destroy arms necessary for the preservation of domestic peace. But since arms necessary for domestic peace must differ in amount because of the differences in size of the various nations, such a plan, if adopted, would leave the governments still with unequal strength, and therefore with the same relative differences and fears as now. This, unfortunately, seems to be in a measure the fact following the Washington Conference.

Others urge that we disarm by agreement. Yes, but there would remain the possibility of crookedness and evasion, as in the case of Prussia between the years 1807 and 1813. The Arms Conference at Washington in 1921 was most serviceable; it reduced expenses. But to attempt disarmament by agreement is to begin at the end of the problem and to work backward.

There seems to be an abiding hope that we may yet find a way out by some joint resolution of the Congress; but we have had a number of such resolutions, all without avail. On the twenty-fifth of June, 1910, after a discussion lasting many months, our Congress passed a joint resolution for the creation of a commission to study, in co-operation with other governments, the best ways to reduce armaments. The commission was never appointed, in spite of the fact that the resolution provided a liberal salary for each of the three members. On the eighth of December, 1913, our Congress passed, all but unanimously—the vote was 317 to 11—a law stating that the United States was willing and ready to co-operate with other governments to secure for one year a suspension of the naval construction program, following the suggestion of the First Lord of the Admiralty of Great Britain, the Right Hon. Winston Churchill. Nothing was done. There have been many attempts with a similar purpose.

When people tell us that armaments beget war, we are led to remind ourselves that armaments beget nothing. It is the human will behind armaments that matters. At Paris in 1919 the victorious Allied and Associated Powers disarmed Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria by

fiat. And yet fears of these disarmed powers have led France and the Little Entente to build up a military machine of proportions unheard of heretofore in times of peace. Three billion dollars is a fair estimate of the world's bill for armaments in 1924. It isn't that Britain is going to have a naval base at Singapore that disturbs Japan; the disquieting factor, rather, is a natural curiosity to know what England purposes to do with such a base. It is the fear, not of armaments, but of a will to conquest, that is eating at the vitals of Europe and of the Far East.

Importance of Security

Too many of the discussions of this whole matter leave out the one vital consideration, namely, that there can be no disarmament of any importance to the cause of international peace until the problem of security is solved. And the problem of security, called by Mr. Chamberlain "of immense, of overwhelming importance," is evidently not to be solved permanently by setting up force to combat force. Such schemes are not only impermanent; they head invariably into danger. This is particularly true where the complicated interests of the Allied and Associated Powers, of their former enemies, of Russia, and of the neutrals in the late war are all involved. Competitive armaments cause wars only indirectly. True, the sight of a lot of explosives lying around doesn't always promote a feeling of security; but the significant fact in the situation is that competitive armaments are the result rather than the cause of competitive policies. This is illustrated by the case of Germany against Great Britain for the control of the seas, of the Entente against the Alliance; of group against group, for the continuing of the *status quo*, for the building of a Bagdad railroad, or for the erecting of a new fence a little farther over on a neighbor's piece of ground.

There is a difference between the foreign policies of the Old and of the New World. In the Old World it is difficult for men to conceive of any international organization for the promotion of peace except it be based upon the theory of coercion. True, the Old World diplomat

is trained in the conduct of foreign affairs. He is a fine type of developed intelligence and efficient action. But he has trouble understanding policies other than those of secret diplomacy, military alliances, balances of power, or leagues to enforce peace. These are his habits of thought. In such an atmosphere efforts toward disarmament make little headway.

I have studied the causes of war for some twenty years. Once I attempted to tabulate these causes. There were 133 of them, and that was only a beginning. But, I am ashamed to confess it, I do not know the cause of war. I only feel certain of this: when nations go to war, it is usually because they see no other way to achieve their ends. Therefore the only hope for any disarmament, of more than merely financial importance, is to reveal to the people and to their diplomats that their legitimate aims can be attained better by resorting to means other than war. But what are those other means?

Security by Means Other Than War

In the city of Philadelphia no apology is necessary for calling attention to the fact that the Federal Convention of 1787 was an international conference adequate to its purpose. If one studies that Convention, one must inevitably conclude that any international organization relying upon the coercion of recalcitrant States by force of arms is not a peace organization, but a war organization. When it was proposed in that Convention to set up a government with power to coerce States by force of arms, the proposal was thoroughly discussed and as thoroughly repudiated.

Mr. James Madison observed that a union of States "based upon military coercion seemed to provide for its own destruction." He later called attention to the fact that "The practicability of making laws with coercive sanctions, for the States as political bodies, had been exploded on all hands." Mr. Alexander Hamilton pointed out that force could not be exerted on a State except in terms of war. He called the proposal "idle and visionary * * * one of the maddest projects that was ever devised * * * the thing is a dream, it is impossible."

Mr. Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, saw that there are two ways of coercing a State: one by the coercion of arms, the other by the coercion of law. This was the view adopted by the Convention.

This means that there are but two ways to organize States—one for war, and the other for peace. And these are two different kinds of organization. We have forty-eight free, sovereign, independent States in the United States, organized for their mutual interests, without any thought of coercion except the coercion of law. This is America's contribution to the foreign policies of States. If there is to be any disarmament of the nations of importance to the peace of the world, it must follow, not precede, the adoption by all of the nations of such a policy.

Justice First—Then Reduction of Armaments

Enlightened public opinion and modern civilization alike demand that differences between nations should be settled as disputes between individuals are adjudicated, namely, by the arbitrament of courts, in accordance with the recognized principles of law.

When the advisory committee of jurists met at The Hague in 1920 to "formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice," they recommended that a new conference of the nations in continuation of the first two conferences at The Hague be held as soon as practicable, for the following purposes:

1. To restate the established rules of international law, especially, and in the first instance, in the fields affected by the events of the recent war.

2. To formulate and agree upon the amendments and additions, if any, to the rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful by the events of the war and the changes in the conditions of international life and intercourse which have followed the war.

3. To endeavor to reconcile divergent views and secure general agreement upon the rules which have been in dispute heretofore.

4. To consider the subjects not now adequately regulated by international law, but

as to which the interests of international justice require that rules of law shall be declared and accepted.

There are various ways, in time of dispute, for the maintenance of peace between States. There are the diplomatic and consular agents working continuously at the business. There are the methods known as good offices and mediation of one or more friendly nations. There is the method of investigation by a commission, known as a commission of inquiry. There is the council of conciliation, the friendly compositor; and there is arbitration. These are available at any time, under the existing practice of nations. And yet, while the handmaidens of peace are law and justice, the development of international law, unfortunately, lags. The recommendation of the distinguished committee of jurists should be approved and put into effect at the earliest possible moment.

There is no disarmament possible except first there be a disarmament of desire. There can be no promising disarmament of desire by compulsion of arms. There is no way out of the vicious circle of armament competition except along some new path that does not bristle with bayonets. That new course, adopted by our fathers in 1787, but seemingly difficult for other nations to understand, is to open the way for the processes of law, backed by the sanction of the public will, and thus to assure the security of nations by convincing them that their interests can best be advanced not by arms, but by the determinations of justice.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

By EDWIN MARKHAM

Fling forth the triple-colored flag to dare
The bright untraveled highways of the air.
Blow the undaunted bugles, blow, and yet
Let not the boast betray us to forget.

Lo, there are high adventures for this hour,
Toursneys to test the sinews of our power;
For we must parry, as the years increase,
The hazards of success, the risks of peace!

ONE WAY TO KEEP OUT OF FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS

By JACKSON H. RALSTON

IN OUR present half emergence from the savage state, we worship force as our God. Our hearts swell with emotion when we view our great naval vessels, capable of overpowering those of the rest of the world. We rejoice over our nation's size, with its attendant power to compel others to do our bidding. We felicitate ourselves upon the fact that we are part of such a magnificent ensemble; and we love, at a safe distance, to exercise such force to establish our will.

Sometimes we lament that our government is supine in protecting our members who journey abroad. We say: Look at England, ready now, as in former years, to enter into a war because a man's ear has been severed. Should not we, as Americans, receive the protection—or the revenge—England gives her subjects? Why should an American be subject to attack and the Englishman, panoplied in his country's might, go scatheless?

Yet, by and large, it cannot be proved that an Englishman is safer in the rougher or less orderly parts of the world than an American. Perhaps England has only capitalized offenses or supposed offenses against her subjects as excuses for gratifying the avidity of her ruling classes for land, something of which to this time we have had plenty. Perhaps there is a present danger that, with growing pressure from commercial adventurers, we may tread in her imperial footsteps.

A Nation's Lawlessness Abroad

Which is the righteous or, if you do not like that word, the best course to pursue, the pacific or the pugnacious? It is time we strove to strike a balance between these opposing methods of advancing national greatness. With all apologies to the nationalistic attitude of our country at the present moment, I suggest that when a nation takes into its own hands vengeance or punishment against foreign nations, no matter how feeble or even disorderly, it exceeds the purposes for which

governments are formed and commits a wrong, weakening itself in the long run and always injuring the common citizen.

Governments have long since ceased to be tribal; they are territorial conceptions. They are sovereign within their respective limits. The instant another government invades those limits to prescribe what shall there happen to those within them, the actions of the local rulers are no longer their own, but the erstwhile national authority is circumscribed by the superior power of another. The theoretical equality of independent States before international law is infringed. Sovereignty on the part of the dictating State becomes a right in some degree to control another, and the sovereignty of the latter becomes subjection. This is what would have happened to Serbia had she accepted the conditions of the Austrian ultimatum, and in some degree took place in the several instances we have to cite later. But if we accept the hypothesis of supreme government over given territorial limits, and attach to it control over the indwelling inhabitants, we cannot agree to the extraterritorial projection of sovereignty on the part of another government. We must on its face regard it as unrighteous and unjust, and, bowing to pure materialism, impracticable.

National Righteousness

I understand what a slender hold the word righteous has on the affairs of nations. The fundamental question is, Will it be prosperous and efficacious in the long run? If it pays us, then will we resort to the force over the possession of which we rejoice? Let us look at some examples. In every case it is true the nation exercising abroad its sovereign powers at the expense of another was in the wrong, but we apologize for referring to this incidental but unavoidable fact.

In 1847, England was appealed to by Don Pacifico, who was born in Gibraltar, and on slender evidence assumed to be a

British subject, because in a riot in Athens his house was invaded and, as he alleged, valuables destroyed. Upon this England formulated a demand for some 20,000 pounds sterling. Greece contested the demand, and without hesitation Great Britain, relying upon superior naval force, blockaded Greece, to the hypocritical horror of other great powers. The upshot was that, after large expenditure of money, a commission was formed, an investigation had, and, out of tender consideration for the larger power, a finding awarded some 150 pounds for the doubtful destruction of doubtful papers. To the debit side was to be placed the loss of prestige accompanying the commission of an unworthy act, direct pecuniary loss, and, we hesitate to add, conviction of an act of moral wrong.

In 1861, a British war vessel being in Brazilian waters, several officers went on shore, not in uniform, and, on convivial purposes intent, found themselves in a Brazilian jail as the result of their exuberance. They were released the next morning. The result was the blockade of the Brazilian coast, the severing of diplomatic relations, and a long period of loss to both countries. On the other side of the balance-sheet was nothing save the satisfaction coming from the exercise of superior force.

Let us pass from the sole act of England to that of several nations. In the fall of 1902 England, Germany, and later Italy, joined in a blockade, euphemistically styled "pacific," of the Venezuelan ports to enforce payment of moneys alleged to be due for wrongs committed against their respective subjects, or to secure arbitration for them. The latter end, of itself, was undeniably laudable, however bad the means taken to obtain it. After inflicting much suffering upon an innocent population and after the slaying of a number of Venezuelan citizens, arbitration was agreed to; but not until Germany was paid in cash on a certain category of claims to the extent fixed by Germany. That money was extorted to which Germany was not entitled was evident from the fact that claims similar in nature were allowed to the extent of only 25 per cent by the commission later established having jurisdiction over the yet unpaid

claims. Several hundreds of thousands of dollars were, therefore, extracted unjustly from Venezuela by the sheer use of brutal force—a procedure which, if indulged in by private individuals, would be called robbery.

But it may be said these were not the doings of our country, whose skirts are clear of such acts. Let us see:

In 1853 an American company, represented by an arrogant, ill-tempered American, fell into difficulties with Paraguay. This was made the foundation for a claim for a million dollars. Congress became interested in the struggle, and President Buchanan was authorized to go to any length to secure the payment of the money. War vessels were dispatched to South America. Finally a commission was appointed to investigate the merits of the difficulty, and Cave Johnson, an American of distinction, reported in 1861 that the whole demand was without the slightest foundation. We were on the verge of war over a baseless claim.

Yet another instance: In 1854 an American company had trouble with those assuming authority at the port of Greytown, on the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua. After bickerings, threats, and visits from American warships, an American man-of-war, after forty-eight hours' notice, bombarded the town. Killing many persons and destroying much property, it completed the undertaking by sending men on shore to fire what remained of the town. England and France thereafter made claims against us for damages to their nationals, but this country refused to satisfy them. Our general international relations were scarcely helped by this incident, while for years Nicaragua refused to arbitrate real claims of American citizens against it unless the United States would recognize its wrong and arbitrate its conduct in this instance. Scores of our nationals were, therefore, hurt in their business relations in Nicaragua by our imperious actions.

You say these instances are old. Let us be more modern. The country knows little of the occurrences of late years in Haiti and Santo Domingo in which this country has taken part. To make these countries submissive to our will have

kept there several thousand marines for years, though not a single American on legitimate business or pleasure had been injured in person or property, so far as one can learn. We have killed several thousand of the natives with no more loss to ourselves than might have been involved in a wholesale battue of wild animals in India. We have expended certainly forty to fifty millions of dollars. Had we been interested in the real civilization of the island, we might more economically have put through high schools all the population capable of so much learning. We have assured ourselves, apparently, of the hatred of the islanders and the suspicion and distrust of South and Central Americans more familiar with the facts than we have allowed ourselves to become.

In all the cases I have enumerated, and I have given these as illustrative of some resorts to force rather than as being in any sense a complete list, there has been run the risk of potential war, and all at least have meant national hatreds. In each case, the stronger nation has assumed to be the judge of the righteousness of its own cause. So acting, it has infringed the territorial rights, integrity, and sovereignty of another nation, invariably weaker than itself. Such a thing as courtesy or consideration for the weaker brother in the family of nations has been unknown.

After all, the stronger lawless nation has got itself, and often its nationals, into trouble in greater or less degree. England discredited herself in the Pacifico and Brazilian incidents. Innocent men were slain and money wrongfully extracted in the Venezulan blockade. The United States was disgraced in the Greytown affair and its relations with foreign countries endangered in several directions. It went to large expense and to the verge of war in the Paraguay difficulty. It has won a rich harvest of hate and expense by its Caribbean experiment. If statesmen were thoughtful enough, they would have learned that national sovereignty begins and ends at home. If the people were imaginative and sufficiently idealistic, they would know that force and threats of force, whether between man and man or between nation and nation, psychologically

mean exactly the same thing and carry in their wake parallel revenges.

Perhaps some day people will awaken from their delusions of power and delusions arising from the wrongful association of ideas.

American Interests or the Interests of America?

We have dressed up the interests of a small group of Americans till they have been made to look like the interests of America. The words resemble each other, but the realities are different. We have followed over foreign boundary lines a delusive course to vindicate, as we have thought, American interests—not the interests of America—and prided ourselves upon our ability to do this by force. To protect, as we attempted, the investments of a handful, we have sacrificed the lives of Americans and foreigners and taken from the earnings of our many taxpayers. We have committed a certain wrong at home in our pursuit of doubtful good abroad. We have trespassed upon the territorial sovereignty of other nations, while denying the right to a return of such visits on their part. We have displayed anarchy internationally when we had the power to back us—that is against a weaker power—and holily held out our hands in protest, as it were, against, by way of illustration, Russian repudiation of debts created for the benefit of a deposed Czaristic government. We have preferred our own brand of international anarchy. We have now before us the job of cleaning our government house of imperialistic tendencies which, for the moment largely unchallenged, grow stronger.

There is a clean, straight line to be followed in the interest of the people. Our right of national dictation does not extend beyond our water's edge. Our foreign adventurers go abroad at their own business risk. If they venture themselves in a country of little or irregular law, they take chances exactly as they do in traveling over foreign rocky roads. Our government would not, in the latter case, repair a broken axle or a broken limb, and has no more right or justification in leaving its boundaries to correct the law or lawlessness of another jurisdic-

tion, and our citizen no greater right to require relief in one case than in the other.

All this is not to deny the appropriateness of the use of peaceful governmental agencies to bring about the determination of a question of disputed rights or wrongs through arbitration or other judicial method. It is to deny the use of power to correct a supposed trespass against American citizens abroad—in other words, to our acting as judges in our own lawsuit.

It may not be argued that while, as against lands of settled government—for instance, England or France—we should rely on the justice of their institutions, and that against despotic governments, as virtually are many of those of South and Central America, we should act for our citizens by the exercise of force. Such a theory involves determination by ourselves of the character of another government, and this on a doubtful point—its capacity and disposition to render justice, in itself an irritating thing, the judgment by ourselves of the righteousness of our

own cause. It passes over, as of no moment, the fact that our citizens may have voluntarily placed themselves in a land which we nationally consider inferior to us in civilization; that, with the prospective backing of our government to compensate their ill fortune, they may have been the authors of their own misfortunes; that they ask for the possible sacrifice of the lives of fellow-Americans as well as of nationals of the government under which they have elected to live; that national economy and international good feeling forbid such course.

Does democracy demand the expenditure of American lives and of common public funds to defend or assuage losses on the part of our citizens who voluntarily trust themselves to the mercy of a foreign government or people? As plain American citizens, have we undertaken this risk for those who have chosen to live abroad? If we are adverse to "foreign entanglements," why permit any irresponsible American to involve us in them?

A CENTURY OF UNITARIAN SERVICE FOR PEACE

By EDWIN D. MEAD

IT IS a strange and anomalous thing that Christianity, heralded at the beginning as the coming of a new era of peace and good will on earth, should have waited until the year 1815 of the era for the first organization of the peace movement in the church. That was the year of the Battle of Waterloo, which ended the twenty years' period of the Napoleonic wars in Europe, and of the Battle of New Orleans here, fought after the treaty of peace, which there was no cable to announce. That needless battle made Andrew Jackson President of the United States; as the Battle of Tippecanoe made William Henry Harrison President, the Mexican War made Zachary Taylor and Franklin Pierce Presidents, and the Civil War made General Grant President. We surely cannot throw stones at Germany for making president her hero of the late war.

Waterloo was fought in June, and before the year was over the first two peace

societies in the world had been founded, both of them in America and both of them in churches. I do not forget the uncompromising testimony and often martyrdom of the Quakers from the beginning, nor the fact that William Penn, the Quaker founder of one of our great commonwealths, had published his "Plan for the Peace of Europe" in England in 1693. The most influential of the two American peace societies was organized in Channing's study, Boston, in Christmas week of 1815; ten years later, also at the Federal Street Church, was organized the American Unitarian Association, whose centennial is commemorated this year. The New York Peace Society was founded four months earlier, by David Low Dodge, of the Presbyterian Church. "War Inconsistent with the Religion of Christ" was the title of Dodge's preliminary little book. That, too, was the message of Channing and of Noah Worcester, who largely gave Channing his impulse and

was the joint founder of the Massachusetts Society; and that is the message which is sounding again, with new and mighty power, through the churches of Christendom.

The commanding influence of Channing went far toward making the Massachusetts Society at once large and powerful, enlisting the best minds in Boston and in Harvard College, and developing soon into the American Peace Society, which continues its work today. Almost immediately upon its founding, Thomas Jefferson became an honorary member; and his letters to Noah Worcester, especially his treatment of war as the duels of nations and his prophecy that they would run the same course and come to the same end as duelling among gentlemen, are among the most significant papers in the first volume of the Society's journal. Jefferson was at once a prophet of peace and a prophet of Unitarianism. He regarded the writings of Channing more highly than any other religious writings of his time, and expressed the belief in his later years that all thoughtful young men would become Unitarians within a generation.

Abraham Lincoln rightly pronounced Jefferson the greatest political thinker our country had ever had or was likely to have. He was the pre-eminent anti-slavery man among the founders of the Republic and furnished Lincoln himself with his program and his argument. He was also the pre-eminent international man. The three supreme men among the founders—Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson—were all haters of war and inspired by the vision that their new nation would help bring in a new era of international friendship. "My first wish," said Washington, "is to see war banished from the earth." "There never was," said Franklin, "a good war nor a bad peace." But it was Jefferson, the disciple of Channing, who went beyond all other statesmen of his time in embracing the whole world in his political vision. "The world's ruling interests should become universal; questions of boundary should become insignificant; and armies and navies be reduced to the work of police."

In that early period of the peace movement, in which Channing was so great a

pioneer, John Quincy Adams was a mighty voice; and so was Josiah Quincy. It was an eloquent address by Josiah Quincy before the Peace Society, in the Old South Meeting House, that made so deep and lasting impression upon the boy Charles Sumner, when he was nine years old, that he consecrated his life to the gospel of peace. He began his public life with his famous Fourth of July oration in Tremont Temple in 1845, on "The True Grandeur of Nations"; and to the end of his life his devotion to the cause of peace was as great as to that of anti-slavery. These illustrious peace prophets are among the brightest lights in Unitarian history.

Emerson's lecture on war, in 1838, was in a course before the American Peace Society, and was significant for the application of the doctrine of evolution to the subject. War had its place in the early stages of development, but belongs to the juvenile stage in human history, and has no proper place now. Theodore Parker's denunciation of war in general were not more powerful than his arraignment of the Mexican War in particular. Julia Ward Howe, always one of James Freeman Clarke's strong arms, was nerved to her work of organizing women's clubs, after her peace crusade among the women of England following the Franco-Prussian War, by the thought that they could be made a strong new factor for world peace.

Our great galaxy of New England poets—Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Bryant, the Quaker Whittier essentially one of them—were all poets of peace and all Unitarians. Andrew D. White and Joseph H. Choate, the heads of our American Delegations at the two Hague Conferences, were both Unitarians. So were Andrew Carnegie and Edwin Ginn, the founders of our two great peace endowments. So is Charles H. Levermore, the recent winner of the Bok Peace Prize.

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, William C. Gannett, Frederick L. Hosmer, Charles W. Wendte, and others who forty years ago made "Western Unitarianism" a distinctive and prophetic term, were all great preachers of peace. Mr. Wendte, with his

International Religious Congresses, has been an institution. The work of J. T. Sunderland and Clay Macauley in promoting good understanding and good will between America and Asia has been of words and work of Charles F. Dole, Samuel M. Crothers, Edward Cummings, Paul R. Frothingham, and John Haynes Holmes in these eventful years have been conspicuous illustrations of the spirit that has informed many Unitarian pulpits, and the president of the Association has laid greater emphasis upon no cause than upon this. Our two great Unitarian laymen, President Eliot and Chief Justice Taft, have added no greater luster to their later lives than through their untiring service for international friendship and reason.

Above all men in the pulpit since Channing, in his service for international peace and justice, stands Edward Everett Hale. From 1889, when he gave his great centennial sermon in Washington, urging America to lead the nations to a new era of international law and order, to 1895, when at the Mohank Conferences he began his untiring crusade for a Permanent International Tribunal, to 1899, when, going up and down the country, he did more than any other—more than almost all others—to rouse our people to the significance and opportunities of the approaching first Hague Conference, and in his persistent opposition to the navy craze and all reliance on big armaments or anything but just world organization for security and the advancement of our true interests, up to the hour of his death, in 1909, his life is an immortal international sermon. Every government, he said, should have its Secretary of Peace, and every church should have its Committee on International Justice.

He believed that the United States, by every imperative of her history and great traditions, by the inspiration of her founders and prophets, by the very appeal of her own Federal Constitution, would lead the nations to world federation, the parliament of man, and the international court. Incredible to him would it have been that she should be the laggard instead of the leader at Geneva and The Hague, and that in the very week of the Unitarian

Centennial the defense of this default and impotence should be featured in his Boston.

In the refutation of the charge that the League of Nations has been a failure, Manley O. Hudson, Paul R. Frothingham, and Edward A. Filene need no help from me in this time and place. There has never in human history been a work in political organization comparable with it in scope and significance accomplished with such rapidity, effectiveness, beneficence, and general approval. As concerns the World Court, whatever nation may have ground for jealousy, we certainly have none. The most influential member of the commission which framed its constitution was Elihu Root, our greatest American international man; and on its bench sits our great jurist, John Bassett Moore, elected, to our shame be it said, by other votes than ours.

I am of those who highly honor Senator Borah; he is the one interesting man in the Senate; and his devotion to the peace cause has been proved so well that no one questions it. But his misinterpretations, as they seem to many of us, of provisions of the Covenant of the League and the charter of the court are such as it is hard to excuse or to understand. I am glad to believe that in this matter Senator Borah does not represent the best sentiment of his own party. I am not a Republican, but I praise President Coolidge for his steady demand for our adhesion to the World Court, as the only practical plan. I praise Mr. Root, Mr. Taft, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Hoover, Mr. Wickersham, Mr. Lowell and their associates in the group of Republican leaders who five years ago united in a demand for our adhesion to the League of Nations. I do not believe that any of them have changed their minds; and when that adhesion comes, as come it will, for the World League and the World Court have come to stay, America will remember with pride and gratitude, what the rest of the world never forgets, that the founder of the League of Nations was a great American.

With gratitude and pride also will the Unitarians of Boston and America remember that Senator Borah, in his recent address to them at Unity House, paid them high honor in his frank recognition

that his audience was hostile to his point of view. Not only are the Unitarians of the country, but in my belief the overwhelming majority in all American churches, pervaded by a lofty and resolute international sentiment, which is not patient with what is finical and dilatory. They believe as never before, with David Low Dodge, that "war is inconsistent with the religion of Christ," and that the way

to end it is essentially the way in which our fathers ended anarchy and conflict between our disunited States in 1787. There is more real statesmanship today in the American pulpit than on the stump, and the American pulpit and American church will lift our politics and our people to the fulfillment of the great vision of William Ellery Channing and Edward Everett Hale.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

GERMAN AND FRENCH NOTES ON THE SECURITY PACT

NOTE—Following is the text of the German proposal for a security pact and of the French reply to it, dispatched after consultation with the British Government. The text is taken from the translation in the British White Paper, Cmd. 2435.

1. The German Note

Memorandum communicated on February 9, 1925, by the German Ambassador in Paris to M. Herriot, President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs.
(Strictly confidential.)

In considering the various forms which a pact of security might at present take, one could proceed from an idea cognate to that from which the proposal made in December, 1922, by Dr. Cuno sprang. Germany could, for example, declare her acceptance of a pact by virtue of which the Powers interested in the Rhine—above all, England, France, Italy, and Germany—entered into a solemn obligation for a lengthy period (to be eventually defined more specifically) *vis-a-vis* the Government of the United States of America as trustee not to wage war against a contracting State. A comprehensive arbitration treaty, such as has been concluded in recent years between different European countries, could be amalgamated with such a pact, Germany is also prepared to conclude analogous arbitration treaties providing for the peaceful settlement of juridical and political conflicts with all other States as well.

Furthermore, a pact expressly guarantee-

ing the present territorial status ("gegenwärtiger Besitzstand") on the Rhine would also be acceptable to Germany. The purport of such a pact could be, for instance, that the interested States bound themselves reciprocally to observe the inviolability of the present territorial status on the Rhine; that they furthermore, both jointly and individually ("conjointement et séparément"), guaranteed the fulfilment of this obligation; and, finally, that they would regard any action running counter to the said obligation as affecting them jointly and individually. In the same sense, the treaty States could guarantee in this pact the fulfilment of the obligation to demilitarize the Rhineland which Germany has undertaken in articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles. Again, arbitration agreements of the kind defined above between Germany and all those States which were ready on their side to accept such agreements could be combined with such a pact.

To the examples set out above still other possibilities of solution could be linked. Furthermore, the ideas on which these examples are based could be combined in different ways. Again, it would be worth considering whether it would not be advisable to so draft the security pact that it would prepare the way for a world convention to include all States along the lines of the "Protocole pour le Règlement pacifique de Différends internationaux" drawn up by the League of Nations, and that, in case such a world convention was achieved, it could be absorbed by it or worked into it.

2. The French Reply

Note from the French Government to the German Government handed to Herr Stresemann by the French Ambassador at Berlin on June 16, 1925.

As they have informed the German Government in their note of February 20 last, the French Government have studied, in common with their allies, the suggestions contained in the memorandum forwarded to them on February 9 by his Excellency M. von Hoesch.

The French Government and their allies regard the step taken by the German Government as an earnest of pacific intentions which agree with their own.

Wishing to give to all the States concerned supplementary guarantees of security within the framework of the Treaty of Versailles, they have examined the German proposals with all the attention that they merit in order to judge what elements they may afford for the consolidation of peace.

Before embarking, however, on an examination in detail of the German note, it has appeared desirable to set out clearly the questions which it raises, or may raise, and on which it is important to know the views of the German Government, because a preliminary agreement concerning them appears to be the necessary basis for any future negotiations:

I.

The memorandum only mentions incidentally the League of Nations.

Now the Allied States are members of the League of Nations and are bound by the Covenant of the League, which involves for them clearly defined rights and obligations with the object of maintaining general peace.

The German proposals no doubt lay claim to the same ideal, but no agreement could be achieved unless Germany on her side assumes the obligations and enjoys the rights laid down in the Covenant of the League.

This agreement, then, can only be conceived if Germany herself enters the League of Nations under the conditions laid down in the note from the Council of the League of Nations, dated March 13, 1925.

II.

The search for the guarantees of security which the world demands cannot involve any modification of the peace treaties.

The agreements to be concluded ought not, therefore, either to imply a revision of these treaties or to result in practice in the modification of the conditions laid down for the application of certain of their clauses.

Thus the Allies cannot in any case give up the right to oppose any failure to observe the stipulations of these treaties, even if the stipulations in question do not directly concern them.

III

The memorandum of February 9 contemplates, first of all, the conclusion between the "Powers interested in the Rhine" of a pact which might be inspired by the following principles:

1. Repudiation of all idea of war between the contracting States.

2. Strict respect for the existing territorial situation in the Rhineland, with a joint and several guarantee by the contracting States.

3. A guarantee by the contracting States of the execution of the obligations concerning the demilitarization of the Rhineland which Germany has undertaken under Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles.

The French Government do not fail to appreciate the value of the cause of peace, side by side with a renewed affirmation of the principles inscribed in the Treaty of Versailles, of a solemn repudiation of all idea of war (an undertaking which, moreover, ought not to contain any time-limit) between the contracting States.

Those States must clearly include Belgium, who is not expressly named in the German memorandum and who ought to be a party to the pact as a State directly interested.

It also goes without saying, and, further, results from the silence on this point of the German memorandum, that the pact to be concluded on these lines could not affect the provisions of the treaty relative to the occupation of the Rhineland, nor the execution of the conditions laid down in relation thereto in the Rhineland Agreement.

IV

The German Government next declare themselves prepared to conclude with France and with the other States parties to the Rhineland Pact arbitration treaties guaranteeing "a peaceful settlement of juridical and political conflicts."

France considers that an arbitration treaty of the kind which Germany proposes would be the natural complement of a Rhineland Pact. But it must be understood that, as between France and Germany, such a treaty ought to apply to all disputes, and ought not to leave room for coercive action save where such action shall be undertaken consistently with the provisions of treaties in force between the parties, or of the Rhineland Pact or in virtue of the guarantee given to an arbitration treaty by the parties or by any one of them. An arbitration treaty of the same kind between Belgium and Germany would be no less necessary.

To give full effect to these two treaties, their observance ought to be assured by the joint and several guarantee of the Powers which also participate in the territorial guarantee contained in the Rhineland Pact, so as to bring this guarantee into immediate operation, if one of the parties, refusing to submit a dispute to arbitration or to carry out an arbitral award, resorts to hostile measures.

Where one of the contracting parties, without resorting to hostile measures, fails to observe its undertakings, the Council of the League of Nations shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect to the treaty.

V

In their memorandum the German Government added that they were ready to conclude with all States who were so disposed arbitration treaties of the same kind.

The Allied Governments note this assurance with satisfaction. They even consider that in the absence of such agreements between Germany and those of her neighbors who, without being parties to the suggested Rhineland Pact, are signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, the peace of Europe, which the Rhineland Pact tends to consolidate and of which it is to constitute an essential element, could not be completely guaranteed.

The Allied States, in fact, have, under the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Treaties of Peace, rights which they cannot possibly give up and obligations of which they cannot possibly divest themselves.

These arbitration treaties thus conceived would have the same scope as those contemplated in Section IV. The Powers signatories of the Treaty of Versailles and of the proposed Rhineland Pact would have the option, if they so desire, of constituting themselves the guarantors of such arbitration treaties.

VI

Nothing in the treaties contemplated in the present note should affect the rights and obligations attaching to membership of the League of Nations under the Covenant of the League.

VII

The general guarantee of security necessary for the maintenance of peace cannot be completely ensured unless all the agreements aimed at in the present note come into force simultaneously.

These agreements, in conformity with the Covenant, ought to be registered by the League of Nations and placed under its auspices.

Finally, it goes without saying, that, if the United States were to find it possible to associate themselves with the agreements which would thus be realized, France would be only too happy to see the great American nation participate in this work of general peace and security.

Such are the principal points on which it has appeared necessary to obtain precise knowledge of the views of the German Government.

The French Government would be glad to receive a reply on this subject which will permit the opening of negotiations with the object of concluding agreements which will constitute a new and effective guarantee of peace.

BRITISH FINANCIAL POLICY

SPEECH BY MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL

(NOTE.—Following is an abstract from a speech delivered by Mr. Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, before the British Bankers' Association, setting forth the salient features of the financial policy pursued by the British Government.)

One can quite easily see the many temptations which wait about the threshold of the finance ministers of the world, in this serious and difficult period to make no proper provision for the discharge of liabilities, and to try to tide over the difficulties of the moment by failing to do their duty to the responsibilities of the future. We have no reason to regret that stern, austere finance which has been followed, apart from party, apart from change of governments, by everyone who has

held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer since the war. We see on every side the lamentable consequences which have followed the departure from those sound principles that you have to pay your debts, you have to balance your budget, you have to enforce economy by every means you can, you have to stimulate industrial effort and co-operation among all classes of the people, you have to save expenditure and create wealth. There is no other road to prosperity than the old, perfectly well-known and understood path.

The Gold Standard

As for the gold standard, certainly it is a very memorable and important decision which had to be taken. It was not a decision which could have been avoided. It is a matter so difficult, on which so many very able men take different views—though more able men take one view than the other (laughter)—that any Chancellor of the Exchequer might well be pardoned if he rejoiced in the opportunity of postponing the decision for two years or three years, and in the meanwhile looked very wise and talked very profoundly about the intricacies of the currency controversy. But no such choice was open to me. The legislation which prohibited the export of gold expires on December 31 of this year, and I was forced in my submissions to the Cabinet to point out that we must announce either that this legislation would lapse or that we would renew it.

Many have dwelt upon the advantages and disadvantages of a return to the gold standard, but I have always felt greatly interested in considering what would have happened if we had taken the opposite course. Here was our legislation expiring on December 31. For the last five years the policy of successive governments and the treasury and the Bank of England has been to move steadily towards the resumption of the gold standard. No responsible authority has ever disputed that policy. Here was the moment when, unless we were prepared to pursue that policy, it would be necessary to say we were unable to carry out our purpose. The prolongation of the embargo on the export of gold would have been taken in every part of the world as a mark of weakness, some inherited weakness in ourselves, in our financial system, and in our resources, and the immediate and temporary consequences might have been extremely disagreeable. But, far more than

the temporary consequences and any disadvantages which would have followed from them, there would have been that sense of loss of confidence in Britain and in London following that admission of weakness which, believe me, would have been far more detrimental to our general conditions than any of the evils and stringencies which conceivably might from time to time occur in the future.

More than that, we not only hold a central position in the finance of the world; we are also the center of a wide empire. Each of the governing dominions of that empire is on the gold standard or determined to achieve it. Is it conceivable that we in these circumstances could have taken a step which would have declared our inability to achieve the gold standard, and have sat still, prolonging our legislation, while everyone of the great governing dominions of the Crown were returning to the gold standard? I am indulging in no rosy visions, I am predicting no smooth or easy advance to prosperity. That will come only from hard work and sound politics. But I do say that it would be impossible for London to retain its position as the great center of the British Empire and world finance unless it were able to march with the movement in the direction of establishing a common foundation for all international transactions.

The Pensions Scheme

We are told that the new pensions scheme, while it undoubtedly will confer enormous advantages on great masses of the population, notwithstanding casts a new burden on those productive industries especially concerned in the employment of labor which are already in a condition justly exciting anxiety and concern. It is quite true that there is an additional burden, but that burden will not have to be assumed before January 4 next, and there are still seven months in which the situation can be considered. We have not embarked upon this policy of a scheme of national insurance for widows and earlier old-age pensions without taking into consideration the position of the great productive industries in regard to unemployment insurance. At the present time 10*d.* is exacted from the employer and 9*d.* from every workman over an area of 11,000,000 persons for the purposes of unemployment insurance. But when the so-called deficiency period passes away, when, that is to say, unemployment falls into the neighborhood of 800,000 and

£50,000—as it will do in a reasonable, a certain period—and when the fund in consequence becomes solvent, then by law the contributions of the employers and of the workmen over this great area fall to a common 6*d.*—that is, a reduction of 4*d.* by the employer and 3*d.* by the work people. The key to the situation is the termination of the deficiency period.

So far as the exchequer is concerned, we have always considered that special exertions must fall upon us; but before those are met, it is essential that we should be sure that unemployment is not swollen by adventitious causes. We must be sure, for instance, that individuals, and possibly even classes, are not obtaining relief under the existing system who never thought of obtaining relief, even in the worst periods of unemployment, three and four years ago. Every effort must be made to restore the Unemployment Insurance Fund to a solvent condition. Once there is some assurance that that has been really achieved, and will be maintained, then it will be possible for the government to intervene with a view to a far more speedy termination of the deficiency period than would ever be achieved if the fund were left to its own unaided contributions. From that moment it will be true to say that the new burden which has to be sustained and the great advantages which will follow from that burden will involve no extra charge at all upon the employers, and will only involve a charge of one penny upon 11,000,000 of persons, as compared with 15,000,000 in the existing area of health insurance. But the condition of our productive industries does constitute a grave and almost paramount preoccupation in the minds of the government, and you may be sure that, as far as faithful study and earnest effort will go, nothing shall be neglected which will enable us to provide some assistance and mitigation of the present difficult and anxious conditions.

Public Economy

I will refer, in conclusion, to the question of public economy. I need your help in that. I am quite sure that everyone here realizes that the future relief to the taxpayer can only be achieved by restraint of the growing tendencies of expenditure, and, more than that, by positive reductions from the present total of our estimates. It is very hard to carry it into effect. The whole movement of the time is

towards greater expenditure. It is not a movement towards wasted expenditure or extravagant expenditure. The machinery of government and administration complicates itself every year, and well-meaning people, trying to do their best to perfect this or improve that, make an upward pressure of expenditure which it is almost impossible to control. Everyone who is in temporary government employ wishes to be permanent; everyone on a non-pensionable basis wishes to be pensionable; everyone on a pensionable basis assisted by contributions wishes to be on a basis unassisted by contributions. (Laughter.) Everyone produces excellent reasons why this or that should be done. It is only by the House of Commons and the powerful influential forces in the country making up their minds to fight for a particular figure and insisting on the reduction below a particular limit that all these powerful upward tendencies will be contained and controlled. We shall certainly do our best. But we shall need the support of a strong public opinion to aid the government in making any positive reduction, or even holding their own against the strong upward tide. I will do my best, and I am sure that I can rely upon you for your assistance.

A National Policy

We are a government who have the right to look forward, in ordinary circumstances, as far as you can see in this changing and precarious existence, of reasonable continuity of power. Therefore it is an obligation upon us to pursue a national policy and not a party policy, to take the long view and not the short view, to make plans, not for the leading articles of tomorrow morning, but for the results which the country will judge in two, three, or four years' time. That is our aim. The appeasement of class bitterness, the promotion of a spirit of co-operation, the stabilization of our national life, the building of financial and social plans upon a three or four years' basis instead of a few months' basis, an earnest effort to give the country some period of recuperation after the enormous efforts it has made and the vicissitudes to which it has been subjected, to pursue a policy which contains features of interest to every class and section of our wide and varied community—that is the method and spirit in which we are proceeding, and when it comes to judgment, let it be not the judg-

ment of speeches or policies declared and programs propounded, but the judgment three or four years hence of a nation which perhaps will feel that things are definitely a little better, not for one class or another, but for all, than they were when we first assumed responsibility and power.

THE ALLIED DISARMAMENT NOTE

"Totality of Defaults a Menace to Peace"

The "Note presented to the German Government by the British, French, Italian, Japanese, and Belgian Ambassadors at Berlin" on Thursday, June 4, has been issued by the English Foreign Office as a printed Parliamentary paper, containing the text of the Note in French, with the English translation and 20 pages of appendices, also both in French and English. The English text of the Note is as follows:

In their Note of January 5 last the Allied Governments informed the German Government that the extent to which the Treaty of Versailles had been fulfilled by Germany did not justify them in granting her the benefit of the partial evacuation in advance contemplated by article 429 (1).

2. They at the same time declared their intention of awaiting the final report of the Inter-Allied Commission of Control before informing the German Government of "what will remain for Germany to do in order that her military obligations may within the terms of article 429 be considered as faithfully fulfilled."

3. This report has now been received and examined. It establishes the numerous defaults of the German Government in respect of the obligations devolving upon them under part 5 of the Treaty of Versailles, and it thus enables the Allied Governments now to make the communication which they had promised.

Model of a Nation in Arms

4. The Allied Governments consider it of capital importance to place in the foreground of their argument the general observation that these defaults, if not promptly rectified, would in the aggregate enable the German Government eventually to reconstitute an army modeled on the principles of a nation-in-arms. This would be directly counter to the Treaty of Peace, under which the German army was to be used exclusively for the maintenance of internal order and for the control of the German frontiers. It is this circumstance which, while it demonstrates the importance of each individual default, renders the totality of these defaults so serious a menace to peace.

5. In order that the treaty may be fulfilled in its fundamental provisions, it is therefore necessary that these important defaults should be made good. So long as they remain unrectified it will be impossible to consider Germany's military obligations as fulfilled. It should be clearly realized that the breaches of the treaty thus specified constitute the most serious, but not the only, evidence of the non-fulfillment by Germany of this essential portion of the Treaty of Peace.

Contents of Memorandum

6. In the accompanying memorandum will be found:

(1) An examination of the state of execution of the military obligations devolving upon Germany as established by the report of the Commission of Control, dated the 25th January, 1925.

(2) A summary of the principle points in the military clauses on which the Allies have not yet received satisfaction.

(3) A detailed list of the measures which should be taken to rectify these defaults. In regard to these the Allied Governments have given all necessary instructions to the Commission of Control, a body qualified by the treaty to act in this respect.

(4) A list of the concessions already made by the Allies. This list has been inserted in order that the statement of the position may be complete.

7. The Allied Governments are convinced that it merely requires good will on the part of the German Government and of the German authorities to secure that the rectifications of the defaults cited in the third part of the memorandum are carried out in a relatively short period.

8. In fine, it now rests with the German Government themselves to create the conditions in which evacuation can speedily be effected. It is they themselves who will profit by the readiness with which they give effect to the rectification demanded, as well as by the care with which they proceed strictly to conform their attitude to the terms of the treaty.

The Cologne Zone—Conditions of Evacuation

9. The Reparation Commission has, in a letter of which a copy is inclosed herein, declared that Germany is at the present moment faithfully fulfilling her reparation obligations as they are at present fixed. The Allied Governments are therefore prepared, notwithstanding the reservations which the state of non-execution of other parts of the treaty would justify on their part and in consideration of the capital importance they attach to the execution of the military clauses of the treaty, to order the evacuation of the first zone of occupation so soon as the breaches of the treaty enumerated in part 3 of the attached memorandum have been made good.

10. They are confident that during the period required for the execution of the rectifications in question no fresh serious infraction by Germany of any of her obligations under the treaty will arise to hinder the operation of article 429 (1).

11. There will then be nothing further to prevent the withdrawal of the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control, whose task it will be possible to consider as completed. Its withdrawal will be notified to the Council of the League of Nations, with a view to the application of the measures laid down by that body for the purpose of the execution of article 213 of the Treaty of Peace.

German Misunderstanding

12. Finally, the Allied Governments have observed from the terms of the German Government's Notes of January 6 and January 27 that the latter appear to misapprehend the reasons which have led the Allied Governments to take up their present attitude. Anxious to avoid all possibility of misunderstanding in the future, they wish to declare afresh, as they did in their Note of January 26, that they intend scrupulously to observe the terms of article 429 of the treaty.

13. The Allied Governments equally cannot leave unchallenged the allegation contained in the German Note of January 6, that the non-evacuation of the Cologne zone on January 10, 1925, constituted a measure of reprisal on their part. Such a contention, already refuted in the Allied Note of January 26, shows a complete misapprehension of the bearing of articles 428 and 429 of the treaty. It was for the German Government, by faithfully fulfilling their obligation, to earn the benefit of the evacuation of the first zone of occupation as provided for by article 429.

14. Again, the Allied Governments cannot admit that their decision was an act of severity out of all proportion to the importance of the military obligations which still remain to be fulfilled. On the contrary, among those obligations, which the German Government represent in their Note as being of secondary importance, are clauses to the essential importance of which the Allies have for long, but in vain, drawn the attention of the German Government, and particularly in their collective Note of September 29, 1922.

Reichwehr Irregularities

15. Furthermore, subsequent to that Note, on several occasions and again quite recently, the German Government have committed new serious infractions of the treaty, notably by proceeding to the incorporation of the Reichswehr of short-term voluntary recruits, by authorizing numerous associations (illegal under the terms of the treaty) to carry out military training, and by encouraging the development of certain plant in factories.

16. Nevertheless, the Allied Governments, having thus cited these infractions, are prepared, in their anxiety to avoid all contro-

versy, to keep in mind only the assurance contained in the German Note of January 6, to do their best speedily to attain the necessary practical result.

17. It is for this reason that the Allied Governments again appeal earnestly to the German Government to liquidate with the necessary good will the outstanding matters the settlement of which the gravity of the situation demands. This is the only way in which that Government can, in their own words, bring alleviation to Germany by the liberation of a portion of the occupied territory.

June 2, 1925.

ANNEXES TO NOTE

The annexes to the Allied Note may be summarized thus:

ANNEX I

Part 1

Part 1 of Annex I takes the military clauses one by one and states how far each clause has been complied with.

Part 2

Part 2 gives a list of 13 points under the military clauses upon which satisfaction has not yet been given. The points are as follows:

1. Organization of the police.
2. Factories, depots, and workshops. Certain destructions, dispersion, and transformation still required.
3. Delivery of certain surplus war material
4. Organization of the German Army as laid down by the treaty.
5. Regulation of recruiting and military training.
6. Import and export of war material.
7. Possession of, traffic in, and illicit manufacture of war material.
8. Forbidden zones.
9. War requisitions.
10. Königsberg Fortress.
11. Fortifications and coast defenses.
12. Plans necessary to enable accurate files to be made up with regard to statistical returns respecting fortifications.
13. Delivery of documents relative to existing stocks of war material and the production of German factories during the war and after the Armistice.

Part 3

Part 3 contains a detailed list of the measures which must be taken by Germany before the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles can be held to have been satisfactorily fulfilled. This part is drawn up in two columns, one showing the present situation, the other the points which must be rectified.

1. Police (article 162 of the treaty and the Boulogne Note of June, 1920): The police

must remain a State and municipal organization. Its effectives, which are now about 180,000, must be reduced to the 150,000 authorized by the Boulogne Note of 1920. The military character presented today by the Schutzpolizei (Security Police) must entirely disappear.

2. Factories, depots, and workshops (articles 168 and 169 of the treaty): Detailed lists are given of the factories, etc., where rectifications are required, and the Control Commission is generally left to indicate what precise measures must be taken.

The lists are divided into the following categories:

(a) Private factories other than authorized factories.

(b) Former State factories.

(c) Authorized factories (the most important are Krupp's, the Rheinmetall at Düsseldorf, the Dortmunder Union, and the W. A. S. A. G. at Reinsdorf).

(d) Military establishments.

(e) Military workshops with units.

(f) Police workshops.

proved that divisional staffs include, in addition to their regular strength, attached officers from units, and that supplementary cadres exist in units. This must be stopped by decree. So, also, must the co-operation of aeroplanes with the army.

3. Services: The administrative personnel must be reduced to the authorized numbers. Reserve rations for the Reichswehr must be reduced to the scales laid down by the Control Commission.

4. Coast artillery school at Wilhelmshaven: This will be authorized provided that all army personnel are excluded from it.

5. Recruiting and military training (articles 173, 174, 177, and 178 of the treaty): The following must be suppressed by legislation:

(a) Short-term enlistment with the Reichswehr.

(b) The preparation of reserve cadres.

(c) The military activities of associations.

6. Import and export of war material (articles 170 and 192 of the treaty): The German Government and the Control Commission are already in negotiation for the settlement of this question.

7. Possession of, traffic in, and illicit manufacture of war material (articles 168 and 169 of the treaty): Legislation must be brought into harmony with the treaty and put into force.

8. Forbidden zones (articles 115, 178, 180, and 195): Legislation must be promulgated and put into force for the suppression of all forbidden zones.

9. War requisitions (article 178 of the treaty): Legislation must be brought into harmony with the treaty and put into force.

10. Königsberg fortress (articles 167, 169, and 196): All the guns must be placed on fixed mountings and their excess spare parts delivered or destroyed.

11. Fortifications and coast defenses (articles 167, 169, and 196): The guns must be placed on fixed mountings.

12. Delivery of the plans necessary for the compilation of accurate returns of fortifications: These must be delivered.

ANNEX II

Annex II consists of a letter, addressed by the Reparation Commission to the Ambassadors' Conference, answering in the affirmative the question whether Germany is at the present moment faithfully fulfilling her reparation obligations as at present fixed.

CONTROL COMMISSION'S REPORT

The Foreign Office issued also a translation of "Report No. 46 of the Work of the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control"—the "general report on the general inspection (September 8, 1924, to January 5, 1925)." The report fills 15 closely printed folio pages. It is dated Berlin, February 15, and is signed "G. G. de Guffroy, A. G. Wauchope, R. Calcagno, A. Semba, C. Walch." In the "summary and conclusions," at the end of the report, it is stated:

The Commission will first recall the two considerations which must be constantly borne in mind in order to estimate the results of the general inspection, whether these results show the military power of Germany when compared to 1922 as reduced, as stationary, or as strengthened as a direct consequence of the obstruction offered to control. The number of points on which the Commission can declare the military power of Germany to be stationary or strengthened, as also when necessary the extent of this strengthening, is in all likelihood underestimated. On the other hand, it seems probable that the reductions established are the only ones which it is possible to place to the credit of the German Government.

Dispersion of Material

(a) The reductions established consist in a few cases of dispersion of machinery, the surrender or destruction of plant or material; in the cessation in the Deutsche Werke of the manufacture of sporting and big game arms, at Spandau and Erfurt of nitro-cellulose, at Hanau in the partial conversion of two former military establishments; in the reduction of certain scales of issue; in the promulgation of three documents, one of which, the law on military requisitions, demands supplementary legislative and administrative measures, and another the law on the suppression of fortifications, can in no way be considered satisfactory. With the exception of those relating to the cessation of certain manufactures in the Deutsche Werke, these reductions are of slight importance in comparison with the

extent of the sphere in which the Commission would have wished to find them, and they weigh but little in the balance.

(b) With the exception of the few cases previously mentioned and a few others mentioned in the following paragraph (c), the military power of Germany appears to have remained almost stationary throughout the whole sphere of armament and war material. Therefore nearly all the infractions already existing in 1922 in this sphere still remain to be readjusted in their entirety.

Recruiting and Military Training

(c) The points on which a marked strengthening of the military power of Germany has become distinctly apparent are in the sphere of effectives, recruiting, and military training and a few in the sphere of armament (extension of the installations of the Deutsche Werke Gasshutslager at Hanover, remilitarization of former military establishments) and of fortifications.

To the infractions which in 1922 remained to be readjusted must now be added all those appertaining to this strengthening. The Commission will mention here only the most important of the readjustments relating to headings (b) and (c) above. It will classify them in two categories accordingly as they relate or not to the five points of the Note of September 29, 1922.

The readjustments referred to are set forth in detail and their nature can be gathered from the Allied Note and its annexes.

The Commission is unanimously of the opinion that with one exception the other points comprised in the two categories "constitute a whole of such importance in respect of the final degree of the disarmament of Germany that their readjustment cannot be abandoned. Moreover, the Commission does not expect for its own part to have to lengthen this list unless a new infraction takes place. If this decision is arrived at, the Commission, inspired as in the past by a conciliatory spirit, will endeavor to reconcile the requirements of the mission which it derives from the treaty with the spirit arising from the new circumstances and the general need for peace.

Non-fulfillment

"But on its own initiative the Commission will be unable to state that the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles have been fulfilled, at least in spirit, until the readjustments of which the general inspection has shown the necessity shall be sufficiently advanced to allow the stage of disarmament required by the treaty to be considered attained—a stage from which Germany is still far removed."

The report deals in great detail with the "obstruction" offered to control and inspection, with the results of the general inspection (on the lines already indicated), with the progress made in the execution of points of the Note of September, 1922, and with "typical cases showing retrogression on the results previously obtained."

News in Brief

A NEW HARBOR AT TOKYO, capable of docking deep-sea liners, will probably be completed by 1932, according to Japanese papers. While the earthquake and fire of 1923 suspended the work for a year, it has, on the whole, stimulated the project by demonstrating the need for a first-class harbor. A breakwater which will shelter at least 100 vessels is part of the plan; the Sumida River will be deepened, also, to accommodate ships of 10,000 or more tons displacement, as far as the foot of the Yeital Bridge.

A PROGRAM FOR IMPROVING agricultural methods in Haiti has been undertaken by the Department of Agriculture this year. It is proposed to install fifty model farms by contract with farmers who own the land upon which they are to be placed. The owners shall follow in good faith the plans of the Department, which is to furnish implements and seeds. The produce will belong to the farmer. Prizes will be awarded twice a year in regional expositions of farm produce. A veterinary bureau is also to be placed on each model farm to instruct farmers in the care of the stock.

A CONGRESS ON PEACE AND SECURITY will be held in Detroit, Mich., November 10-12, 1925. This will be the tenth annual meeting of the American Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. Eighty-six organizations, including the American Peace Society, are invited to send delegates.

THE GREEK GOVERNMENT, recognizing the importance of the rehabilitation of refugee women by giving them employment and markets for their products, recently offered the American Friends of Greece a plot of land, formerly a part of the Royal Palace grounds in the center of Athens, for a training school, workshop, and warehouse. It is estimated that with available free labor and materials at cost this building could be erected in harmony with the surroundings at a cost of \$25,000 to \$30,000. Effort is now being made to secure funds that will justify the organization in accepting the offer of the Greek Government.

AN INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY extension course, giving lectures in all languages, is running this summer in Vienna. International cultural co-operation is the aim of the summer course.

THAT UNITED STATES HISTORY be more thoroughly taught in English schools was urged by Prof. S. E. Morison at the Anglo-American Historical Conference in London this summer. Professor Morison, who is Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University, said that, as far as he knew, United States history is taught in only three schools in England, while English history has been taught to three generations of Americans in thousands of schools. The youth of England, he said, are getting distorted and unwholesome ideas of life in America from the American films. To offset this and to pave the way to better understanding and future world peace secured largely by Anglo-Saxon co-operation, he proposes more study of United States history in the mother country.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH PEACE CONGRESS will be held this year in Paris, September 1-6. It will probably meet at the Sorbonne. It is stated that the French Government is giving its support to the gathering. The main business of the Congress will be consideration of the Protocol, which the Assembly of the League of Nations will discuss a few days later. In addition to this important question, the economic relations of nations and other matters affecting the peace and progress of the world will be on the agenda of the Congress.

THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS will hold its annual Congress this year at Geneva, August 8-14.

TO EFFECT CLOSER CULTURAL RELATIONS between Seville, Buenos Aires, and New York City, the Atheneum of Seville has decided to establish an interchange of members with similar societies in the other two cities. In Seville the term of residence will be for at least two years, and surroundings of the visitors will be such as to familiarize them with Sevillian life and culture.

MR. EULOGIO FERNANDINI, of Peru, known as the "Vanadium King," who developed the famous Peruvian mines of the American Vanadium Corporation, has presented to his country \$60,000 to cover Peru's share of the expenses of the Tacna-Arica plebescite commission. Voluntary contributions, enthusiastically offered, through the churches and social organizations, throughout the country, already assure funds more than sufficient to pay the expenses of electors in the plebescite, who have to return to the "lost provinces," and of their families while they are absent.

THE LONDON HOUSE IN WHICH DICKENS wrote "Oliver Twist" and most of the "Pickwick Papers" was opened June 9 as a Dickens museum and headquarters for lovers of Dickens from all parts of the world. The house contains a library of various editions of Dickens' works, together with many relics and pieces of furniture used by the writer.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT WAS ADVISED, on June 8, that the Belgian Debt Funding Commission, consisting of former Premier Theunis and M. Hautain, head of the National Bank of Belgium, will arrive in Washington soon to begin negotiations for funding the Belgian debt to the United States.

THE STEAMSHIP SERVICE INAUGURATED between New York and Haifa by the American-Palestine Line, using one vessel, the *President Arthur*, has been so successful that the company is planning to add another steamer within a few months.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT recently issued a decree depriving former nobles of the right to farm land on their old estates. The preface to the decree accuses the former nobles

of failing to practice first-class farming methods, of exploiting the neighboring peasants, and of carrying on activities which are hostile to the Soviet Government. Most of the large landowners were driven from their estates by the revolution of 1917, but a certain number have now returned; it is against these that the new decree is aimed. The work of expulsion is to be completed by January 1, 1926.

ON JUNE 3, THERE OCCURRED at Ottawa the presentation of the Borglum Memorial by the George Washington-Sulgrave Institution to the Government of Canada, "in recognition of the services of the women of Canada in the Great War" and in memory of all women as the "bearers of the world's burdens."

MR. WALTER T. LAYTON, editor of the *Economist*, in London, since 1922, and Prof. Charles Rist, professor of political economy at the University of Paris, have been appointed by the League of Nations Council to conduct an impartial investigation of the economic conditions of Austria with the view of hastening the reconstruction of that country and of central Europe.

THE SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS on the Pacific coast is to be made a permanent institution. Six major universities and a number of smaller institutions are engaged in this continuous work through regional research councils. It is expected that at intervals small volumes will be published, setting forth the findings on such subjects as the following: public opinion and methods of studying it; the Oriental in agricultural labor; the movement of the Orientals to the cities and the organization of their life in the city; the second generation of American-born Orientals; the Chinese tongs.

THE TURKS HAVE PLACED AN ORDER with the Fijenoord Company of Rotterdam for two submarines and for a 26,000-ton floating dock with the Flender Brückenbau Company of Lübeck. There were several competitors, including British firms, for both orders, but the failure of these latter is taken as another indication that the Turks are fighting shy of British industry, pending the Mosul settlement.

PAVIA UNIVERSITY CELEBRATED, May 21, the 1100th anniversary of her School of Law,

founded in May, 825, by Lothair, Emperor and King, famous for having kept lighted the lamp of learning during the early Middle Ages. Most of the universities of the world were represented at the ceremony.

THE PEN CLUB, which held an international gathering in Paris the latter part of May, brought together hundreds of writers, many of whom have a world-wide reputation. Particularly noticeable was the sympathy expressed for the German representatives. It was decided to hold the next gathering in Berlin.

OFFICIALS OF FOURTEEN LEADING POSTAL administrations of the world will meet at Cortina d'Ampezzo, Italy, July 6, to study methods for improving the work of the universal postal congresses, the next congress being scheduled to be held in London during 1929. The convention adopted at the eighth congress of the Universal Postal Union, held at Stockholm last summer, will go into effect October 1 of this year. According to this convention, the postage rates on international letters are changed from the previous maximum and minimum of ten and five cents for the first unit of weight to eight and four cents, but a provision permits any country to establish a lower rate with another.

THE "ROUND THE WORLD COLLEGE" of New York University will be conducted by Dr. Charles F. Thwing, president emeritus of Western Reserve University. In September 450 students will sail aboard the steamship *University* and pursue regular college courses, under fifty instructors, while making a tour of the world.

THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE has given \$10,000 to help rebuild Psuda College in Tokyo.

FOLLOWING THE NAVAL WAR MANEUVERS near Hawaii, the citizens of seven countries bordering on the Pacific will hold the first session of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu, beginning July 1. The purpose of this conference of about 100 men and women from Canada, Japan, China, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippine Islands, and the United States is the discussion of common problems arising from the increasing intercourse of their peoples. The Institute is modeled upon the Institute of Politics at

Williamstown, and, like the latter, is to be wholly unofficial. Among the American supporters and active participants in the Institute are many prominent business men, university presidents, and students of Far Eastern affairs.

T. W. MCCALLUM, A SCOTSMAN, is having marked success in teaching English by radio in Vienna. The *Ravag* prints a weekly program which includes a synopsis of Mr. McCallum's forthcoming lectures, with the principal words and phrases which he will use printed in English and in German. Three lessons a week are given, each of a half hour's duration. Mr. McCallum's success is said to be due to his extraordinary ability to present his material in such a way that it commands an intense and widespread interest.

SHANGHAI UNIVERSITY, A BOLSHEVIST INSTITUTION supported by funds from Moscow and the radical Kuomintang Party, was raided by police and volunteers on June 4, resulting in the dislodgment of a hundred student strike leaders and the seizure of quantities of Bolshevik literature. Volunteers also raided all the Chinese hotels in the foreign settlement, finding considerable anti-foreign literature and arresting General Alexander Gushen, of the Soviet army.

WIDE PUBLICITY IS GIVEN to the text of a practical peace plan for settling China's internal troubles and unifying the country, a plan that was awarded the \$1,000 prize in a competition held by a Shanghai American paper. The judges were an American, a British subject, and a Chinese. The plan urges Chinese leaders to devote attention to dispelling international ill-feeling. It demands three things from the powers: 1. That they halt loans to rival factions; 2, that they halt selling arms to militarists; 3, that they bring the unfinished portions of the Washington Conference's action into effect immediately. The plan outlines a federal system of government, with provincial constitutions. It urges a conference of militarists for the purpose of disbanding soldiers and giving productive work.

THE SELECTION OF IMMIGRANTS, not on the present arbitrary and unsatisfactory quota basis, but according to America's agricultural

and industrial needs, will be proposed to the next United States Congress by the National Association of Manufacturers.

EDGAR A. BANCROFT, our Ambassador to Japan, made a trip in April to Shimoda, the small seaport at the southern tip of the Idzu Peninsula, to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of the arrival there of Commodore Perry. The ships of Commodore Perry's fleet spent several months in Shimoda harbor before going to Kanagawa, where the first treaty between Japan and the United States was negotiated. The welcome given Ambassador Bancroft when he landed at Shimoda was a tremendous one. The town and the entire district made the occasion a fête day, and all business and the ordinary pursuits of life stopped while the people celebrated the coming of the American envoy.

PLANS ARE UNDER WAY IN JAPAN to perpetuate the Yokohama International School, to which children are to be admitted irrespective of nationality or racial affiliation. The only tests for admission are to be a knowledge of the English language and a good moral character. Religious education of a non-sectarian character is to be provided.

VICTOR KOPP, THE NEW AMBASSADOR OF SOVIET RUSSIA to Japan, made an address at Harbin on April 17, from which we quote the following: "In my opinion, the restoration of friendly relations between Japan and Russia is only of value if it serves as a prelude upon which the Soviet Government will be able to effect a rapprochement with the United States. The Russo-Japanese Treaty otherwise is valueless. . . . My attitude in Japan will be in strict consonance with the resolution adopted by the Soviet Central Committee, that Japan must be regarded merely as a medium through which Russia can secure the recognition of the United States. The Russo-Japanese pact recently ratified is a mere scrap of paper, which may be consigned to the waste-basket at any time and which has absolutely no significance. Japan will be one of the vanguard states when the international revolution eventually takes place."

THE PEACE SOCIETY OF STOCKHOLM, a section of the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society, celebrated on May 18th of this year its 40th anniversary.

BOOK REVIEWS

RACIAL REALITIES IN EUROPE. By *Lothrop Stoddard*. Scribner's, New York, 1924. Pp. 252. Price, \$3.00.

This book, which Mr. Stoddard claims is "frankly a pioneering sketch," studies European events, old and modern, along the lines of racial development.

The temptation in such an attempt is, naturally, the overemphasis of the heredity idea, and the undue elevation of one race type over another.

Mr. Stoddard quite simply assumes the superiority of the long-headed Nordic race over others in Europe. The trouble with peoples of this predominant strain seems to be that they are tremendously warlike, and independent. Their wars seem to provide for their ultimate destruction, unless by their "superior" intelligence they can invoke some means other than war to settle their inevitable disputes.

The Alpine and Mediterranean races, however, stocks more patient, less fierce, tend to survive.

The adventurous curiosity, too, of the Nordic makes him a valuable pioneer, but frontier conditions cause many casualties. He is also weeded out of crowded industrial centers more rapidly than the other stocks.

As an incident of the manner in which superior Nordic intelligence can manage its own destiny if it will, Mr. Stoddard describes the separation of Norway and Sweden, of Denmark and Iceland.

"In this connection let us further note that these problems have been solved spontaneously as they arose. . . . No arbitration tribunal, no league, no loss of sovereignty, was involved. When the dispute arose, the disputants met one another frankly and decided to sit down and talk matters over. They . . . kept their tempers, avoided rows, and ultimately agreed on a settlement that was lasting and that formed the basis of friendship for the future."

Having made an interpretation of European history by the test of racial characteristics, Mr. Stoddard closes with a chapter de-

voted to the need of retaining Nordic leadership in the United States.

The book is written in racy, popular style. The author's manner of skimming along the high spots of history and applying his simple formula of interpretation as he goes is stimulating. The book, as a study of race distribution in Europe, is too general and too slight to be quite true to all the facts. Yet the author has disarmed all tendency to cavil by his introductory statement that it aims only to be a sketch.

As a sketch it is strong. It suggests real dangers; it points to reasonable safeguards. **TWO VAGABONDS IN THE BALKANS.** By *Jan and Cora Gordon*. Illustrated. Pp. 236. Robert M. McBride & Co., New York, 1925.

"When you have been thrust out of the train at midnight into the blackest gloom . . ."—these words in the first sentence of this interesting travel book are enough to pique the curiosity of any reader to find out what follows, even though one has not read the other delightful narratives of the wanderings of these two vagabonds.

Sarajevo was forever discovered to the world by the event of June 28, 1914. This city the authors fix upon as their first destination. Their impressions of the city are illuminating: "You would never dream, to look at it, that this town could be the generator of an inter-European war; or perhaps you would never dream that Sarajevo exemplifies the most difficult problem of civilization—the conciliation of diverse cultures—and still remains a typical example of how that problem can resist solution. In a Sarajevo bazaar we find the most obvious exhibition of this puzzle which has wasted Europe for so many years—a puzzle still unsolved."

The story of explorations in the country districts, the descriptions of contacts with peasant folk who have yet scarcely entered the Iron Age of civilization, the difficulties of securing food amenable to the requirements of the occidental appetite, the almost vain efforts to secure lodgings free from odors and vermin, the squalor of village life—in these things the authors have painted a picture, accurate, interesting, and arresting, of this little-known section of the world—Bosnia. To assist the imagination of the reader, the authors have supplied a number of illustrations, in color and in black and white.

The appeal of the book is greatly increased by occasional and piquant observations of an impressionistic and philosophical nature. In the first chapter the authors justify their choice of a journey through the Balkans: "A rolling stone gathers no moss," the wise-acres have grumbled at us since our infancy; but, after all, a quiescent stone gathers no moss either if there is no moss about, and it loses the fun of rolling."

CHRISTIANITY AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: A DISCUSSION GROUP TEXTBOOK. Association Press, New York. Pp. 115 and index. Price, 50 cents.

The nature of the contents of this little book is clearly indicated by its chapter headings, such as "A Divided World;" "Is Poverty a Serious Problem?" "Do Great Fortunes Help or Hinder Social Progress?" "Does Modern Industry Help or Hinder the Full Development of Human Beings?" "How Rapidly Can a Christian Economic Order be Achieved" etc.

The book, designed especially for discussion groups, seeks not only to state facts, but also underlying issues which must be considered in any intelligent approach to the problems of our economic and social life—a typical Y. M. C. A. primer for those who aspire to think without too much effort.

TWO IDEALS OF DEMOCRACY. By *John Buchan*. Pp. 56. Houghton, Mifflin Co., New York, 1925. Price, \$2.00.

Two Ideals of Democracy, by John Buchan, is a stimulating study in comparison. That there were many similar elements in our American Civil War and in the World War is an idea of but few persons.

Mr. Buchan believes that all the main developments in the strategy of war were foreshadowed by our Civil War. He holds that, among the world's great men of military genius, Lee ranks among the first six. He believes that Lincoln, a lonely figure on lonely heights of leadership, is "one of the two or three greatest men ever born of our blood."

Mr. Buchan is one of England's leading historians and men of letters. He has a point of view which to us Americans is fresh and inspiring. He deals forcefully and clearly with stupendous moral struggles and great heights of human character.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE EMPHASIS UPON WAR IN OUR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL HISTORIES. Association for Peace Education, Chicago, 1924. Price, 10 cents.

This pamphlet is the result of a study of typical school histories and supplementary history readers in use in the public schools of this country. The intention is to discover, through both quantitative and qualitative appraisal, how far such books will predispose the school child toward war.

The first test counts the words used in telling of war and also of peace and measures the space taken up by illustrations on the same subjects. In this estimate all episodes involving violence, such as the Dorr's Rebellion, and all war-time activities of organizations, such as the Red Cross, are classed as war material.

The qualitative appraisal aims to mark in a system of percentages the probable effect of the war teaching on the belligerency of children—a task much more difficult as well as more important than the first.

In this latter estimate the highest mark goes to those narratives which "give a true statement of the horrors of war—the suffering, the destruction, the carnage, and the bestiality—which would lead children to shun the thought of war."

Just here one who is accustomed to children and who longs also for a peaceful world may well pause to question whether "horrors and bestiality" are the best pabulum for children. Fears and nightmare and eventual cowardice might follow a constant vivid imagining of war as it is at its worst rather than a stalwart determination to end it.

Surely, war stories should not be falsely told, nor should they be made to "roar like any sucking dove" for children. The more hopeful method would seem to be to place the emphasis on a fair appraisal of the finer things in other nations, and to encourage a prejudice in favor of friendliness to the people of other lands.

Before deciding on the policy to be pursued in teaching, it is well to discover how international subjects are now presented. Here the spirit of the teacher herself and her breadth of knowledge are as important as the text book.

But such studies as this help because they focus attention upon the spirit in which school histories are written.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

Edited by ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

1815-1828

Suite 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

(Cable address, "Ampax, Washington.")

PUBLISHED MONTHLY EXCEPT SEPTEMBER

Sent free to all members of the American Peace Society. Separate subscription price, \$2.00 a year. Single copies, 20 cents each.

Entered as second-class matter, June 1, 1911, at the Post-Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917; authorized August 10, 1918.

It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

CONTENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD..... 507

EDITORIALS

Controlling Traffic in Arms—Belgian Debt Terms—Effects of Returning the Boxer Indemnity—Uruguay Centenary—Editorial Notes 509-514

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

Interparliamentary Union's Conference—Caillaux's Gold Bonds—Leaving the Ruhr—France, Spain and Morocco—German Pact Note—Mosul—German Investigation of the End of the War—Cables of the British Empire—Important International Dates..... 515-534

GENERAL ARTICLES

America and Europe..... 534
By William R. Castle, Jr.

Basis for European Security..... 539
By Edgar Stern-Rubarth

Weightier Matters of the Law..... 542
A Sermon by Arthur Deerin Call

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

The Geneva Treaty for the Control of the Traffic in Arms..... 546

The German Note on the Security Pact..... 557

British Dominions and the Protocol..... 559

NEWS IN BRIEF..... 562

LETTER BOX..... 566

BOOK REVIEWS..... 567

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.

Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.

It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.

Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.

It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.

FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is two dollars;

Sustaining Membership, five dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

HON. THEODORE E. BURTON, President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of ADVOCATE OF PEACE, Washington, D. C.

HON. P. P. CLAXTON, Ex-United States Commissioner of Education, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

DR. THOMAS E. GREEN, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

HON. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

HON. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Senator from Illinois, Washington, D. C.

HON. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

REV. WALTER A. MORGAN, 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, Esq., Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

HENRY C. MORRIS, Esq., 1155 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

HON. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

PROF. ARTHUR RAMSAY, Ex-President Fairmont Seminary, Southern Pines, N. C.

THEODORE STANFIELD, 126 W. 74th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

HON. HENRY TEMPLE, Representative from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

DR. GEORGE W. WHITE, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

HON. THEODORE E. BURTON

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

DR. THOMAS E. GREEN

HON. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY

HON. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE

REV. WALTER A. MORGAN

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS

HENRY C. MORRIS

THEODORE STANFIELD

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D.

HON. HENRY W. TEMPLE

DR. GEORGE W. WHITE

OFFICERS

President:

HON. THEODORE E. BURTON, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

GEORGE W. WHITE, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

HON. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

HON. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Washington, D. C.

HON. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

A. T. BELL, Esq., Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.

GILBERT BOWLES, Esq., Richmond, Ind.

DEAN CHARLES R. BROWN, New Haven, Conn.

PRES. E. E. BROWN, New York University, New York.

GEORGE BURNHAM, JR., Philadelphia, Pa.

DR. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston, Mass.

RT. REV. BISHOP J. DARLINGTON, Harrisburg, Pa.

DR. W. H. P. FAUNCE, Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.

GEORGE A. FINCH, Washington, D. C.

EVERETT O. FISK, Esq., Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM P. GEST, Philadelphia, Pa.

HON. CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Washington, D. C.

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D. D., New York, N. Y.

DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN, Stanford University, Calif.

GEO. H. JUDD, Washington, D. C.

BISHOP WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Mass.

JOSEPH LEE, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM H. LUDEN, Reading, Pa.

L. H. PILLSBURY, Derry, N. H.

JUDGE HENRY WADE ROGERS, New York, N. Y.

HON. ELIHU ROOT, New York, N. Y.

MRS. FREDERIC SCHOFF, Philadelphia, Pa.

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Washington, D. C.

MRS. RUTH H. SPRAY, Denver, Colo.

SENATOR THOMAS STERLING, Washington, D. C.

EDWARD STEVENS, Columbia, Mo.

*PRES. M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

*PRES. C. F. THWING, Cleveland, Ohio.

PRES. MARY E. WOOLLEY, South Hadley, Mass.

* Emeritus.

Suggestions for a Governed World

(Adopted by the American Peace Society, May 27, 1921)

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference

for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council in the performance of their respective duties whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment whenever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council

of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that.

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for and, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instructions in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
87

SEPTEMBER, 1925

NUMBER
9

EDITORIALS

CONTROLLING TRADE IN ARMS

WE ARE pleased to be able to print in this number the essential facts relative to the Conference for the International Control of the Trade in Arms, which met at Geneva on May 4 and lasted until June 17. The draft treaty, for such it is, now awaits the approval of the interested governments. Whatever its fate, it is a document of prime importance.

The Washington Conference of 1921 limited battleships for the United States of America, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy to the ratio of 5-5-3-1.75. It provided also that capital ships should not exceed 35,000 tons, and that no guns over sixteen inches in diameter could be constructed. The result has been a check upon competition and a saving in money. The Washington Conference concerned itself with naval problems, and those primarily of the Pacific. The success of the Conference appealed to the imagination of the world. A few months ago a conference was held in the city of Rome for the purpose of extending the principles of the Washington Conference to those powers not represented at the meeting in Washington. There was no little discussion about submarines and poison gas.

But it was left for the Conference in Geneva to consider the establishment of a general system of supervision and pub-

licity for the international trade in arms, munitions, and implements of war, and to devise a special system for areas where measures of this kind are generally recognized as particularly necessary.

The Geneva Conference defined its terms. It then agreed that governments only shall have the right to export and import arms exclusively for war purposes. Even here consignments for export must be accompanied by a license or declaration of the importing government. Provision is made for publicity of all such movements in the form of regularly published statistics.

The sections dealing with special zones is calculated to give rise to no little controversy. Indeed, because of this section the Persian delegates withdrew from the Conference. These special land and maritime areas will not be able to import arms except with the consent of the high contracting parties exercising sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, or tutelage over the territory. Naturally, therefore, certain African races, people of the Arabian Peninsula, of Syria, of Palestine, of Iraq, will look upon their exclusion from the right to import arms as unjust discrimination, if not as an attempt on the part of the ruling powers more firmly to establish their footholds. Discrimination it certainly is. And there is a degree of impermanence about such discrimination. Some such temporary adjustment may

be necessary at this moment of world history. We suspect it is. What is to become of this scheme for the control of the little fellows is, of course, on the lap of the gods.

America's participation in the conference is another proof that we of the United States are not isolationists. We are informed that our American representatives saved the conference from failure on more than one occasion. It was due to American initiative that the Conference agreed upon a compromise relative to Poland, Rumania, Finland, Esthonia, and Latvia. When it was proposed that the treaty would come into force when fourteen specific nations had ratified, each named in the treaty, the Conference was in danger of disbanding. When the American delegation proposed that the treaty be considered in force when any fourteen of the governments had ratified it, the compromise was accepted and the Conference saved. The spirit of concession shown by the American delegation had a profound influence upon the entire proceeding. The protocol relating to chemical and bacteriological warfare was mainly due to American and Polish initiative.

This protocol relating to chemical warfare deserves special attention. It contains a declaration by which the contracting powers recognize that the use in war of such methods of destruction has been condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world. With a view to the acceptance of this provision as a part of international law, binding alike the conscience and the practice of nations, the contracting powers, in so far as they are not already parties to treaties prohibiting such use, accept this prohibition, agree to extend it to the use of bacteriological methods in warfare, and agree to be bound, as between themselves, according to the terms of their declaration. Such

are the terms of the protocol. It was further agreed to undertake to do all in their power to induce other States to adhere to the protocol. Adhesions will be notified to the French Government, and by the latter to all signatory and adhering powers. The protocol will come into force for each power as from the date of the deposit of its ratification.

In his closing speech M. Carton de Wiart, former Belgian Prime Minister, chairman of the Conference, said: "We are able to present the world with a solid structure, not built in the clouds, but founded upon the rock of solid realities. The reduction of armaments is not yet achieved, but an important step has been made towards it. For the first time, to use the very apt expression of M. Paul Boncour, the trade in arms is removed from the domain of private law and enters that of public law. . . . And, indeed, is it right, is it desirable, that a trade which so nearly affects the world's peace should be abandoned without regulation, to be the sport of greed and private interests?" These words seem to be a fair summary of the spirit and of the work of the Conference.

THE BELGIAN DEBT TERMS

A STRIKING evidence of improvement in the world's financial and economic conditions is the refunding of the Belgian debt to the United States. The agreement on the terms of this settlement was reached by representatives of Belgium and of the World War Foreign Debt Commission, at the Treasury Building, Washington, on the afternoon of August 18, eleven years after Belgium's declaration that she would defend her neutrality. The agreement remains to be ratified by the United States Congress and the Belgian Government.

From the statement by the Debt Commission it appears that the Belgian debt

is divided into two parts—one for amounts borrowed since the Armistice, and the other for loans prior to that time. The amount of the post-Armistice debt is approximately \$246,000,000. The repayment of this sum has been arranged on terms similar to those accorded to the other countries who have refunded their debts to our government. Instalments on the principal are to be spread over a period of 62 years, and the rate of interest is to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, beginning at the end of ten years, as in the other cases. In this case, however, interest payments during the first ten years have been graduated in fixed amounts. Repayment on the principal and interest for the first year will be \$2,840,000, increasing each year until the eleventh year, when the total amount repayable on principal and interest will be \$9,772,500.

The pre-Armistice debt of \$171,000,000, accepted by President Wilson at the Paris Conference, gave rise to new considerations. President Wilson agreed that the German Government should pay Belgium's pre-Armistice debts. This proposal was accepted by the Belgian Government as an essential part of other agreements made by her under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Other creditors than President Wilson accepted this agreement. Because of these facts the United States Debt Commission considered that while no legal obligations rested upon the United States in the matter, because the United States did not ratify the Paris treaty, there does exist "a weighty moral obligation, as a result of assurances given, which entirely differentiates this sum from all other debts due the United States from foreign countries." Therefore our Commission felt that the United States should not ask for more than the repayment of the principal of the pre-Armistice debt. The payment

of this amount has been arranged upon the basis of instalments payable over 62 years, without interest, the obligation remaining directly upon Belgium. The amount of such annual instalments is to be \$2,900,000, but with a portion deferred during the first six years for subsequent repayment.

Thus, after the preliminary periods, the total payments of Belgium to the United States will be about \$12,700,000 each year. By this arrangement Belgium has shaved her indebtedness to us by about \$70,000,000.

Of course, one naturally wonders what the outcome of the recognition of "a weighty moral obligation" growing out of President Wilson's promises will lead to. President Wilson made a number of promises. He promised to join with Great Britain in guaranteeing the eastern boundary of France against an unprovoked attack from Germany. He signed the Treaty of Versailles. How far in the future will these acts be considered to be "a weighty moral obligation" of the United States? The answer, however, to this is, of course, that we need cross but one bridge at a time.

The arrangement with the Belgian representatives could not probably have been made before. That the adjustment has been found to be possible now is due to the general improvement, especially throughout the economic life of Europe. A growing faith in the operations of the Dawes Plan, the balancing of the German budget, the stability of German currency, the recognition of the integrity of international obligations, adjustments between governments and business interests—all have played their part toward a restoration of confidence. This restoration of confidence made the adjustment of the Belgian debt possible. That is an encouragement.

REPERCUSSIONS OF THE BOXER INDEMNITY

THERE is a new mind in China. There is no doubt of that. When Western business interests began to set up their enterprises in China, not so many decades ago, they were looked upon as harmless and inferior affairs. Their promoters were looked upon by the Chinese as lacking in culture and in civilization. Our Western methods were forced upon China quite as they were upon Japan. Our Western traders got their first foothold in Canton, where they were obliged to live in segregated sections of the city. This became true also for Shanghai and other cities. The Chinese were glad to have these foreigners settle their own disputes. The result was the gradual rise of foreign settlements—a method of development demanded by the Chinese themselves. Thus the whole system of extritoriality was of Chinese origin, and, peculiarly enough, it was a system forced upon the foreigners quite as the Ghetto system arose in certain quarters of Europe, and as segregation is forced upon negroes in certain cities of our own country.

Now the Chinese look upon the whole matter differently. This change of views began with the return of the Chinese students from abroad, particularly from the universities of the United States. Many of these students were able to attend our institutions of learning because of the Boxer Indemnity funds which we had voluntarily returned to China. True, the mission schools and other factors have influenced the Chinese mind. The residents of the Ghettos are no longer looked upon as inferior. They are rather feared because of their strength and influence. Furthermore, extritoriality ended in Japan a generation ago. It is about to end in Siam, it has been rather forcefully ejected out of Turkey. Intelligent Chinamen naturally wonder why the system

should hang on in their country. The students returning from the United States naturally spread the news that we of this country are rather favorable to the abolition of the system. Thus again we see the influence of our return of the Boxer Indemnity to China.

The principle of extritoriality has been a natural development. It has been embodied in treaties. The first treaty of this kind was between Turkey and England, in 1675. Later, similar treaties established the principle in Egypt, Serbia, Tripoli, Morocco, Tunis, Persia, and many other places. Invariably the line drawn by these treaties has been between Eastern and Western civilizations. Extritoriality simply means that foreigners are under the jurisdiction of their own governments, even when in a foreign country. A citizen of the United States in China is governed, not by the laws of China, but by the laws of the United States. If he gets into trouble, he is tried by American authorities. If he be in a "treaty port," he may not be arrested by Chinese police. If he be within strictly Chinese jurisdiction and is arrested by Chinese police, he must be turned over to American authorities for trial and punishment. As pointed out by Thomas F. Millard in a recent illuminating series of articles in the *New York Times*, "some twenty nations have extritorial rights in China."

At the outset this whole system was founded on convenience, common sense, and mutual accommodation. Both sides recognized the differences of their institutions, habits, and religions; it was an agreeable adjustment all around. But not so today. The youth of China are demanding "China for the Chinese," "Back to national rights," "Return us our sovereignty." It is not that the Chinese hate the foreigners; it is that they want what modern progressive nations have. These youth, particularly those educated

abroad, cannot see why extritorial rights should be granted, say, to Englishmen living in China, but not to Chinamen living in England.

Of course, the situation is not so simple as this. There is civil war in China. There are divergent economic interests and national rivalries. Pan-Asiaism is a movement of developing strength. The Anglo-Japanese alliance is no more. England is building a naval base at Singapore, the United States another at Oahu, in Hawaii. With the rapid rise of industries, trade unions are becoming keenly interested. In the meantime the Russian Soviets, as seems to be their custom, are fishing in the troubled waters.

But this much seems to be very apparent, that when we returned the Boxer Indemnity funds to China, and China took the money and sent her young men to be educated abroad, it was the beginning of a development the end of which is sure to have a profound influence, not only in the Orient, but throughout the Occident.

THE CENTENARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF URUGUAY

WE of the United States congratulate the Republic of Uruguay upon its celebration, on August 25, of one hundred years as a free and sovereign nation. These one hundred years have shown this republic to be one of the most progressive of modern States. With Argentina across the river to the west and Brazil to the north, Uruguay loses nothing of her importance because of the greater size of these neighbors. Indeed, Uruguay is frequently called "the most progressive nation of South America." Her relatively small size seems to have worked to her advantage. She has found it easy to make experiments in government and social enterprises. Intelligence and culture have marked her history. She has produced a

long list of literary men and women. It will probably be agreed that the foremost essayist and thinker of modern Spanish-speaking America was Enrique Rodó, who is acclaimed, not only at home, but in Spain and in France, as one of the immortals. Her poet-historian, Zorilla de San Martín, has written an epic of his country, *Tabaré*, which ranks with *Hiawatha*, and even rivals the latter in lavish beauty of description.

Mr. Harry Franck, who knows every Spanish-speaking country of the world, wrote that he would rather live in Montevideo than in any city he had ever visited. It is an interesting fact that Uruguay is the only South American country which has separated Church and State.

While Uruguay is the smallest republic in South America, it is approximately the size of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, and Rhode Island combined, with a population, however, of 1,500,000, little more than that of Connecticut. It is situated in the fork between the River Uruguay and the Atlantic Ocean. On the south is the broad estuary of the Rio de la Plata.

It is within this area that the epic struggle of the *Banda Oriental* (Eastern Shore) took place during the momentous years from 1810 to 1825. It was originally erected as a buffer State by Argentina and Brazil. Indeed the first arbitration treaty of South America, May 7, 1681, between Portugal and Spain, related to this territory. In 1806 the British took and held Montevideo, using it as a base for the projected capture of Buenos Aires. The Argentines forced the British to evacuate Montevideo. In the final struggle for independence Garibaldi played a conspicuous part, the struggle that lasted during the fifteen years preceding final independence. The history of the country is a history of courage and individuality.

Because of these things, because Uruguay has always stood for the sacredness of contracts, for achievement in industry, for social co-operation until poverty is practically unknown, and for international honor, we are especially glad to felicitate Uruguay upon her first one hundred years of achievement.

THAT Europe is improving seems to be the opinion of all our travelers returning to America. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, is one of these who finds that there has been marked advance in Europe, especially during the past two years. Upon landing in New York August 6, he is quoted in the *New York Times* of the next day as saying that the economic problems, as well as those that are more strictly political, have become more clearly defined, and that public opinion is better informed concerning their real significance. "It is generally agreed that the three steps next to be taken are security, judicial settlements of international differences, and then sharp limitation of armaments." Among other things, President Butler said:

"The elimination of the brutality and the passions of war stands out clearly as the most pressing problem of this age. War will never be eliminated by any form of that internationalism which aims to ignore national tradition, national sentiment, national pride or national patriotism, but only by teaching and preaching that nations themselves are moral entities and that they have an obligation toward their fellow-nations exactly similar to that which an individual has toward his fellow-men. The true international mind will not suppress or override patriotism, but will exalt it into a zeal for friendly co-operation and international service that will strengthen the nation, precisely as similar conduct strengthens and enriches the life of the individual.

"Europe is getting on. There is no reason for pessimism. The best minds

and the finest characters of the European nations, both big and little, are concentrated upon these grave and far-reaching problems. The conduct of Great Britain has been noble in the extreme. It has flinched from no difficulty and has weakened in the face of no obligation. The British people have been burden-bearers so long that they are not to be crushed by the staggering load which they are now carrying.

"It is much to be regretted that the important work for civilization and for international co-operation that is being carried on by the Secretariat of the League of Nations should be so little known in the United States, or, indeed, generally. The group of young, able, disinterested and highly educated men who are at work in Geneva upon a score of problems that affect the health, the comfort and the satisfaction of mankind and that relate directly to the development of industry and commerce reminded me more of the faculties of Columbia University than anything else has ever done.

"There are competent and highly trained specialists from a dozen different countries working eagerly in the public interest and aiming only to smooth out difficulties and to remove obstructions to the progress of the various agencies of civilization. A substantial volume might be written on the details of this work. The Secretariat is certainly a powerful and an invaluable agency in the development of international co-operation."

THE Institute of Politics, which recently closed its fifth annual session, is a rather clear-cut demonstration of the growing international mind. When we recall the few, brief, beautiful days of the Mohonk Conferences, this long summer session of enthusiastic students and lecturers is an evidence of progress in the field of international interest. True, there are more funds at the disposal of such movements than in the days before the war, but this is itself an evidence of a growing appreciation of the importance of knowing the facts about international problems, of discussing the meaning of these facts, of bringing experts from around the earth together. International intelligence is moving across the world.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

THE COMING CONFERENCE OF THE INTERPARLIAMEN- TARY UNION

The Circular of Invitation

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 25, 1925.

*To the Presidents of the National Groups,
Interparliamentary Union.*

DEAR SIRs: In conformity with the invitation of the President of the United States, pursuant to an act of our Congress, presented at the Twenty-second Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, at Berne, Switzerland, August 23, 1924, we have the honor to invite your group to be represented at the Twenty-third Conference of the Union, to be held in the Capitol Building, Washington, D. C., United States of America, October 1 to 7, 1925.

Your delegates to this Conference are asked to become the guests of our group at the Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City, on September 30, at 9:30 a. m., aboard a special train for Washington, stopping at Philadelphia for a reception and visit to places of historic interest.

The officers of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace have graciously offered to be the hosts of the delegates in New York, beginning the evening of October 7 until the morning of October 10. Invitations covering this period of entertainment will naturally be issued later by the Endowment.

Because of the kind invitation of the Canadian Group, copy of which is enclosed, we extend the privileges of transportation to your delegates by special train on October 10 from New York to Niagara Falls, where, on the following day, they will become the guests of our Canadian colleagues.

Our invitation should be understood to comprise free transportation September 30 from New York to Philadelphia and Washington, including lunch and dinner; transportation that evening from the sta-

tion in Washington to the Mayflower Hotel; rooms and meals at the Mayflower Hotel from time of arrival to time of departure, October 7; transportation, with dinner on train, from Washington to New York, afternoon of October 7; transportation from Pennsylvania Station, New York City, evening of October 7, to Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

Following the entertainment by the Carnegie Endowment in New York, our invitation includes transportation and meals on our special cars October 10, New York to Niagara Falls, meals and rooms at Niagara that evening and the following day, October 11, until the afternoon, when your delegates will become the guests of the Canadian Group.

This invitation includes each delegate, one member of his immediate family, and the Secretary of your group.

Further information relative to our plans for the entertainment of your delegates will be sent in later communications.

Of course this invitation is strictly in accord with the *Circular of Convocation*, sent under date of May 15 from Geneva by Baron Adelswaerd and Dr. Lange.

You will readily see the importance of replying to this invitation at the earliest possible moment, enclosing to the Director of the Conference a typewritten list of your delegation, giving their full names, titles, and addresses.

Delegates whose names are known to us in advance will be granted the freedom of our ports. It is necessary, however, that we know also in advance the boat and day of arrival for each delegate.

With kindest personal regards,

Yours very sincerely,

WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY,

General Chairman of the Conference.
ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,

Director of the Conference,
613 Colorado Building,

Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

Interparliamentary Union, Canadian Group

HOUSE OF COMMONS, CANADA,
OTTAWA, April 28, 1925.

The Honorable Senator William B. McKinley, 11, Rue Scribe, Paris.

DEAR SIR: I am instructed by the President of the Canadian Group, Interparliamentary Union, Honorable Senator N. A. Belcourt, to extend to the delegates to the Twenty-third Conference, Interparliamentary Union, a cordial invitation to visit Canada at the close of their work at Washington.

We understand by your various letters that, after having been the guests of the American Group at Washington, it is proposed that the delegates leave by special train on the morning of October 10, arriving at Niagara Falls some time in the afternoon of that day, and that the entire party shall be turned over to the Canadian Group in the afternoon of the eleventh.

The Canadian Group proposes to receive the delegates at Niagara October 11, p. m., and take them to Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Quebec.

The Canadian Group will take care of the traveling and hotel expenses of the delegates from the time that we receive them on October 11 until the end of the reception in Quebec.

The Twenty-third Conference is also cordially invited to hold in the Parliament buildings in Ottawa one of its plenary sittings.

The visit on the Canadian territory would consist of one day in Toronto, one or two days in Ottawa, one day in Montreal, and one day in Quebec.

Would you kindly, when the occasion arises, inform the foreign delegates of this cordial invitation of the Canadian Group.

Very sincerely yours,

THOMAS VIEN,
*Secretary, Canadian Group,
Interparliamentary Union.*

Circular of Information

AUGUST 1, 1925.

*To the Delegates XXIII Conference,
Interparliamentary Union.*

GENTLEMEN: Supplementing our invitation of June 25, 1925, we are pleased

to call your attention to the following facts:

(1) It is assumed that you have already received our circular of invitation, dated June 25.

(2) The diplomatic and consular officials of the United States, located in your country, have been instructed to visa your passports gratis.

(3) Where this office has been informed of your name, the name of your steamer, its date of arrival and port of entry in the United States, your baggage will not be examined by our customs officials at the port of entry.

(4) Your card of identification is enclosed. This card will facilitate the formalities at the port of entry, and also admit you to the special train of the Interparliamentary Union, in the Pennsylvania Station, New York City, 7th Avenue and 34th Street, on Wednesday morning, September 30, at 9:30 o'clock.

The same card will also be used as admission card to other cars, trains, sessions of the Conference, entertainments, etc., reserved for the delegates and guests of the Union.

(5) Baggage labels are enclosed, which should be filled out and attached to each piece of baggage.

(6) Our government holds that you, as our delegates and guests, will not be required to pay the so-called "head-tax" at the port of entry.

(7) The headquarters of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union in New York, September 27, 28, 29, and 30, will be the Pennsylvania Hotel, 7th Avenue and 34th Street (opposite the Pennsylvania Station).

(8) The headquarters of the Bureau of the Interparliamentary Union and of the American Group in Washington, October 1 to 7, will be the Capitol Building, Washington, where mail may be addressed to the delegates. Mail may also be addressed to the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.

(9) For the service of the delegates there will be a bureau of information at the Mayflower Hotel and at the Capitol Building.

(10) Other details, including special entertainments for the ladies accompanying the delegates, will be furnished later. There will be a committee of ladies to

serve as hostesses for the ladies who come as our guests.

(11) The Mayor of the City of New York will receive and extend official courtesies to the delegates September 28-29. Details will be furnished later.

(12) A list of the hotels in New York is enclosed.

(13) The program for the luncheon, reception, and tea in Philadelphia, en route from New York to Washington, September 30, is assured.

(14) The program in Washington, exclusive of the stated meetings of the Conference, will include:

Thursday, October 1.—Personally conducted sightseeing tour of Washington and environs, including all guests.

Friday, October 2.—The afternoon session of the Conference, devoted to the Pan American Union, will be held in the Hall of the Americas, Pan American Building, 17th and C Streets N. W.

Saturday, October 3.—Program to be notified later.

Sunday, October 4.—The Committee has deemed it best to leave this day entirely free from official entertainments, so that the delegates may arrange their engagements for the entire day as may suit their own desires.

Monday, October 5.—Luncheon and reception by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, at their headquarters building, Connecticut Avenue and H Street N. W., at 1 p. m., including all guests.

Tuesday, October 6.—The delegates, including all guests, will be received at the White House by the President of the United States at 1:30 p. m.

Following this reception there will be an excursion for all the delegates and guests to Mount Vernon, the home and tomb of George Washington.

At 7:30 p. m., State banquet to the delegates and guests, the Hon. Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State, presiding, at the Mayflower Hotel.

Wednesday, October 7.—The delegates take the special train at the Washington Terminal Station, in the afternoon, for New York, dining aboard the train and arriving at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, 5th Avenue and 34th Street, in the evening.

Thursday, October 8, and Friday, October 9.—Entertainment under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, including a formal dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria on the evening of the 8th. The detailed program will be given later by the Endowment.

Saturday, October 10.—The delegates will leave New York City by special train, in the morning, for Niagara Falls, arriving about 7 p. m.

Sunday, October 11.—Morning—Trip around the Falls.

1 p. m.—Farewell luncheon by the American Group.

3 p. m.—The delegates become the guests of the Canadian Group. The details of this trip will be furnished by our Canadian colleagues.

(15) You are especially requested to answer the inquiries set forth in the enclosed questionnaire, and send it to Mr. Call at once.

We assure you that the members of the American Group look forward with pleasure to welcoming you as a delegate to our coming Conference.

We are,

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY,

General Chairman of the Conference.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,

Director of the Conference,

613 Colorado Building,

Washington, D. C.

Delegates

The following countries have notified the American Group of their delegates, as follows (August 25):

Austria:

Dr. Karl Drexel, Mr. Josef Heigl, with daughter, Mrs. Anna Schiel; Mr. Eduard Heigl, with Mrs. Heigl; Mr. Viktor Kienboeck, Mr. Josef Stoeckler, Dr. Erwin Waiss, Secretary.

Bulgaria:

Mr. Theodore Kouleff, Mr. Vladimir Molloff, President of Group; Mr. Nicolas Monschanoff, Mr. Georges Semerdjief, Secretary; Mr. Grigor Vassiloff.

Czechoslovakia:

Dr. Jaroslav Brabec, President of Group; Dr. Ludwig Czech, with Mrs.

Czech; Dr. Wilhelm Medinger, with Mrs. Medinger; Mr. Ot. Nebuska, Secretary; Dr. Antonin Uhler, Mr. Franz Windisch.

Denmark:

Mr. Ivar Berendsen, Dr. A. Fraenckel, Mr. Andr. Th. Gronborg, Mr. H. P. Hansen, Mr. Halfdan Hendricksen, with Mrs. Hendricksen; Mme. Matilde Hauschultz, with Mme. Signe Cleve; Mr. J. C. C. Kyed, Mr. A. Lauesgaard, Secretary, with Mrs. Lauesgaard; Mr. Johannes Lou, with son; Mme. Elna Munch, Dr. P. Munch, with daughter, Miss Ebbe Munch; Mr. J. P. Sundbo, with daughter-in-law, Mrs. Sundbo; Mr. Sven Trier.

Dutch East Indies:

Mr. Schumann.

Finland:

Hj. J. Procopé, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. A. Saastamoinen, Dr. W. Tanner.

France:

Senator Beaumont, Mr. Bokanowski, Dr. Chassaing, Mr. Falcoz, Questeur; Mr. Pierre Etienne Flandin, Mr. de Grand Maison, Hon. Edouard Herriot, President of Delegation; Dr. Fernand Merlin, President of Group; Mr. Marius Moutet, Secretary; Mr. Pierre Reynaudel, Mr. Simon Reynaud, Questeur; Mr. M. Tournan.

Assistant Delegates: Mr. Frederic Brunet, Mr. André Escoffier, Mr. Thivrior, Mr. Grinda, Mr. Capgras.

Germany:

Mme. Gertrud Bäumer, Dr. Ludwig Bergstrasser, Mr. Theodor Bickes, Mr. Alfred Bordauf, Dr. Adolf Braun, Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid; Dr. Heinrich Brüning, Dr. Karl Cremer, Dr. Eduard David, with Mrs. David; Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, with Mrs. Dernburg; Prof. Richard Eickhoff, Mr. Erich Emminger, Dr. Hermann Fischer, Dr. Alfred Gildemeister, Mr. Wilhelm Heile, Mr. Karl Hildenbrand, Dr. Otto Hoetsch, with Mrs. Hoetsch; Mr. Josef Joos, Dr. Ludwig Kaas, Mr. Erich Koch-Weser, with Mrs. Koch-Weser; Mr. Adolf Korell, Mr. Lemmer, Mr. Paul Lobe, President of Reichstag; Mme. Clara Mende, Dr. Fritz Mit-

telmann, Mr. J. L. Mollath, with Mrs. Mollath; Prof. Pachnicke, Mme. Antonie Pfülf, Prof. Quidde, Mr. Adam Röder, Mr. Hans von Raumer, with Mrs. von Raumer; Frh. von Rhirinhaben, Dr. Kurt Rosenfield, Dr. Reinrich Schnee, with Mrs. Schnee; Dr. Rudolf Schneider, with Mrs. Schneider; Mme. Louise Schröder, Dr. Walter Schücking, President of Delegation; Mr. Wilhelm Sollman, Mme. Christine Teusch, Dr. Josef Karl Wirth, former Chancellor.

Great Britain:

Sir Arthur Shirley Benn, Sir Robert Bird, with Lady Bird; Mr. R. J. G. Boothby, Mr. Edmund Brocklebank, Brig. Gen. C. R. I. Brooke, Brig. Gen. J. Charteris, Sir Henry Cowan, with Lady Cowan; Major W. P. Colfox, with Mrs. Colfox; Mr. J. B. Couper, Major George F. Davies, with Mrs. Davies; Mr. J. Hugh Edwards, Col. A. England, with Mrs. England; Capt. Arthur Evans, with Mrs. Evans; Sir Park Goff, Capt. D. M. Gunston, with Mrs. Gunston; Capt. W. d'Arcy Hall, with Mrs. Hall; Mr. C. M. Barclay Harvey, with Mrs. Harvey; Mr. George Harvey, Lord Hemphill, with Lady Hemphill; Mr. Dennis Herbert, with Mrs. Herbert; Right Hon. Sir Robert Horne, Mr. R. S. Hudson, with Mrs. Hudson; Sir Herbert Huntington-Whiteley, with Lady Huntington-Whiteley; Sir Robert Hutchison, with Lady Hutchison; Mr. Louis Lougher, Capt. P. Macdonald, Mr. P. Maddison, with daughter, Miss Maddison; Lieut. Col. G. K. M. Mason, with Mrs. Mason; Mr. J. Wardlaw Milne, with Mrs. Milne; Maj. Gen. Hon. Sir Newton J. Moore, with Lady Moore; Capt. T. J. O'Connor, with Mrs. O'Connor; Mr. W. Paling, Mr. F. W. Pethick-Lawrence, with Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence; Lt. Col. A. Pownall, with Mrs. Pownall; Mr. Ben Riley, Mr. Samuel Roberts, with Mrs. Roberts; Mr. S. Saklatvala, with Mrs. Saklatvala; Mr. Rennie Smith, Brig. Gen. E. L. Spears, Col. K. Vaughan-Morgan, with daughter, Miss Vaughan-Morgan; Mr. Tom Williams, Col. H. C. Woodcock.

Holland:

Baron E. B. F. F. Wittert van Hoogland.

Hungary:

Mr. Tibor Farkas, Mr. Gustave Gratz, Mr. Emile de Nagy, Mr. Tibor Kallay, Mr. Gyula Pekar, Mr. Paul Petry, Mr. A. Poka-Pivny, with Mrs. Poka-Pivny; Baron Josef Sztereny.

Irish Free State:

Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde, Bart.; Mr. Michael Hayes, President of Delegation; Mr. Thomas Johnson, Mr. Patrick McGilligan, General Richard Mulcahy.

Italy:

Senators—Giuseppe Di Stefano-Napolitani, President of Delegation; Salvatore Barzilai, lawyer, former Minister; Silvio Crespi, lawyer, former Minister; Marquis Gerino Gerini, with son, Elexandre; Luigi Luiggi, engineer, with daughter, Luisa; Vincenzo Morello, lawyer; Domenico Nuvoloni, lawyer; Cesare Sili.

Deputies—Giuseppe Bastianini, agricultural scientist; Fausto Bianchi, lawyer; Vittorio Buratti, manufacturer; Annibale Gilardoni, lawyer; Giambattista Miliani, manufacturer, former Minister; Gino Olivetti, lawyer, Secretary, Italian Industrial Confederati; Comte Cesare Rossi, engineer, manufacturer; Baron Alexandre Sardi, former under Secretary of State; Fulvio Suvich, lawyer; Filippo Ungaro, lawyer, Secretary of the Chamber of Deputies.

Mr. Luigi Nuvoloni, Secretary-General of Italian Group.

Japan:

Mr. Shigéru Morita, Mr. Hisashi Isobé, Mr. Kaju Nakamura, Mr. Mitsuo Hirano, Mr. Fusanosuké Mayeda, Mr. Daisuké Sakai, Mr. Masutaro Takagi, Mr. Jun-saka Takatori, Mr. Sukéichi Taguchi.

Latin American Delegates:

Honduras.—Gustavo A. Casteñeda, Venancio Callejas, Paulino Valladares, editor leading newspaper.

Nicaragua.—Santiago Callejas, Benjamin Elizondo, Francisco Paniagua Prado, Leopoldo Salazar.

Panama.—Julio Aleman, Jephtha B. Duncan, editor *Times* of Panama; Octavio R. Vallarino, J. A. Zubieta.

Peru.—Lauro A. Curletti, Senator, Chairman Committee Foreign Affairs; Juan Francisco Pazos Varela.

Venezuela.—Carlos A. Grisanti, President of Congress; Luis Churion.

Lithuania:

Mr. Kazys Ambrozaitis, Mr. Nykolas Krupavicius.

Newfoundland:

Mr. Robert K. Bishop, Hon. Cyril K. Fox, Speaker of Assembly, with Mrs. Fox; Mr. Albert E. Hickman, with Mrs. Hickman; Mr. William J. Higgins, with Mrs. Higgins; Hon. Sir Patrick T. McGrath, President of Delegation, with nephew, Mr. Fraser; Hon. Walter S. Monroe, Prime Minister, with Mrs. Monroe; Hon. Alfred B. Morine, with Mrs. Morine and son.

Norway:

Mr. Joh. Ludwig Mowinckel, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Jon. Sundby, Mr. K. Wefring.

Poland:

Mr. Joseph Chacinski, Mr. Severin Czetwertynski, Mr. Jean Dabski, Mr. Jean Debski, Mr. Bronislas Dembinski, Mr. Ladislas Grabski, Mr. Kurt Graebe, Mr. Erwin Hasbach, with daughter, Miss Angélique Hasbach; Mr. Conrad Ilski, Abbe Otto Kayezyrski, Mr. Ladislas Kosydarski, Mr. Leon Reich, Mr. Stephan Sacha, Mr. Edmond Trepka, Mr. Vicente Witos, Father Alexandre Woycicki, Mr. Jean Zamorski.

Rumania:

Mr. T. D. Artareanu, with Mrs. Artareanu; Mr. Nicolae Botez, with Mrs. Botez; Mr. P. Dragomirano, Mr. Constant Georgesco, with Mrs. Georgesco; Dr. I. Mathieu, with Mrs. Mathieu; Mr. Tony Iliesco, with Mrs. Iliesco; General Dim. Iliesco, Mr. Ignat Mircea, Dr. Vespasian Pella, with Mrs. Pella; Mr. Vespasian V. Pella, Mr. Scarlat Stan, Secretary.

Sweden:

Baron Theodor Adelswaerd, President of Council on Union, with Baroness Adelswaerd; Mr. E. R. Abrahamsson, Mr. Sven Bengtsson, Mr. J. Bergmann, with Mrs.

Bergmann; Mr. David Bergstrom, with Mrs. Bergstrom; Mr. J. L. Carlsson-Frosterud, Mr. Arthur Engberg, with Mrs. Engberg; Mr. Martin Fehr, Mr. Eric Hallin, with Mrs. Hallin; Count Raoul Hamilton, with Countess Hamilton; Mr. Gelix Hamrin, with daughter, Miss Hamrin; Mr. Otto Jaerte, with Mrs. Jaerte; Mr. Frederick Johanesson, Secretary of Delegation; Mr. Edvard Larson, Mr. Carl Lindhagen, Mayor of Stockholm; Mr. Emil Lithander, with Mrs. Lithander; Mr. Ernst Lundell, Mr. Fabian Mansson, with Mrs. Mansson; Mr. C. P. V. Nilsson, Mr. Johan Olofsson, Mr. Oscar Olsson, Mr. A. Osterstrom, Mr. J. Pals-son, Mr. David Pettersson, Mr. Ivar Venerstrom, Mr. Kurt Walles, Assistant Secretary of Group.

Switzerland:

Dr. Paul Usteri.

Yugoslavia:

Dr. Srdyan Boudisavleyewitch, Dr. Voya Marinkovitch, with Mrs. Marinkovitch; Mr. Ante Troumbitch, leading Croatian, with Mrs. Troumbitch; Dr. Velisar Yankovitch, with Mrs. Yankovitch; Dr. Vassa Yovanovitch, with Mrs. Yovanovitch.

Draft Resolutions

There has been a series of resolutions drawn by the Council of the Interparliamentary Union. These resolutions, which may be amended by the Council at its meetings September 28-29, will furnish the basis for the discussions at the meetings of the Conference.

There are draft resolutions presented on behalf of the Permanent Committee for the Study of Juridical Questions. The first section of these resolutions relates to the codification of international law, the second to the declaration of the rights and duties of nations, the third to the criminality of wars of aggression and the organization of international repressive measures. To this last is added an annex setting forth fundamental principles of an international legal code for the repression of international crime.

There are draft resolutions presented on behalf of the Permanent Committee for the Study of Economic and Financial Questions.

There are draft resolutions presented on behalf of the Committee for the Study of Ethnic and Colonial Questions. These resolutions refer to some of the problems affecting national minorities, of race, language or religion, particularly in the European States.

The draft resolutions presented on behalf of the Permanent Committee for the Study of Social Questions relate to the traffic in dangerous drugs.

There are draft resolutions presented on behalf of the Permanent Committee for the Reduction of Armaments. In the discussion of these resolutions Brig. Gen. E. L. Spears, of the British House of Commons, will present his plan for demilitarized zones, as set forth in his article published in the last number of this magazine.

There is a draft resolution requesting the Committee for the Study of Political and Organization Questions to study the parliamentary systems of the different countries, with the view of presenting a report in a subsequent conference.

All of these draft resolutions have been printed in the official languages of the Conference—French, English, and German—for distribution to the delegates.

CAILLAUX'S GOLD BONDS

PERHAPS the most spectacular feature of the financial program so far inaugurated by Finance Minister Caillaux has been the issue of gold bonds based on an entirely novel system of interest. The decree relating to these bonds authorizes the Minister of Finance to issue four per cent perpetual rentes, reserved for the holders of national defense bonds and enjoying all the privileges of immunity belonging to State rentes previously issued and the privileges accorded to national defense bonds.

Interest Based on Sterling Exchange

The new rentes will begin to bear interest as from September 5, 1925. The issue price is fixed at par. The designation of interest as 4 per cent is purely nominal. The value of the bonds, as well as the interest on them, is linked to the pound sterling. It is assumed for the general purposes of the issue, that a franc is worth one-ninety-fifth part of a pound.

Interest, which will be payable half-yearly, will be estimated in the case of a 100-franc bond to be two-ninety-fifths of one pound for the half-year, whatever the current rate of the franc may be at the two half-yearly dates. Thus, if the issue had already been made and interest were due now, taking the current rate of the pound as 103, the half-yearly dividend on a 100-franc bond would be roughly 2.16 francs. If the rate of the franc falls to 119 to the pound, the half-yearly coupon will be worth 2.50 francs. If, however, the franc improves, the value of the half-yearly coupon will not fall below two francs. Thus, the holders are insured against risk either way.

The new bonds are exchangeable for national defense bonds, which bear interest at the rate of 5 per cent.

Propaganda Campaign for the New Bonds

All through the period of the subscription—i. e., starting with July 20, when the bonds were first offered to the public—the government has been conducting a vigorous propaganda campaign in favor of the new issue. As in the case of war-time loans, posters, theaters, cinemas, and all the other agencies of reaching the public have been utilized.

An important point is the difference of interest between the 4 per cent of the loan and the 5 per cent now paid on the national defense bonds. This means a considerable saving to the government, which will devote this difference to redeeming part of the loan by buying in the open market. A notable consequence of this guaranteed loan and one viewed with considerable misgivings in many quarters is that it introduces into France for the first time since the war a distinction between gold and paper money. This distinction is bound to grip the public mind, and a relentless struggle between paper and gold values will begin. It may bring many readjustments of prices and social difficulties, and in any event the government is likely to be driven by the full force of public opinion to take further steps in this direction for the financial salvation of France.

An interesting development in connection with this campaign has been the appeal made by Cardinal Dubois, of Paris,

to the Catholic population of France to subscribe to the new bonds as an act of true patriotism. It will be recalled that the Cardinal was one of the leaders in the attacks made by the prelates of France against the Herriot Government in connection with the Vatican policy pursued by the latter.

The Budget for 1926

Just before the end of the last session of the Chamber of Deputies, M. Caillaux laid before it the first draft of the budget for 1926. With this budget M. Caillaux intends to produce surplus revenue amounting to a milliard of francs (about £10,000,000), and so to lay a foundation for funding operations. The revenue side of it will be much more carefully compiled than that of the 1925 budget, which has just been passed. The series of amendments which were made to it during the debates of the last few months, often with more thought for political expediency than for fiscal utility, have so distorted the revenue-getting machinery that no one can tell exactly what will be the effect of the new taxes. It is expected that in the new estimates M. Caillaux will effect great reforms and simplifications in the system of taxation.

The budget will not come up for discussion until the Parliament reassembles next October. The Finance Minister therefore has three months in which to consolidate his position, and his success with the next session of the Parliament will depend very largely upon what he will have been able to accomplish during this period.

EVACUATION OF THE RUHR

IN accordance with the agreement made between M. Herriot and Dr. Marx after the London Conference regarding the evacuation of the Ruhr, the French and Belgian forces began, during the second week of July, a gradual withdrawal from the occupied territory. The date fixed for the final evacuation of the Westphalian and Bochum territory was August 16, but so rapidly did the work of withdrawal proceed that by the end of July practically

all the French and Belgian troops in the occupied districts were already out.

The occupying troops marched out by road. Some of the French troops have been returned to the Rhineland army of occupation, from which they were taken originally to be sent into the Ruhr. Other detachments will return to their garrisons in France, while the African troops are being sent to the Moroccan front.

There still remains the question of the three cities of Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort, which had been occupied by the Allies prior to the occupation of the Ruhr as a measure under the sanctions provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. The question of the evacuation of these three cities was discussed at a recent conference in Paris between M. Briand and the new Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Vandervelde. The French and Belgian foreign ministers came to the conclusion that the evacuation of these cities could not be decided by them alone, since the occupation was undertaken originally as an interallied measure, and the evacuation would have to be decided likewise. They have expressed themselves, however, as willing to regard favorably the evacuation of these cities, provided that Germany showed a real disposition to carry out the disarmament suggestions contained in the last note of the Council of Ambassadors.

In British diplomatic circles opinion has been expressed that the position thus taken by the French and Belgian foreign ministers is not quite justified, since Great Britain, after the occupation of the Ruhr, divested herself of all responsibility for the continued occupation of the three towns in question. It is therefore held in London that the evacuation of the "sanctions towns" is entirely within the authority of the French and the Belgian governments.

FRANCE AND SPAIN IN MOROCCO

THE outstanding event in the Moroccan developments during the past few weeks has been the Franco-Spanish Conference, held in Madrid between June 17 and July 25. The need of such a conference has been obvious for some time; in

fact, a conference of this sort has been necessary since 1912, when France and Spain signed an agreement with regard to Morocco, but failed to follow it with a political instrument that would give effect to the agreement.

Difficulties of Franco-Spanish Negotiations

Efforts to bring about Franco-Spanish collaboration in Morocco have been attempted for some time past, but great difficulties always rose in the way. Perhaps the greatest difficulty has been in the spirit with which both sides approached the matter. For decades past French and Spanish policies in Morocco have been carried on in a spirit of rivalry, which forced them to act independently of each other and played into the hands of their adversaries.

The need of co-ordinated action in Morocco became especially apparent after Abd-el-Krim invaded the French Zone and a war to the finish began between France and the tribal insurgents of the Rif. France made the first steps toward bringing about the desired co-operation, but it took a considerable amount of negotiating before the Franco-Spanish Conference finally met in Madrid under the presidency of General Jordana.

There were three questions to be discussed: 1, The blockade of the Rif coast and of the land frontiers to prevent contraband trade in arms; 2, the handling of the contraband question in Tangiers; 3, direct collaboration between France and Spain in fighting Abd-el-Krim. It was this third question that caused the most difficulty, because while France is under political necessity to conduct a vigorous offensive campaign against the Rifians, Spain, on the contrary, is quite content with a defensive blockade.

Results of the Conference

Upon the conclusion of the conference, General Jordana issued a statement on the results achieved, of which the following is a summary:

(1) The conference was opened with the double purpose of ensuring peace in Morocco and of removing all those obstacles which in regard to Morocco had affected the internal policy of Spain and France. By abandoning prejudices and

exclusive points of view, this ideal had been attained.

(2) Maritime and land surveillance agreements would ensure the isolation of rebels, deprive the enemy of supplies, and prevent the passage of his agents. The appearance of the French and Spanish flags side by side on the sea and the establishment of liaison officers in both protectorates were proof of close collaboration in the matter of the blockade.

(3) In regard to the Tangier zone, complete agreement was reached for the purpose of assuring the effectiveness of the neutrality provided for in the convention. The measures agreed to would not interfere in the least with the provisions of the convention, and therefore the directory hopes that they will be approved by all the countries concerned and that no difficulties will be placed in the way of their execution by France and Spain, which believe them to be necessary to prevent Tangier continuing to be the headquarters of the rebellion. Spain and France were now endeavoring to secure such approval, including that of the local authorities of Tangier.

(4) France and Spain were agreed that there should be no separate peace with Abd-el-Krim, and also that the initiative in the matter of peace terms must emanate from him. The bases upon which peace would be acceptable were not revealed, except that they comprise respect for international treaties, guarantees for peace, the respect due to national interests, and consideration for the sacrifices already made in the cause of civilization in Morocco.

(5) For the purpose of removing the barrier constituted by the inviolability of the frontiers in the event of a separate military operation, it had been agreed that air and land forces of Spain and France should have a reciprocal right of pursuit under guarantees ensuring that such action would be of an entirely temporary character, excluding possession. (At the same time the frontier of the two zones has been traced, on the map, with greater precision than in the treaty of 1912, but this new line is not considered final.)

(6) Throughout the plan of collaboration, care had been taken to insure the immutability of the policy of the directory in Morocco, namely, the maintenance of

Spain's effort within certain limits of sacrifice. This condition was constantly borne in mind by the Spanish negotiators with a view to insuring precisely the efficacy of the result of the conference by coordinating clearly the directory's with the French plan.

(7) In regard to the delimitation of the protectorate frontiers, in view of the impossibility of agreement owing to the deficiency of the present knowledge of the topographical features, a *modus vivendi* was arranged based on the Treaty of 1912.

Possible Peace Terms

It will be noted from the statement that the initiative in inaugurating peace negotiations is left to Abd-el-Krim, and while the latter has not as yet indicated clearly and concisely what his terms are, versions of these terms have come from various quarters. The Paris *Quotidien*, for example, has published what purports to be the peace terms to which Abd-el-Krim would be prepared to agree. They are stated to have been communicated to the newspaper by a person who visited the Rif last winter and has been in constant touch with Abd-el-Krim. They amount to this: An "independent Rif State" is to be recognized and guaranteed by the League of Nations. Its governor is to bear the title of Emir, and will recognize the suzerainty of the Sultan of Morocco. The river Wergha is to be the southern frontier of the State; its territory is to include the Jabala country, with the towns of Larache, Arzila, and Tetuan. It is to be allowed to maintain a standing army of limited effectives. Certain provisions are to be made for the economic development of the Rif, and the League of Nations is to arrange a small loan. In return, all propaganda in the French zone is to be stopped and a third of the French and Spanish prisoners are to be released without ransom.

Abd-el-Krim has often spoken of demanding from Spain an indemnity of 25,000,000 pesetas in exchange for his abandonment of all claims to Tetuan. He bases this claim on the fact that after the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859 Spain extorted from the Sultan an indemnity equal to that sum in exchange for its promise to evacuate Tetuan. Since they had afterwards reoccupied the town, Abd-el-Krim

now believes his country entitled to a return of the indemnity.

But the greatest difficulty in peace negotiations will undoubtedly turn around the question of the degree of independence to be enjoyed by the Rif. Abd-el-Krim has made definite promises to his followers to fight for virtual independence, yet it seems scarcely possible that France and Spain will concede him anything beyond some sort of autonomy.

THE GERMAN SECURITY PACT NOTE

THE dispatch to Paris of the German Note on the Security Pact (the text of the Note appears in the International Documents section of this issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*) served as an occasion for a debate in the German Reichstag on the whole question of Germany's foreign policy. The debate opened with a long speech by Foreign Minister Stresemann, in which he explained the position of the government.

Stresemann's Defense of the Note

After giving a brief outline of the events which had led up to the dispatching of the German reply to the French note, Stresemann called the attention of the Reichstag to the fact that the whole matter was still in an indefinite stage. For one thing, it is still not known what powers would be signatories to the proposed pact; this is especially true of Italy, whose participation Stresemann would be inclined to welcome most warmly. Then there are many points on which objective discussion must take place. In the question of arbitration, for instance, Germany must refuse a state of affairs in which one of the parties could act as second and also as umpire.

But the German answer was at least a basis for further discussion, said Herr Stresemann, and offered good grounds for hoping that a positive result would be achieved. To this the atmosphere of the London Conference had contributed, and the expectation would be strengthened by the evacuation of the Ruhr. In saying this, he desired to express satisfaction at the display of good will on the part of France and Belgium. He refuted the

recent assertions of Count Reventlow that no undertaking in regard to evacuation had been given. This interpretation of the London Conference Agreement was not only false, but it was calculated to injure national interests. Not only had an undertaking been given to evacuate the Ruhr, but he had no doubt whatever that the Allies would adhere to their undertaking given in London to evacuate the sanctions towns also within the agreed term.

As for the Cologne Zone, now that the Allies' note with regard to disarmament had become known, the Foreign Minister went on, the general opinion was that the remaining points to be fulfilled no longer provided ground for the protracted occupation of the northern zone. A committee had been appointed by the government, armed with special powers, and whatever the Allies were entitled to demand would be carried out. In part it had been carried out already. Some questions of principle would have to be debated, because in the view of the German Government they went beyond the limits of the Treaty of Versailles. He pointed out, however, that failure to complete the great work of the pacification of Europe implied a return to "Poincarism," and quoted a passage from M. Poincaré from the French Yellow Book in which an alternation of the status of the Rhineland had been clearly foreshadowed. The safety of the future of the Rhineland was, from the German point of view, the main idea of the pact. The war had produced no victor who could be contented with his victory, and the continuation of the war with other instruments had created a degree of political confusion in Europe which threatened the very existence of the old civilizations. The difficulties were largely economic, and the great problems of the future lay in the fact that without the co-operation of both Germany and France the present economic distress could not be alleviated.

It had been debated in many quarters whether the Dawes scheme was in jeopardy, said Herr Stresemann. He did not believe that it was in any danger unless the peace of Europe and economic security were endangered also, but it appeared equally certain that the Dawes scheme could not be carried out if sanctions and

mistrust continued to form the ground plan of European policy. The evacuation of the Ruhr and the sanction towns had put an end to the false policy directed against Germany, and German foreign policy now lay in a straight from the liquidation of the Ruhr struggle via the M. I. C. U. M. agreements to the Experts' Report, and from the London Schedule of Payments to the Security Pact. Germany had begun a peace offensive on a grand scale, and it was the desire of the government that its efforts might lead to a favorable result.

Socialist and Nationalist Viewpoints

The Foreign Minister was followed by a Socialist deputy, Herr Breitscheid, who, however, addressed his remarks not so much to the government as to Count Westarp, the leader of the Nationalists. He wanted to know what the Nationalist leader meant by a statement appearing in an article of his published in the *Kreuz Zeitung*, to the effect that the German security offer was not binding upon Germany, and that at best it was but an *aide-mémoire* for the German representatives in London and Paris.

Count Westarp replied that in his opinion the interests of the country demanded that the government should be given as wide a basis as possible for its foreign policy. There was, however, no question that the French Note had gone far beyond the limits of the original German offer, and thereby an entirely new situation had been created. The Socialist interpellation, based as it was upon a remark of his in the press, had long been overtaken by events, and the reply of the German Government expressed the policy of the whole cabinet, with which he and his party were in agreement. They recognized that it was inevitable that in a cabinet formed of a coalition of parties not all their wishes could be considered. They recognized that, in its main lines, the reply took the right direction, in that it took note of the more important misgivings and preliminary questions which must be frankly discussed if the stage of hopeful negotiations were to be reached.

The Nationalist Party had some doubt, said Count Westarp, whether the path chosen by France would really advance the

cause of the peace of the world without Germany having to assume—and this time voluntarily—further impossible burdens and unbearable renunciations. But they were willing to exhaust all possibilities in the interests both of Germany and of the peace of Europe, and therefore they by no means rejected the ideas underlying the reply out of hand. They agreed with the reply in parts, and altogether with the honest desire shown by Germany to proceed upon the present path by way of preliminary conversations. The reply itself reserved decision where binding negotiations could be entered into with the prospect of good results. It was especially this characteristic of the reply that had made the consent of his party possible.

French Criticism of the German Position

An important part of the French press has interpreted Herr Stresemann's remark that "Germany has begun a peace offensive on a grand scale" as meaning an offensive for the revising of the Treaty of Versailles. It is pointed out that an offensive is an operation intended to capture the enemy's positions. Confirmation is found of this, as it seems, somewhat trivial view in the fact that Count Westarp (as reported here) stated that the Nationalists attach a particular importance to the fact that the German Note declares that "the German Government considers as self-evident that it (the Pact of Security) is not meant to exclude for all future time the possibility of adapting existing treaties at the proper time to changed circumstances by way of peaceful agreement." This observation, as also that attributed to a Center Deputy that his party hoped that Belgium would some day agree to the revision of the situation regarding Eupen and Malmédy, is thought to justify suspicion of the spirit in which the Germans are undertaking their peace offensive.

Another remark of Herr Stresemann which is not regarded by the French as calculated to facilitate negotiations is that to the effect that Germany must refuse a state of affairs in which one party in an arbitration would at the same time be umpire. This is taken to mean that Germany declines to admit that, in certain cases, France shall be entitled to act di-

rectly, without reference to the League of Nations. An adequate answer to this is, it is thought, to be found in Mr. Chamberlain's letter to M. Briand of June 8. "It cannot be admitted for a single instant," say the *Temps*, "that the British Government could possibly modify their attitude and go back upon the position taken up by Mr. Chamberlain with the assent of the whole Baldwin Cabinet." The conference which Herr Stresemann declared to be Germany's "object," although he did not refer to it in his reply to the French Note—a conference which Great Britain is reported to favor—is generally regarded here as, if not altogether undesirable in itself, at all events something very far off.

A criticism of the German reply, drawn up by M. Briand, has been sent to the British Government, as also to Brussels, Prague, Warsaw, and Rome. It consists of seven points.

Some of the seven points referred to are as follows: Germany must understand that she can only enter the League of Nations on exactly the same terms as every other State member. Occupation of the Rhineland is settled by the Treaty of Versailles, which Germany professes not to question. It is no use, therefore, her trying to get round it. The French Government will resist the German attempt to modify the French attitude in regard to the sanctions and guarantees of arbitration treaties.

Italy and the Pact

The possibility, hinted at by Herr Stresemann in his speech in the Reichstag, that Italy may eventually join the Pact of Security, seems rather remote.

It is true that Signor Mussolini, speaking in the Senate on May 20, expressed the opinion that "the parties to the contemplated pact should have been at least five," meaning by this that Italy should have been included, but since then the question appears to have presented itself to him in another light.

Signor Mussolini remains true to his motto, "Nothing for nothing," and evidently he could not find in the development of the situation anything to bargain with. While the Liberal press, on the assumption that the consolidation of European peace might be "something" also for

Italy, follows with interest the present negotiations, hoping that all difficulties will be removed and the pact concluded, the Nationalist and Fascist press shows itself either hostile or indifferent.

Signor Coppola, who is one of the Italian representatives at Geneva, writing in the *Idea Nazionale*, says that Germany "sees in the pact only the means for recovering her forces in view of the future war of revenge, while France looks upon it as an instrument for maintaining Germany chained and disarmed." No diplomatic pacts, according to the writer, will ever preserve the peace. Therefore, "firm in this conviction, Italy must systematically prepare herself for the future and never lose sight of the historic fatality of a new European conflagration."

The *Popolo d'Italia*, after remarking that Great Britain, France, and Germany are all respectively looking after their own particular interests, says: "The chief obligation for Italy would be the obligation to participate in a future war which would not be her war. The simple signature given to some new protocol would signify something like over one hundred milliards of lire and five hundred thousand young lives lost. It is desired that Italy should guarantee others. But who guarantees Italy? Nobody except Italy herself."

THE MOSUL QUESTION

AFTER months of deliberation and of inquiry on the spot, the League of Nations Commission of Inquiry into the questions of the Mosul boundary has at last concluded its labors. The Commission has been made up of three persons, viz., M. af Wirsén, a Swede; Colonel Paulis, a Belgian, and Count Teleki, a Hungarian. It was appointed by the Council of the League to look into the questions referred to the League by the Lausanne Conference, and presented its report at the end of July.

Report of the Mosul Commission

The general conclusion reached by the Commission is that if the Mosul region is to be made an integral part of Iraq, there can be no question of putting an end to the mandatory status in four years'

time, as determined in last year's treaty between Great Britain and Iraq. League control through a mandatory power must be maintained for 20 or 25 years. Otherwise it would be better, according to the Commission, that the sovereignty over the contested region should revert to Turkey, whose domestic security and international security are incomparably greater than those of Iraq, if Iraq were withdrawn from the control of the League.

If British control under the League is thus maintained, the Commission recommends that administrative and educational autonomy should be given to the Kurds of the northeastern part of the Mosul region. This recommendation is perhaps superfluous, since the liberty given to the Kurds, the institution of schools for the education of Kurdish children in their own language, and the tendency of the mandatory power to encourage the establishment of something like an autonomous administration in the Kurd district have provoked strong complaints from the Turks, who in their own territory are now engaged in a violent persecution of the Kurds with the hope of stamping out every vestige of independent Kurdish nationalism.

The Commission is further of opinion that if the League mandate is not maintained and a partition of territory becomes necessary, then the partition should be effected along the line of the Lesser Zab, a tributary of the Tigris that joins the big river between Mosul and Bagdad. This would leave Mosul within the Turkish frontier and an important Kurdish district, including Suleimanie and Kirkuk, within the frontier of Iraq. In the event of such a partition the Commission recommends that provision should be made for the retention by Iraq of the sources of the irrigation system centering on the DIALA, which is of such importance for cotton cultivation.

The British press, in commenting on the report of the Mosul Commission, regrets that the general conclusions of the report do not take into account the position of the Assyrian Christians, who, it is contended, "fought for Great Britain in the war and who inhabit an imperfectly defined frontier district which, in the event of a rough-and-ready partition,

might easily leave them exposed to the vengeance of their Turkish enemies."

Comment of the Turkish Press

The announcement of the fact that the report of the Mosul Commission has been presented to the Council of the League has produced a strong patriotic reaction in the Turkish press. The Constantinople *Jumhuriyet* describes the British case as artificial, inconsistent, and founded upon imperialism and oppression. It derides the British arguments as mere propaganda and complains that the British purposely put every obstacle in the way of the Mosul Commission and persecuted those who "voted" in favor of Turkey. The newspaper is even indignant that the British should have raised the question of the fate of the Assyrian Christians, describing this as "the eternal cry of alarm that the Turks illtreat Christians." This very up-to-date line of argument may surprise some who are not fully aware of the virtues of the new régime in Turkey, and doubts as to its efficacy are, perhaps, justifiable, as it is remembered that "the evil that men do lives after them," and that, while none accuses the Republic of such behavior, yet leading Republicans have acknowledged that in the bad old days of the Empire the Turks did illtreat Christians. *Sonn Saat* and *Vatan* publish a message from Angora describing the ever-increasing "tyranny" exercised by the British at Mosul, asserting that many arrests have been ordered there and at Suleimania by the High Commissioner, and that the police are dispersing with whips meetings of persons anxious to demonstrate that Turkey is compelling unwilling inhabitants of Mosul to sign petitions in a contrary sense.

Ikdam, discussing the subject, learns that the government will probably be represented by a strong delegation at the meeting of the League Council when the report is considered, and suggests that among its members will be Fethi Bey, former Prime Minister and at present Ambassador in Paris, and Shukry Kaya Bey, former Minister of Foreign Affairs at Angora.

Opening of the Iraq Parliament

In the meantime the British proceed with the organization of their mandate

rule in the Iraq. On July 16 Bagdad, the capital of the country, witnessed the impressive ceremony of the opening of the first properly elected Parliament of Iraq. The Parliament was opened by King Feisal in the presence of the British High Commissioner, who sat in the visitors' gallery.

The King's speech, which had been prepared by the cabinet in the constitutional British fashion, declared that the country had made considerable strides in the past year, and commented on the friendlier relations with Great Britain resulting in much-needed economic developments.

He proceeded:

It is gratifying to me to bring you the happy news that our diplomatic relations with certain European powers have at last reached a phase which will lead to official recognition of our independence. This is doubtless due to the kind assistance of our great ally. We entertain strong hopes that neighboring States will follow Europe's example in establishing diplomatic relations, thus strengthening feelings of confidence and friendship.

Outlining the new government's policy, the speech reiterated the ambitious policy of past cabinets, combined with the economies recommended in the report of the financial mission. In conclusion, he said: "There can be no political independence without economic independence, upon achievement of which our government has set its heart."

GERMAN INQUIRY ON THE END OF THE WAR

THE Reichstag subcommittee on the 1918 offensive, appointed some time ago to investigate the question of the circumstances leading to the end of the war, has just published its report. The official conclusions of the subcommittee and some of the circumstances attending the inquiry shed a most interesting light on the last period of the war and the final collapse of the German armies. Following is a summary of this report taken from the *London Times*:

The Scope of Inquiry

The subcommittee's terms of reference were considerably restricted. Originally

it was charged with the investigation of the following five points:

(a) Origin, execution and collapse of the offensive in 1918.

(b) Were failures in the direction of operations in 1918 due to bad conditions within the army?

(c) Whether economic, social, or moral conditions at home affected the army and navy?

(d) Whether political events influenced the power of the front and country to continue their resistance?

(e) In how far did revolutionary and annexationist propaganda exercise a disintegrating influence?

On the later consideration, the subcommittee revised its instructions and, in effect, confined itself to the first two questions only. Even so, in the process of its researches it was inevitable that it should throw a good deal of light on certain aspects of the other three.

The effect of thus restricting the field of the inquiry was to exclude two important subjects, without which it would really be impossible to form a true opinion. These were the questions of sea power and the morale of the home front, both vital factors and both affecting the operations of the army. But even in the superficial examination of the report, with its array of experts' declarations, the conclusion is irresistible that the committee had also another purpose in view. That Germany lost the war is not questioned outside the ranks of the Fascists, who inherit the mantle of Grand Admiral von Tirpitz and the Fatherland Party. But Germans will not have it that they were beaten in the field. It may be that anything that supports this will be of value in some future reconstruction of the army. The organization of the army has been retained in the conviction that some day it will have to fight again, and it is an asset that it should retain the reputation and conviction of being ever-victorious. In this respect, therefore, the subcommittee was a whitewashing body, and in that capacity it has done its best to prove that no fault in duty attached to the Kaiser, or the generals, or the officers, or the men, or even—so far as it reports—to the home front. One member, Dr. Deermann, who

showed himself inclined to take a more critical view, appears to have been gently coopted out of the subcommittee. If there was any blame to be apportioned, the subcommittee seems inclined to lay it upon the annexationists, and it shows a general understanding of their patriotic motives. Such censorious remarks as are bestowed upon generals—except in the case of Professor Delbrück on General Ludendorff—are almost in terms of commiseration.

Inquiry Disagreements

In other respects there was room for a good deal of disagreement between the experts themselves, between the experts and the members of the committees, and between the committeemen themselves. A subcommittee of the Reichstag proved an instrument ill-suited to a dispassionate historical inquiry into causes of defeat, though it may be doubted whether any other conceivable instrument would have been more suited at the present stage of German opinion. It issued an interim report dated September, 1922, which already then displayed the controversial character of the inquiry.

This gave the preliminary views of the three chief experts, Colonel Bernhard Schwertfeger, General von Kühl, and Professor Hans Delbrück, successor to the Chair of History in Berlin University once occupied by Treitschke. Colonel Schwertfeger, already well known as a military writer of distinction, wrote on the political aspects of the offensive, General von Kühl upon the material side from the technical and military point of view, and Professor Delbrück, straying from the prescribed philosophic problem, devoted his two papers to the discussion of those of his fellow-experts, accompanied by his criticism of General Ludendorff.

The reports of these experts were backed with documents, the publication of which is not the least important part of the committee's work. The second subcommittee—one of the three mentioned above—had already had Field-Marshal von Hindenburg and General Ludendorff in the witness-box, and though the fourth subcommittee gave them the chance of expressing their opinions upon the reports of experts, they did not avail themselves of it. In their stead, General Wetzler, a former

Chief of the Operations Department of the German General Headquarters, contributed a memorandum setting forth the objects which governed the higher command at the time of the 1918 offensive.

As Colonel Wetzler he had long been associated with General Ludendorff. when, on the overthrow of the Chancellor, Herr von Bethman Hollweg, the center of political gravity in the war passed to the German General Headquarters, Ludendorff cleared out many of his old staff and put in his own men. Colonel Wetzler became Chief of the Operations Section. Of him Colonel Bauer, another out-and-out Ludendorff man, writes that Wetzler was a passionately keen soldier with a splendid memory, but pedantic, with curious tactical and technical ideas, to which he clung obstinately, and that he was quite unteachable. Colonel Bauer frequently noted in his own memoirs the constant friction that went on around Colonel Wetzler and blamed himself for having given way to him in order to save General Ludendorff from annoyance. His chief success in the war was when he planned the Isonzo offensive.

In General Ludendorff's memoirs the differences between Colonel Wetzler and the army leaders are also mentioned. The latter wanted men for strengthening the trench system, and he wanted them for training as soldiers. In September General Ludendorff, as he observes in his "Recollections," appointed a new operations chief "in order to delegate more work and to obtain more rest." Whereupon Colonel Wetzler became chief of staff to General von der Marwitz, to take part in the withdrawal from the Hermann line in the following month.

German Ill-Fortune

Roughly, it may be said that Colonel Schwertfeger found that the collapse of the offensive in 1918 was due to a combination of circumstances in which the fault must be ascribed to ill-fortune and not to any person or persons. General von Kühl gave exact figures for the German troops and material, and as nearly as he could the figures of Germany's opponents. He found that Germany had enough men for a successful offensive, even taking into

account the Americans, but neither sufficient horses nor mechanical transport.

Nevertheless, he considered that Germany might have gone on fighting, as far as the material side of the war was concerned, considerably longer, while better terms were obtained. Professor Delbrück, as already indicated, criticized the conduct of the war by the German general headquarters, and especially blamed General Ludendorff for having precipitately demanded peace negotiations when there was no immediate need for doing so. He also held the view that a peace of understanding would have been possible if the generals had not lost their heads and if the claims for annexation (and especially the annexation of Belgium) had been publicly abandoned, General Wetzler, as his rank now is, emphatically denied the statements of Professor Delbrück, both with regard to General Ludendorff and the German general headquarters, though he admitted that there were wide divergencies of opinion on strategical and technical questions within the staff itself. For the most part, however, his memorandum is of a very technical military character and will need separate consideration.

From the statements of the experts, and especially from the documents which accompany them, the conclusion must be drawn that neither the political leadership nor the military chiefs were clear, even down to the autumn of 1918, as to what Germany's war aims were. To the last those in authority were trimming their annexation hopes with each shift of the wind. The military blinded the civil authorities, the civil authorities blinded the public. It is admitted that the war was really lost on July 15, when the offensive against Reims failed. It was an accomplished fact, though it needed the action of August 8 to make it evident. Yet long afterward Hindenburg informed Count Hertling that he could win on French soil and could dictate peace terms, and the German foreign policy was shaped by this statement. The report throws no new light on the events at German general headquarters when General Ludendorff is supposed to have lost his nerve, or upon his subsequent recovery and attempt to go back on his demand for an immediate peace. Some blame is thrown upon Bulgaria and Aus-

tria for their defection at the last moment, but it is worth remembering that they let go only when they saw their powerful ally could no longer hope for success.

The Official Findings

The official conclusions of the subcommittee may be summarized as follows:

1. The Kaiser was the decisive instance for all military and political questions. The responsibility for political methods rested with the Chancellor and the responsibility for the conduct of the war rested with Field-Marshal von Hindenburg and his coadjutor, General Ludendorff. The subcommittee could detect no sign of neglect in the liaison between the government and general headquarters or between these two and the Kaiser.

2. There was always a party in Germany which favored a peace by understanding. There was always another, which maintained that there must be a settlement by results, including a considerable extension of Germany's political and economic power. A third party oscillated between the two, and expanded or contracted its demands in accordance with the situation.

3. The success of the blockade stopped the enemy from seeking a peace by understanding, because they hoped to win by starvation, even though they might fail in the field.

4. The spirit of the German troops in 1918 was sufficient justification for attempting the offensive. The losses in the defensive battles and the physical and moral suffering made it imperative. (The Socialists and Communists voted against this.)

5. Nothing in the evidence shows that general headquarters was remiss in preparing or carrying through the offensive—the German troops were superior in numbers and the supply of munitions was adequate, but there was a shortage of horses and petrol. The lack of reserve positions was due to the fact that all available forces were required in the line and no more could be withdrawn from the factories. Deficiency of munitions played no part in the result, and the provision of tanks would only have been possible at the expense of other war material, especially transport.

6. The resignation of Herr von Kuhlmann (Foreign Secretary) was due to pressure of the general headquarters. His statement that "the war could not be won by arms," made in the Reichstag, was based on a memorandum on the peace mission of Colonel von Haeften to The Hague in March, 1918, at the instance of general headquarters. His mistake was to say so in public.

7. General Ludendorff informed Herr von Hintze (von Kuhlmann's successor) in the middle of July, 1918, that victory was assured. Herr von Hintze based his policy accordingly.

8. The collapse of the offensive as revealed by the defeat of August 8 was due to the unprecedented battles, followed by the exhaustion of the moral and physical capacities of the troops, to inadequate reserves, and shortage of supplies in war materials.

9. Hindenburg stated in the Grand Council of August 14 that he still hoped "to remain on French soil and thereby finally to force our will upon the enemy."

10. Herr von Hintze took all the necessary diplomatic steps after this date to end the war, but had no success owing to the military situation.

11. General headquarters on September 29 urged the opinion that an immediate armistice was necessary to avert a military catastrophe. The request took the government completely by surprise. Prince Max of Baden, who believed the step to be a false move, did everything to avoid making an immediate offer for an armistice. After the request had been transmitted, the military position, by reason of the enemy's difficulties, did offer chances of a defensive war on the West front being continued for some time.

12. The general headquarters acted in good faith and in accordance with its military outlook in clinging as long as possible to the hope of a satisfactory military peace. The government trusted the judgment of the general headquarters till it perceived for itself the impossibility of victory. It possessed nobody capable of carrying this view against the will of general headquarters.

13. The subcommittee does not feel that the evidence justifies it in delivering a verdict attributing fault to any person.

CABLE FACILITIES IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

A RECENT meeting of the British Empire Press Union was devoted to the question of the recent developments in world cable facilities, especially so far as the carrying of press messages is concerned. The principal speakers at the meeting were Sir John Denison-Pender, chairman of the Eastern Telegraph Company, and Mr. Goddard, vice-president of the Western Union Telegraph Company. Their statements before the meeting shed a most interesting light on what has been done since the war for the enlargement and cheapening of cable facilities, especially in the British Empire.

£10,000,000 Spent by the British Company

Sir John Denison-Pender stated at the outset that during the war the British company could not devote any attention to the improvement of cable facilities, but that since then they had devoted great attention to the improvement of their service. The first matter was to get the cables in an efficient state, for as they got old it was necessary to lay in long lengths to replace faulty portions. That work was entirely suspended during the war. Soon after the end of the war they found that the capacity of their cables, even when working well, was insufficient to give a really satisfactory service, so additional cables were laid between Great Britain and the Mediterranean, Egypt, Aden, Seychelles, Bombay, Colombo, Penang, and Singapore, Ascension, Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Maranhão, Barbados, and down the East Coast of South America.

Since the war they had spent no less a sum than £10,500,000 on new cables and renewals, with the object of increasing the capacity and improving the service for the benefit of cable users. The additional capacity provided to deal with the "rush" hours left them with a margin of capacity during non-rush hours, which had been utilized by the introduction of a new class of traffic at quarter rates, viz., daily letter telegrams, subject to delivery after forty-eight hours. This had been very largely taken up and had provided a new source of revenue. With a view to increasing further their carrying capacity

in the Red Sea, where the capacity was low, they removed their cables from Suakim and established a new station at Port Sudan, which had been brought in as an intermediate relay station on four out of their five Red Sea cables. This had resulted in a great increase of carrying capacity on the cables between Suez and Aden, besides giving greater flexibility in the event of sections becoming faulty, and giving better facilities for Sudan traffic.

Having the actual cables in good order was a small matter unless they were efficiently worked, and therefore their attention had been devoted to making improvements to increase the carrying capacity and to reduce errors. As regards capacity, it had always been realized that if the loss of current between the sending and receiving ends of the cable could be reduced the speed could be increased. This, it was known, could be done on very short cables by putting an iron sheath or loading over the copper conductor, many such cables having been laid for telephony.

2,000 Letters Transmitted Per Minute

A short cable loaded with plain iron had characteristics which were suitable for use in telephony but were not suitable for the different conditions which obtained on cables of any considerable length. The Telegraphic Construction and Maintenance Co. had invented an alloy called mumetal, which had the desired characteristics and, moreover, had the advantage that these characteristics were not affected when laid in or near the direction of the magnetic meridian. They had decided to lay a cable of this nature between Perth, Western Australia, and Cocos Island, and according to theoretical values at present it was estimated that they should be able to get a capacity of over 2,000 letters per minute in one direction, as against some 600 letters that they should get with an unloaded cable.

The means of making use of such a capacity had yet to be decided, for there were at present no instruments capable of working at such high speed which would record the message in such a form that it could be retransmitted without delay into the other cables of their systems; but they expected to be able to divide this high speed into channels that were to have, say,

five channels of 400 letters each, making the 2,000 in the aggregate. He thought, perhaps, it was well to say no more in relation to the loaded cable, except that they were very busy investigating the whole subject, and there was still a very great deal to be learned.

The Western Electric Company of the United States was also devoting great attention to the same matter, and had invented an alloy called permalloy for loading, and a cable constructed on that principle had been laid by the Western Union Telegraph Company between the Azores and New York. In the case of their existing unloaded cables, much time and thought had been expended in increasing their capacity, and he was pleased to be able to tell them that very great strides had also been made in that direction.

New Improvements Introduced

For many years cables had been duplexed; that was, messages were sent simultaneously over the same cable in opposite directions. They now had an invention—not their patent, but they had certain rights in connection therewith—by which a one-way channel was superimposed over the messages sent by the ordinary method. That was an important improvement, and he might say that the apparatus, which was perfected by the inventor in collaboration with their staff, had been put into operation on several of their cables, and that these superimposed channels were working most satisfactorily.

Further developments in the matter were expected. The question of relaying from one cable to another was also a most important matter. When a signal sent into a cable was received at the distant end it arrived considerably distorted, due to various factors, and the nearer the cable was worked to its maximum speed the greater the effect of those factors in producing distortion. When relaying—*i. e.*, sending on the weak signals which were from one cable with renewed strength into a second cable—it was very desirable not only to increase the strength of the distorted signals, but to remove their distortion as well, in order to avoid sending on a distorted signal into another cable, to arrive still further distorted at the end of that cable, and so on.

In 1913 their laboratory staff invented and designed an instrument which could be used at a relay station to correct the re-transmitted signals to a considerable extent. By making a few changes the same instrument could be made to produce a perforated tape, which, being a replica of that used at the originating station, could be used for effecting a fresh perfect transmission into the second cable. The war again held up all development, and although those instruments worked successfully throughout the war period, it was not until 1920 that the lessons learned from their use could be acted upon and work commenced on new models which would give a still better performance.

Question of Press Rates

On the question of press traffic, Sir John Denison-Pender remarked that although this traffic was dealt with in turn with ordinary full-rate business, the rate charged was only one-quarter of full rate. In some cases it was even less than a quarter, India and South Africa being cases in point. The advantage given to the press was, perhaps, not always realized, and it might interest them to know that press messages, in words, amounted to 22 per cent of their total traffic; but the revenue from press messages was only a little over 2 per cent of the total message receipts. The great factor in connection with the new type of cable was its capital cost. It could be laid at a relatively less capital cost, by which he meant less cost in comparison with its capacity, than the old type of cable, and always providing that greater speed was attained.

The speaker called attention to one interesting feature of press-message transmission. According to his information, a great deal of the press work that they carried over their cables is thrown aside when it reaches the newspaper offices. Newspapers are given quarter, and in some cases lower than quarter, rates, but if 50 per cent, or even 75 per cent, of the messages are to be discarded, it means that the newspapers are practically coming up to the full rates.

All-Round Decrease of Rates in Contemplation

Mr. Goddard stated that the Western Union Company had a cable laid with a

special loading between New York and the Azores. It was completed last September, and although it had carried traffic in connection with the extension cable between the Azores and Italy, a large proportion of the time had been devoted to experiments. They had had the benefit of working the cable for nine months, and he was told that very considerable results had been obtained. As a matter of fact, working it in its simplest form, they had got 1,920 letters a minute, and they had gone a step farther and ordered a cable, which was being manufactured at present, to be placed between New York, via Newfoundland, and Penzance. They anticipate it would give them 2,500 letters to the minute. That was, roughly, about eight times the capacity of the best cable they had hitherto.

Recently they had put in magnifiers, increasing the capacity of their cables by 30 per cent. They had made another development which they anticipated would give them greater capacity. They were now working at their office a direct printer, which meant that an operator in New York worked a thing like a typewriter which perforated a slip in the Morse code. The slip was passed through a machine in New York and printed the characters on a tape in London in Roman characters. It was an invention that would give them an increased capacity. With a cable giving eight times the capacity of their old cables, the traffic had only to be forthcoming to make it an economical success. He would not prophesy what the reduction would be, but he felt sure as a result of the developments in the cables that there was going to be a decrease all round in rates.

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DATES

(July 16-August 9)

- July 16—The Swiss Government decides to sign the drugs convention of the Second Opium Conference, which has now been signed by all the States which participated in the conference to the end.
- July 18—The French begin the evacuation of the Ruhr.

- July 20—The German note on the Security pact is presented to M. Briand in Paris.
- July 23—The Reichstag of Germany, by a vote of 235-158, approves the foreign policy of the Luther Government, especially its attitude on the Security pact.
- July 28—It is announced that President Coolidge intends calling a second armament limitations conference as soon as European conditions will permit.
- July 30—A Belgian delegation to Washington to discuss Belgium's debt to the United States sails from Cherbourg.
- July 31—The evacuation of the Ruhr by the French is completed. The Japanese Government, headed by Viscount Kato, resigns.
- August 1—Premier Kato, of Japan, forms a new cabinet, which is the same as the old one, except that the three Seluyukai ministers are replaced by Kenseikai leaders.
- August 5—Ratifications of the two nine-power treaties concerning China are exchanged in the Diplomatic Room at the United States Department of State, and become effective immediately. The first official meeting of the Tacna-Arica Plebiscite Commission is held in Chile.
- August 7—The Reichstag passes the tax bill of the German Government, thus ratifying the payment of obligations under the Dawes plan for the coming year.
- August 8—Two French aviators finish a non-stop flight at 2,546 miles, a world's record.
- August 9—60,000 members of the Ku Klux Klan parade in Washington.
- The Belgian debt commission arrives in New York.

AMERICA AND EUROPE*

By WILLIAM R. CASTLE, Jr.

Chief of the Division of Western European Affairs, Department of State, Washington

THE aim of American policy toward Europe is helpfulness without impertinent interference; co-operation without entanglement; avoidance of promises which cannot be fulfilled and the scrupulous fulfillment of engagements. The aim of the Administration, first, last, and all the time, is to promote peace—a peace that will be permanent because based on a sympathetic understanding of common problems and on recognition of national rights.

Importance of Our Own Interests

This policy must always remain thoroughly American, in that it must be based on the fundamental interests of the United States. Only sentimentalists will find fault with the government for this attitude, because only they could make the

absurd claim that the American people elect their President primarily to promote the interests of other countries. In the final analysis, the protection and promotion of the permanent interests of this country by the government is best for the world at large. It must be admitted, however, that one great problem of the government is to distinguish between our apparent and temporary interests and our real and permanent interests. When those real interests are appreciated, there is only one course which any government can honorably follow.

I shall touch on a few of the specific policies of the government, all of which may be tested by the general principles above noted—that is, the promotion of the permanent interests of the United States in such fashion as will, at the same time, help the cause of international peace and world prosperity.

*Substance of an address delivered before the Institute of Politics, Williamstown, Mass., July 30, 1925.

Our Commercial Treaty Relations

Our commercial treaty relations are at present unsatisfactory because with some countries we have no treaties at all, whereas with others we have treaties so old that they are not responsive to modern conditions. Shipping regulations, for example, drawn for sailing vessels taking two months to cross the ocean are not necessarily applicable to steamers taking six days. The new treaties which it is the purpose of the department to negotiate are founded on general most-favored-nation treatment, the United States relinquishing the old idea of a *quid pro quo*, which limits the general most-favored-nation idea, and retaining special treatment only in the case of Cuba, with which country our relations are peculiarly close because of proximity and because of treaty engagements entered into as a result of the Spanish War. We are naturally willing, as a corollary, to grant similar special exceptions to other countries which have like commitments, as in the case of Spain and Portugal. The new treaties, are, I believe, scrupulously fair. We ask nothing which we are not willing to give in return. The treaties should go far toward eliminating causes of misunderstanding in international trade relations, misunderstandings generally of a minor nature, but always capable of developing bad international feeling, which might lead to a serious strain of relations.

We are able, under the law, to arrange with foreign nations having laws enabling them to meet our conditions, whose ships ply between American and foreign ports, a reciprocal remission of income taxes on shipping business. This has already been carried out with many nations, to the distinct advantage of each nation making the arrangement and to the advantage of American shipping also, since several nations have fallen into line. We have made treaties with certain European nations by which their ships are permitted to bring liquor under seal into American ports, in return for which we are allowed to search vessels suspected of rum-running outside of the traditional three-mile limit. By these treaties we are enabled far more effectively to enforce our prohibition laws. We do not interfere with the laws of other nations. The Italians, for example, have a regulation that members of the crew must

be furnished a daily allowance of wine. We can search rum-runners with far less chance of serious misunderstanding as to jurisdiction.

I have cited these three examples to demonstrate the government policy of protecting ourselves in such manner that we minimize causes of misunderstanding. It can hardly be denied that the progressive removal of causes of misunderstanding, both actual and possible, is one of the most certain methods of insuring peace.

War Debts

The government is determined to bring about a funding of all war debts to the United States. So far, the following have been funded: British, Polish, Finnish, Lithuanian, and Hungarian, the latter debts incurred solely for reconstruction purposes. A Belgian commission, made up of some of the best men in Belgium, is on its way to America to negotiate the funding of the Belgian debt. It is probable that French, Czechoslovak, and Italian commissions will soon be appointed to carry on similar negotiations for their own countries.

The whole question of the debts is, I need hardly remind you, very controversial, but it is peculiarly one which must be settled through government negotiations. Interference on the part of private individuals who believe they have discovered a panacea is almost certain to lead to misunderstanding. The solutions suggested by amateur financiers and amateur statesmen vary all the way from complete cancellation to a strict and instant accounting.

The Administration believes that any extreme measures are both economically and morally unsound. It believes, however, that international relations must be founded on the sanctity of international obligations; that repudiation of these war debts or any others would indicate lack of good faith; that their cancellation would demonstrate a sentimental weakness almost equally unsettling to sound international dealings. That the government should adopt the extreme principle of demanding an instant and full accounting is also unthinkable. Even if such an instant settlement were humanly possible, it would disrupt the economic stability of all the countries involved and would thus react

on our own well being as well as on theirs. The United States is no Shylock. It is an honest and generous creditor; honest because it cannot transfer the debts of other nations from the shoulders of the American people without the full consent of the American people; generous because it has no intention of taking advantage of weakness, no thought of overestimating capacity to pay. All funding arrangements must be founded on the same fundamental principles of financial obligation, already fully accepted by the British, but they must equally be developments from that principle fitted to the particular case. Suits of clothes are all built on the same model, but the tailor must take the measurements of every individual man.

The American Government insists that these debts be formally recognized through the negotiations of funding arrangements. It believes that this will lead toward stability, since a nation, like a man, is far more willing to work effectively and earnestly when the full extent of obligations is known and admitted and a possible method of payment has been devised.

There are many who believe that a large measure of the blame for the chaotic economic conditions in Germany during the post-war years was due to the fact that Germany had no idea of the total bill which must be paid. When the Dawes Plan made this clear and also indicated a possible method of payment, conditions immediately improved. The funding of the British debt to America was one of the very important steps in the British return to the gold standard.

We Are Not Isolated

The Administration has no intention of reversing the traditional American policy of non-interference in European political affairs, not because the policy is traditional, but because it has proved salutary. This in no sense implies lack of sympathetic interest in such European political arrangements as will lead to stability and security against war. If there is one thing true of the government policy, it is the will for peace. The United States is not isolated. The world has become a mere fetish of demagogues, a word without any background of fact. A great creditor nation can never be isolated, can

never live solely unto itself; and, willingly or not, the United States has become the great creditor nation.

Our own self-interest, therefore, corresponding, as usual, to world interest, imperatively demands peace in Europe. The government will do all in its power to promote peace through the approbation and support of such democratic movements as will lead to peace. The President has already expressed his hope for the success of the proposed European Security Pact, the outstanding political attempt to create European stability which must always be founded on security as well as on economic solvency. The United States cannot become a party to this pact; we cannot guarantee to protect by force of arms the frontiers of distant nations.

On the other hand, we can study, criticize if need be, applaud when applause is deserved, the plans of European nations to live in peace and understanding with each other. When we recognize a determination for peace in any nation, we can and should support that nation through financial credits, which we should not extend to a nation which we believe is a menace to peace. If we are to send our capital abroad—and without the assistance of our capital the rehabilitation and, therefore, stability of Europe will be indefinitely retarded—we have the right and the duty to say under what conditions we shall agree to loan; equally the right and the duty to refuse government sanction to loans which may be used against peace, and to support generously those countries which are leaders in the work of international reconstruction and understanding. The American Government does not, of course, make any loans out of the public treasury. It can, on the other hand, advise with the bankers who are floating foreign loans as to what loans are and what are not consonant with public policy. We object to loans for building up armament, but we offer no objection to whatever loans for constructive purposes may be sought by nations whose will is world peace and reconstruction.

Probably no bankers in America would make the request, but if any banker should consult the Department of State as to a loan to the Soviet Government of Russia, the answer would be a prompt refusal. A loan to the Soviet Government would

certainly be contrary to public policy. The United States does not pretend to dictate the form of government which any country should have, but it does not propose to recognize any government which repudiates its international obligations and interferes with the economic and political systems of other countries. If Russia were a democratic republic or a democratic monarchy instead of the despotism which it is, we should not recognize its government if we had clear evidence that that government was employing agents to stir up trouble in our own country. Still less are we under any obligation to recognize a communistic government, representing a small minority of the Russian people and indisputably guilty of world-wide destructive propaganda.

The claim of those who attempted to differentiate between the activities of the Soviet Government and the Third International has been exploded. The evidence the other way is overwhelming and it is now clearly understood, especially, perhaps, by those who have recognized the Soviet, that the Soviet Government and the Third International are only the right and left hand of the same organism, two phases of the same activity. The European nations have gained little by recognition except an army of propagandists, who attempt to undermine the governments whose guests they are. We have had a long friendship with Russia. We welcomed the revolution which destroyed the shackles of monarchical tyranny, little realizing that it would lead to another and more merciless tyranny, which looks out with greedy eyes on the rest of the world. Such a government is not an aid to world peace, but an inciter to war. Recognition would be contrary to the fundamental principle on which American policy toward Europe is founded.

The World Court

The Administration desires earnestly that, under the reservations suggested by Presidents Harding and Coolidge and by Mr. Hughes, America shall seek membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice, because we believe that this organization will in course of time become one of the bulwarks of peace. Adhesion by the American Government to

the statute of the court is opposed by many honorable and thoughtful men, but their arguments seem to me to be based on misconception as to the purpose of the court and its relation to the League of Nations, and, although this is seldom used as an argument, the fact that the court was created by the League.

Even though I do not approve steps toward American membership in the League, I am ready to applaud any undeniably good thing which comes out of the League. If a chef prepared some good dishes and some bad ones, I prefer to eat the good ones and leave the rest, and it makes no difference whatever if the chef is cross-eyed. The World Court should be able more effectively than any organization yet devised to bring about the resort to judicial decision of many controversies which might develop into serious disputes. It approaches the ideal toward which the policy of this country has always worked. It should be literally a world court and cannot be this with the United States standing aloof. We should have a voice in the appointment of its judges, and to vote on this matter with nations now members of the League of Nations no more leads to membership in the League than to work with these same nations under the auspices of the League to bring about an improvement in world health conditions.

Our Relations With the League of Nations

In all matters of general humanitarian interest, as well as in matters directly affecting the United States, the government plans to co-operate with the League of Nations when such co-operation appears to be the best method of getting results. This again does not indicate any tendency to join the League. That issue is not under consideration because it is a question concerning which the American people have spoken clearly. In any case, there are many who believe that the United States can be of greater use to the world and can exert more independent influence in favor of peace as we are than if we were a member of the League. It may well be that in the councils of the League it is sometimes a useful thing to have the members ask themselves, "Will America approve of this?"

I believe sincerely that for the nations of Europe the League is a most useful and important forum for the discussion of all manner of European questions; that in this way it should have great influence for peace. Every one in the American Government, I am sure, wishes for the League ever-increasing usefulness, and foresees such increasing usefulness, especially after Germany becomes a member. But to throw this country into the political activities of the League—activities almost exclusively European—would mean, it seems to me, a betrayal of the vital interests of this country.

We can make our influence for peace felt through our independent position, and even if it could be proved, which I doubt, that we could be of greater use to Europe by becoming a member of the League, we should probably still not seek membership, for the reason that to the government is entrusted protection of all the permanent interests of this country; and these interests are national as well as international. National interests certainly make it incumbent on the government, except in a crisis between right and wrong and the defense of national as against sectional interests, to do nothing to disrupt the various elements of our population, which spring from all the nations of the Old World.

We are not afraid of the League; we applaud every accomplishment of good; and in the case of such matters as control of opium, as control of traffic in arms, if other nations who are members of the League choose to use the machinery of the League to call and to manage conferences, there is certainly no reason for the United States to remain sullenly absent. We were fully represented at the two recent conferences mentioned and we paid our full share of the expense of the conferences. The American Government desires to take a helpful part in all international humanitarian matters where our wealth and our power can be used to world advantage. We do not propose, through the League or otherwise, to become embroiled in political matters of purely European import.

The Government is Not Asleep

It is impossible in the space of a few minutes to give any adequate idea of the details of American policy toward Europe. All I can hope to make you realize is that the Secretary of State, supported by the President, has a clear and consistent general policy in accord with which the various matters which arise are settled. Certainly that policy is not spectacular. Mr. Kellogg is too good a lawyer and too wise a man to act on snap judgments. He is building for the future, striving for better international understanding.

Another thing I want you to realize is that the government is compelled to study and to take into account a great many more things than are ever considered by the individual with the panacea. He usually bases his plan on a single idea or in reference to a single nation, without consideration of the complicated factors—economic, political, and social—any one of which may be decisive. There is no royal road to peace. It will not be achieved by physical disarmament nor by signed agreements, unless these agreements are accompanied by moral regeneration. Mankind has taken hundreds of thousands of years to reach the present state of civilization, or six thousand if we accept the scientific authority of certain fundamentalists, and human nature cannot be remade in a day. But this is no cause for despair.

Disarmament, gradually and wisely accomplished; the substitution in always more and more causes of judicial procedure for force; the growth of arbitration; the elimination of causes of dispute—all these things, in which the Government of the United States is profoundly interested, will create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and forbearance in which there is no place for destructive passion. After all, peace is, in Mr. Houghton's admirable phrase, "an adventure in faith." Outside of Europe's disputes, but in no sense isolated, the United States has a great opportunity to promote that international confidence on which permanent peace must rest.



BASIS FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY *

A German Reply to General Spears

By Dr. EDGAR STERN-RUBARTH

LONG before and after the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles, the tendencies of the former adversaries of Germany were governed alternately by the questions of reparation and of security. It was never quite clear, up to the time of the Dawes Report, whether France preferred the one or the other of these two necessities, both of which her politicians described as vital. But, since the London Agreement of last August was concluded and the question of reparations thus far settled, the other component of French—which means, for Germany in general, Allied—policy seems to have become the more important.

For Germany, in the present state of her strength, to discuss whether the frame of mind of her former enemies was justified by facts would serve little purpose—that is to say, whether and how possibilities, such as to form a logical basis for the fears of Germany's Western neighbors, could have arisen. No political party in Germany thinks there is such a basis. On the contrary, every year since the World War has seen the military power of the nations surrounding Germany becoming stronger, especially in technical means, whereas German means of warfare have remained stable under the Versailles Treaty, and the number of men with military experience and physically trained for military purposes is rapidly diminishing. But notwithstanding these inner convictions on the part of Germans—convictions important for an understanding of the so-called German Nationalist movements or (according to the French view) aggressive tendencies—French fears must be considered and treated as real. Therefore several attempts have been made, not only by the parties of the Left, but also by

various German governments, at any rate since the Chancellorship of Dr. Wirth, to give our Western neighbors supplementary security over and above that provided by the Peace Treaty.

Englishmen might be astonished if one tried to show how, for a thousand years, France has always, and as a rule successfully, been enlarging her territory towards the East exclusively at the cost of Germany; how France reached the Rhine, was then pushed back, only to renew her efforts later on to get the Rhine frontier without taking into account the nationality of the people; or that, toward the year 1500, Cambrai, Verdun, Toul, Nancy (then essentially German towns bearing German names) and Burgundy were within the German frontier, as were Arras, Cambrai, and all Alsace-Lorraine, even after the Thirty Years War in 1648. This historical pressure upon Germany is the more to be taken into account since the growth of population was going in the opposite direction, and the taking away of German territory with German population did not prevent an increase of population in the German Empire.

Modern political ethics, as proclaimed during and after the World War, having to some extent set, it is true, a limit to the annexation of foreign territories, the traditional French desire for the Rhine frontier, partly disguised or partly justified by the ostensible fear of eventual German aggression and by the wish for security, has taken the form of a demand for pacts such as to give France supremacy on the banks of the Rhine and especially on the left bank. Thus there have been the Security Pact with Great Britain and America, drafted at Versailles and repudiated by Washington and, later on, by London; the Draft Pact of Cannes; and now the Rhine Pact proposed by the Luther-Stresemann German Government, which, after heavy negotiation with Mr. Chamberlain, has been presented by M. Briand in a form slightly modified on the

(* Dr. Edgar Stern-Rubarth is the editor of an important semi-official German publication, the "Deutsche Diplomatisch-Politische Correspondenz." His views may therefore be taken to bear some relationship to those of the German Government. This article is reprinted from the British "Review of Reviews," of August 15, 1925.)

surface, but more completely detrimental to Germany in effect.

.

All this must be said at the outset, and crudely, in order to show how the serious and well-meant efforts of a third party, like the proposal of General E. L. Spears, affect the German standpoint, and affect it not only by reason of the gratitude and confidence they may evoke, but on account of the sense of past, present, and future difficulties that stand in the way of any bilateral arrangement between France and Germany.

In itself, the scheme of General Spears certainly has most of the merits of a constructive attempt to satisfy both parties while taking into account the realities of the political situation. In its original form, the conception underlying this scheme was repudiated in Germany when it appeared in the *Vossische Zeitung* in March, 1923, shortly after the invasion of the Ruhr. It was repudiated especially because of the suggested international gendarmerie for the demilitarized area, and because of the absolute one-sidedness of these and other provisions. The repudiation was due to the political situation at the moment, not to doubt of its author's desire for fair play. After the end of the struggle in the Ruhr, when the horizon had become a little clearer, General Spears felt his way with French, German, and British public opinion; and he modified his plan to the extent of proposing that the Rhenish gendarmerie should be recruited from the people of the Rhineland, albeit under the command of neutral officers and under the control of the League of Nations. As a French contribution to that kind of guarantee, he proposed only the prompt withdrawal of the army of occupation. This also seemed a rather one-sided affair. For the Treaty of Versailles obliges the Allied powers to withdraw the army of occupation from the last sector of the occupied area within a period that is now nine and a half years. And even supposing that the liberation of the whole area could be obtained at once by accepting such an arrangement as was then proposed by General Spears, the whole weight of the new measures would have been borne for an indefinite time by Germany alone.

Therefore, in the latest form of his plan, the author—certainly not without consulting French and English authorities—suggests a bilateral agreement by which France as well as Germany would have to submit a strip of her territory along the Rhenish frontier to the same system of supervision and control as that provided for the Rhineland. In that form the idea was presented to the recent session of the Interparliamentary Union at Luxembourg, where it was largely discussed and where even such "militant" German pacifists as the former Socialist Minister Sollman and Professor Quidde objected to General Spears' proposition, though recognizing the value of the fundamental idea and the excellence of its author's work. Their objections were based on two points:

(1) Though the idea of creating demilitarized areas between powers for reciprocal protection against attack is readily accepted, these areas must not be created especially and exclusively with reference to a "German danger."

(2) A control over such areas is acceptable, but it must not take the form of a new kind of military occupation, no matter how restricted the occupation might be.

The English nation, which is proud, will perhaps be able to understand why such reservations must be made. It is true that, under the proposed arrangement, Germany would no longer be the defeated enemy upon whom a treaty has been imposed by superiority of arms, but a contracting party giving of its own free will a signature far weightier and more significant than that of the "mea culpa" extorted at Versailles under menace of death—a signature which, if attached to a unilateral agreement directed exclusively against Germany, would involve an admission on her part of all the reproaches addressed to her.

With those restrictions the German delegates to the Interparliamentary Union, among whom was Dr. Gildemeister, a member of Dr. Stresemann's Party, were ready to accept the principle of demilitarized and controlled areas on condition that there should be real reciprocity. At the Interparliamentary Union, also, a letter which M. Poincaré addressed to M. Clemenceau on April 28, 1919, played an important part, inasmuch as it stated that the Versailles Treaty provides no perma-

ment control over German troops and fortifications on the left bank of the Rhine, nor anywhere else in German territory. Thus M. Poincaré recognizes the absolute spontaneity of any German adherence to a pact, such as suggested by General Spears, and underlines the latter's declaration that what he demands from Germany calls for reciprocity. The suggestion made by General Spears in *The Review of Reviews* that the German offer to embody in a Western Security Pact a formal renunciation of all claims to Alsace-Lorraine might indicate a certain disregard of the pledge given in signing the Treaty of Versailles, does not touch the heart of the question; for, though Germany is herself convinced that she intends to keep her treaties and does not intend again to have recourse to the horrors of a decision by arms, she feels that she must do her best to convince her neighbors of her intention as far as possible, and that without sacrificing her national pride. It may also be pointed out that, not only before and during the war, but after the establishment of the League of Nations and under its supervision, formal pledges have been broken by Germany's cosignatories—i. e., when Upper Silesia, after giving a strong majority vote for Germany was split up, despite the wording of the treaty, and given partly to Poland.

It is permissible to recall grievances before coming to a conclusion upon General Spears' proposal. There are two widely different standpoints in regard to any such suggestion. The one is matter-of-fact, taking into consideration practical experience within a certain period, and arranging action in the light of it. This is the point of view which governments usually have to take in the protection of the national interests confided to them. It is also the standpoint of wide sections of the population in every country which are unable to follow far-sighted conceptions and visions of the future. In their eyes every transaction must be based on calculation and has to take the form of a clean and clear business transaction, with give and take on both sides. The sufferings of the past eleven years may have rendered these sections in Germany relatively smaller than in most of the

other countries of the world; but they are still numerous enough to be taken into account. The second point of view is that of the new generation of mankind, which conceives a nation only as a particularly cherished part of humanity and feels able to compromise with present annoyances in order to further humanitarian ideas and supernational developments. This latter category, widespread in Germany and often attacked as "Inter-nationalist," "Socialist," "Pacifist," or even "Democrat," is convinced of the necessity of creating a new Europe with her single parts closely connected. It cherishes a hope that, either by way of a Customs Union or by the international organization of industries, or by treaties of arbitration, disarmament and supernational constructions such as the League of Nations and the Court of Arbitration at The Hague, a United States of Europe may be created. In that order of ideas the suggestion of General Spears is in itself welcome; and it is merely a question of goodwill on the other side whether, after stripping the proposal of implications incompatible with the self-respect of Germany, the greater part of the German people would welcome it.

The points which are objected to can be clearly defined:

(1) The system of demilitarized areas must be created in principle, not for a single case only, and must become either a part of international law or of the statutes of the League of Nations.

(2) In any case, and especially in the Rhenish case, the system must guarantee real reciprocity, though it is not necessary that the demilitarized area on both sides of the frontier should be equally large if their protective capacity for both countries is approximately identical.

(3) The supervision of such areas by the League of Nations or another neutral arbiter must not include any derogation whatever from governmental authority or impede the free and unhampered way of life and movements of the population.

(4) The method of control (as provided by General Spears in the form of a gendarmerie or other officers of the League of Nations) is not tolerable in the shape of military and uniformed troops whatever. This is, indeed, no less essential for France than for the German population, which has had to compromise on that

point for more than six years. But there might be officers of the supervising authority placed singly, or with a small staff, at the essential outposts of the controlled area under the flag of the League of Nations, thus constituting an inviolable frontier, so to speak, by symbolic means.

(5) Any violation of the area thus controlled from any quarter must create an immediate, automatic and (if necessary), military action by the League of Nations or the international body under whose supervision the control is placed; and there might well be a previous agreement in regard to each area of this kind as to how the perpetual control is to be exercised and what preparatory measures shall be taken in case of violation (blowing up of bridges, tunnels, railway junctions, etc.).

The present suggestion of General Spears is in accordance with points 3 and 5 of this German idea. I think that the author sees no objection to point 1; as for point 2, he maintains that a very small strip of French territory ought to give Germany satisfaction, even without including the strong armed place of Strasbourg, as the French capital is nearer to the area than the German capital, and the protection of the most important parts of the country behind that line is less easy than behind the Rhine. He forgets, however, that the vital part of Germany, the Ruhr Valley, is situated immediately behind and even partly in the area concerned, and that Germany, who has had recent experience in respect of that part of the country, is more subject to fears than even France.

As for point 4, the absence of a gendarmerie or other troops might diminish the effectiveness of the control. But agreements come to by the free will of powers, and under conditions that would strengthen the authority of the League of Nations to a point unimaginable only a few years ago, will be guaranteed perhaps more effectively by a few representatives of the League than by twenty or fifty thousand gendarmes who would, in any case, be inferior in fighting strength to a wilful transgressor. Moreover, the whole system might be built into the Western Security Pact now under discussion, in which case both projects would reciprocally facilitate one another.

.

The much discussed article 16 of the Covenant of the League would lose its sting for Germany if she got the security that she would not become the battlefield and the "street of passage" for armies in the event of an Eastern struggle. For it is certainly not the secret intention of keeping up political relations with Bolshevik Russia in order to form a system in opposition to the League, but the only too real possibility of becoming again, as during the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the Napoleonic period of the nineteenth century, the war-zone and the highway of foreign armies, which has hitherto prevented all German governments from accepting the formal conditions of the League of Nations. Whoever forgets that must be unaware of the central situation, of the naturally bad and unprotected frontiers of the severed Eastern province of Germany, and of the encirclement of Germany by France, on one side, and by her allies and followers Czechoslovakia and Poland on two other sides.

Germany, disarmed and disabled, wants security, if any European nation wants it; and the plan of General Spears will, if in its final form it contributes in any way to this end, be readily enough considered and accepted in Germany, and perhaps interwoven with other instruments to the same effect.

WEIGHTIER MATTERS OF THE LAW*

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, justice, and mercy, and faith."

These words, spoken by Jesus to the crowds, including his friends, on his last journey into Jerusalem, were bold, uncomfortable, bitter, terrible words. They mark the final break between this reformer and the rulers of his day. This is but one of seven indictments, the severity of

* A sermon preached in the Mt. Pleasant Congregational Church, Washington, D. C., August 9, 1925.

which is unequaled in literature. Our sense of the solemnity of these words is deepened when we recall that they were uttered by one fully conscious not only of their significance, but of the fact that they meant his conviction and punishment unto death.

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, justice, and mercy, and faith."

Certainly the religious condition of the people of that day was in a bad way. There was no little adherence to the letter of the law. While men were professionally pious, they struggled for mastery, attempting to exalt themselves at the expense of others; they scoffed at the religion of any who might differ from them; they proselyted and rendered no service to their proselytes. Their religion ended with the mouthing of phrases; they contented themselves with ceremonials until they were likened unto whited sepulchers, which outwardly appear beautiful, but inwardly are full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. The most striking fact is that they were supporting their institutions of religion without any regard for the fundamental things in religion. For example, they supported their religious institutions by contributing anise, a sort of parsley, and haggled over the question whether or not they should give the flower, the seed, the stock, some two of them, or all three. They were trying to obey the law at as little expense as possible. They were of the kind who today would put a dime in the plate if they think themselves observed; if no one be looking, they may make it a nickel or a button or a deceiving gesture. They had no sense for the weightier matters of the law, justice, and mercy, and faith.

Justice

Jesus charged them to observe the weightier matter of justice. That men aspire to justice is one of the great hopes of the world. Because of it we have integrity, just dealing, fairness, balance, impartiality, truth. Without it society could not endure.

The difference between an educated intelligence and an uneducated intelligence lies principally in this: the educated in-

telligence sees things in their right relations, the uneducated intelligence does not. The uneducated intelligence emphasizes unimportant things as important, and the important as unimportant. This process of seeing things in relation is human thought. When we are thinking we are seeing things in relation. When we are seeing things in relation, we are thinking, judging. When we are judging we are testing the fair principles of justice. On the last analysis, therefore, justice is simply horse-sense. The pathos of evil is its insult to justice. The remedy for crime is not to repeat a creed, to put a coin in the contribution box, to hold the mouth at a certain angle, to tithe mint or anise or cummin, but to pursue what an ancient Roman lawgiver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give every one his due," which is justice.

Justice, the goal of law, what Disraeli called "truth in action," is the soul of government. It may become a moral dynamite and end in the wreck of empires. "Without justice," said Augustine—great father of the Christian church—"What are kingdoms but highway robberies on a grand scale?" Speaking in Pittsburgh July 4, 1902, President Roosevelt said: "In the last analysis the most important department of civilized government is the department of justice. . . . Justice, which means that each man, rich and poor, big or small, strong or weak, shall have his rights and shall not be allowed to do wrong to his fellows." H. Adolphe Taine, historian, philosopher, member of the French Academy a half century ago, felt that "there is nothing more beautiful than justice. I love history because it makes me take part in the birth and progress of justice: I find it more beautiful yet because it seems to me the final development of nature." And Germany's greatest philosopher of the last century expressed his belief that "if justice meets utter wreck, then there is no worth whatever in the continued existence of human life in this world." When in November, 1918, it was announced to Cardinal Mercier that the world war was over, he remarked, "Today I have but one thought—justice and God." It was inevitable that Jesus should call justice one of the weightier matters of the law.

Mercy

But justice is not all. I am the editor of a magazine nearly a century old devoted to an international peace through justice. But justice is not enough. There is a certain lack of warmth and color about justice. A world of justice would be, I believe, a world without strife and bloodshed; but life demands something more than the mere absence of a tooth and claw behavior.

Perhaps the most familiar word of the French language is *merci*, meaning thanks. This word comes down out of a worthy past. It is a relative of our word *reward*. It is of the same blood with our words *pity* and *mercy*. He who acts with compassion to serve one in trouble is obeying a higher law than the law of justice; it is the law of mercy. The Hebrews considered their God as a God of mercy. We are led to believe that a frequent emotion in the breast of Jesus was mercy.

"A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho; and he fell among robbers, who both stripped him and beat him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance a certain priest was going down that way, and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And in like manner a Levite also, when he came to the place, and saw him, passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was, and when he saw him, he was moved with compassion, and came to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring on them oil and wine; and he set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow he took out two shillings, and gave them to the host, and said, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, I, when I come back again, will repay thee."

A readiness to help and to forgive is mercy. Mercy is not a mere sentiment. It is an active, a performing, a functioning expression. Cowper would not enter upon his list of friends any man "who would needlessly set foot upon a worm." In one of his most impassioned speeches Mr. Emerson said: "The sentiment of mercy is the natural recoil which the laws of the universe provide to protect mankind from destruction by savage passions."

Elsewhere he said: "I do not mean by 'gentlemen,' people of scented air and perfumed handkerchiefs, but men of gentle blood and of generosity, 'fulfilled with all nobleness,' who, like the Cid, give the out-cast leper a share of their bed; like the dying Sidney, pass the cup of cold water to the dying soldier who needs it more. For what is the oath of gentle blood and knighthood? What but to protect the weak and lowly against the strong oppressor?" Mercy is the echo to the Orphic lute of love. That story of that otherwise unknown Samaritan along that road from Jerusalem to Jericho is the greatest exposition of social welfare ever written.

Faith

But neither justice nor mercy would long endure without a belief that they are both worth while. It is a beautiful fact of history that men and women have believed in those high qualities which we call honor, loyalty to a promise, justice, and mercy. Our world has believed, does believe, and will continue to believe in these things. The noun for this word believe is faith. It is a sincere thing. In religion it is beyond the reach of the senses or of logical proof. It is of the very essence of religion. It is a spiritual apprehension. It is the chief and never-failing demand of Jesus. "All things are possible to him that believeth."

Yet we, like the Scribes and Pharisees, are diseased with self-seeking egotisms and fetishes. We, too, exploit our religious shibboleths with irreligious fervors and hates. It sometimes seems as if we shall never get over our theological hair-splittings over the problem of "original sin," of "the origin of evil," of "predestination," of "who was Cain's wife," of "did Joshua stop the sun on Gibeon and the moon in the valley of Aijalon," and the like. As if these ever presented a practical difficulty to any one, ever cast a real obstacle in the way of one honest achievement. Emerson with his sure touch placed these casuistries where they belong. He said: "These are the soul's mumps and measles and whooping coughs." They certainly are lesser matters of the law.

Men live by faith. In his letter to the Galatians Paul confesses, "that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith."

Practically all of our actions are predicated upon an evidence or conviction "of things not seen," which is faith. Men plant their seeds in the springtime, search for treasures in the bowels of the earth, sail their ships down the seas, train their telescopes upon the infinitely great and their microscopes upon the infinitely small, marry and give in marriage, rear children, and beautify their achievements with science and with song, all because of an abiding faith.

From the windows of my little Washington home, I look out across the roofs and trees, the towers and domes of the city to the silent, spreading, history-telling hills of Virginia. There below and beyond me are men and women and children, countless automobiles slipping into the shadows of the streets with their green Gothic arches; there is the Washington Monument, turning to a fairy candle at eventide with its flame against the night sky; there are the schools and churches and hospitals; there is the glory that is the capital of this nation. What has heartened men to build this beautiful city? Greed, lust of gain? True, but in measure. The courts, the Capitol, the government buildings are expressions of the faith upon the part of the American people that the government at Washington should live.

And this government itself, a great venture in justice and mercy, could never have survived had it not been for deep-seated faiths. We believe in a central government as an agent of the people; in political safety and progress midway between too much and too little government; in a government of laws and not of men; in a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed; in the sacredness of contract; in a minimum of central and a maximum of self-government; in public office as a public trust; in an absence of permanent alliances with foreign powers; in the principle of equal opportunity for all; in the freedom of the seas; in non-intervention except to protect American lives and property; in international co-operation for the promotion of justice under law, and that without the sanction of force; in the theory that foreign powers shall not extend their colonies in the western hemisphere; in the recognition of revolutionary governments only

when backed by law, by the sanctity of contracts, by a probable majority, by the principles of democracy; in our constitution. In short, we believe "in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of equality, justice, and humanity, for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes." Each of us is glad to add, also in the fine phrases of William Tyler Page: "I therefore believe it my duty to my country to love it; to support its constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies."

But faith goes further. Our reason tells us that we are in the midst of an infinite variety of things acted upon by many forces. These things and forces make up our creation as we know it. Reason notes that nothing seems to exist or act without cause. This wealth of creation it therefore seems to us must have had a cause. Reason insists that there can be no creation without a creator. Reason and faith join in calling this creator by some name. We choose to call it God.

But faith carries us further still. It seeks out this God, penetrates the beyond, the around, the within of Him. Faith carries us on a never-ending search for ultimate reality. Faith breathes a breath of hope in our nostrills as we climb the endless footpaths of life toward that perfect good which our imperfect minds faintly but increasingly apprehend. Faith is not a self-protecting safety device; it is an adventure, a spiritual flight. This faith, this fructifying fact in life, is the one thing of human history which persistently improves with the passing of the ages. This improvement is not continuous with us or with the ages, but when with us or with the ages it renews its strength, it appears again a more intelligent, a fairer and a purer appreciation. Says the learned professor of philosophy in Harvard College: "The fact of the religious vision, and its history of persistent expansion, is our

one ground for optimism. Apart from it, human life is a flash of occasional enjoyments lighting up a mass of pain and misery, a bagatelle of transient experience."

Faith paints a meaning on our cradles and on our tombs.

America's greatest short poem, by our "the poet's poet," appeared in the first number of our leading literary monthly. Its title is—

Days

*Daughters of Time, the hypocritic Days,
Muffled and dumb like barefoot dervishes,
And marching single in an endless file,
Bring diadems and fagots in their hands.
To each they offer gifts after his will,
Bread, kingdoms, stars, and sky that holds
them all.*

*I, in my pleached garden, watched the
pomp,*

*Forgot my morning wishes, hastily
Took a few herbs and apples, and the Day
Turned and departed silent. I, too late,
Under her solemn fillet saw the scorn.*

Would we assuage our blood-lust, sup-

plant our pagan superstitions, and find peace along the mystic stream of life, laying hold on the true and beautiful? Would we build the temple of our democracy with intelligence and taste, weaving its fabric around the steel frame of varacity, embellishing it with the jewels of service? Would we see with clearness, feel with honor, and act with nobility? Would we meet the charge that our religion is irrational, passionless, concerned only with organization, pew rents, creature comforts, and banal thirsts for distinction? Would we face our necessary labors with resolution, every challenge with courage, and death at last as the noblest of adventures? Would we stand in our pleached gardens, forget not the kingdoms, stars, and sky that holds them all? Would we remove from the face of the departing day that haunting look of scorn? Then we shall forsake, for forsake we must, all contentment with the literalism of the Scribe and the formalism of the Pharisee, for unto them is only woe.

The hope of our forward reaching humanity is in the creative appreciation of "the weightier matters of the law, justice, and mercy, and faith."

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

CONFERENCE FOR THE SUPERVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR

The work of the Conference for the Limitation of Traffic in Arms ended in Geneva on the 17th of June, 1925. The League of Nations has published the results of the Conference in the form of a White Paper containing, first, "The Convention," "The Declaration Regarding the Territory of Ifni," the "Protocol on Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare," the "Protocol of Signature," and the "Final Act."

The "Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War" was signed by the representatives of 44 nations.

The Convention

"The Convention" is divided into a preamble and five chapters, as follows:

"Whereas the international trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war should be subjected to a general and effective system of supervision and publicity;

"Whereas such a system is not provided by existing treaties and conventions;

"Whereas in relation to certain areas of the world a special supervision of this trade is necessary in order to render more effective

the measures adopted by the various governments as regards both the import of such arms and ammunition and implements of war into these areas and their export therefrom; and

"Whereas the export or import of arms, ammunition or implements, the use of which in war is prohibited by international law, must not be permitted for such purpose:

"Have decided to conclude a convention and have accordingly appointed their plenipotentiaries:"

CHAPTER I

Categories

Article 1

For the purposes of the present Convention, five Categories of arms, ammunition and implements are established:

CATEGORY I

Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War exclusively designed and intended for Land, Sea or Aerial Warfare

A.—Arms, ammunition and implements exclusively designed and intended for land, sea or aerial warfare, which are or shall be comprised in the armament of the armed forces of any State, or which, if they have been but are no longer comprised in such armament, are capable of military to the exclusion of any other use, except such arms, ammunition and implements which, though included in the above definition, are covered by other Categories.

Such arms, ammunition and implements are comprised in the following twelve headings:

1. Rifles, muskets, carbines.
2. (a) Machine-guns, automatic rifles and machine-pistols of all calibres;
(b) Mountings for machine-guns;
(c) Interrupter gears.
3. Projectiles and ammunition for the arms enumerated in Nos. 1 and 2 above.
4. Gun-sighting apparatus including aerial gun-sights and bomb-sights, and fire-control apparatus.
5. (a) Cannon, long or short, and howitzers, of a calibre less than 5.9 inches (15 cm.);
(b) Cannon, long or short, and howitzers, of a calibre of 5.9 inches (15 cm.) or above;
(c) Mortars of all kinds; -
(d) Gun carriages, mountings, recuperators, accessories for mountings.

6. Projectiles and ammunition for the arms enumerated in No. 5 above.

7. Apparatus for the discharge of bombs, torpedoes, depth charges and other kinds of projectiles.

8. (a) Grenades;
(b) Bombs;
(c) Land mines, submarine mines, fixed or floating, depth charges;
(d) Torpedoes.

9. Appliances for use with the above arms and apparatus.

10. Bayonets.

11. Tanks and armoured cars.

12. Arms and ammunition not specified in the above enumeration.

B.—Component parts, completely finished, of the articles covered by A above, if capable of being utilised only in the assembly or repair of the said articles, or as spare parts.

CATEGORY II

Arms and Ammunition capable of use both for Military and other purposes

A.—1. Pistols and revolvers, automatic or self-loading, and developments of the same, designed for single-handed use or fired from the shoulder, of a calibre greater than 6.5 mm. and length of barrel greater than 10 cm.

2. Fire-arms designed, intended or adapted for non-military purposes, such as sport or personal defence, that will fire cartridges that can be fired from fire-arms in Category I; other rifled fire-arms firing from the shoulder, of a calibre of 6 mm. or above, not included in Category I, with the exception of rifled fire-arms with a "break-down" action.

3. Ammunition for the arms enumerated in the above two headings, with the exception of ammunition covered by Category I.

4. Swords and lances.

B.—Component parts, completely finished, of the articles covered by A above, if capable of being utilised only in the assembly or repair of the said articles, or as spare parts.

Vessels of War and their Armament

1. Vessels of war of all kinds.
2. Arms, ammunition and implements of war mounted on board vessels of war and forming part of their normal armament.

CATEGORY IV

1. Aircraft, assembled or dismantled.
2. Aircraft engines.

CATEGORY V

1. Gunpowder and explosives, except common black gunpowder.

2. Arms and ammunition other than those covered by Categories I and II, such as pistols and revolvers of all models, rifled weapons with a "break-down" action, other rifled fire-arms of a calibre of less than 6 mm. designed for firing from the shoulder, smooth-bore shot-guns, guns with more than one barrel of which at least one barrel is smooth-bore, fire-arms firing rimfire ammunition, muzzle-loading fire-arms.

CHAPTER II

Supervision and Publicity

Article 2

The High Contracting Parties undertake not to export or permit the export of articles covered by Category I, except in accordance with the following conditions:

1. The export shall be for a direct supply to the Government of the importing State or, with the consent of such Government, to a public authority subordinate to it;

2. An order in writing, which shall be signed or endorsed by a representative of the importing Government duly authorised so to act, shall have been presented to the competent authorities of the exporting country. This order shall state that the articles to be exported are required for delivery to the importing Government or public authority as provided in paragraph 1.

Article 3

Nevertheless, export for supply to private persons may be permitted in the following cases:

1. Articles covered by Category I exported direct to a manufacturer of war material for use by him for the requirements of his industry, provided their import has been duly authorised by the Government of the importing country;

2. Rifles, muskets and carbines and their ammunition exported for supply to rifle asso-

ciations formed for the encouragement of individual sport and duly authorised by their own Government to use them, the import of which is not contrary to any other provisions of the present Convention. Such arms and ammunition shall be sent direct to the Government of the importing country for transmission by such Government to the associations for which they are supplied.

3. Samples of articles covered by Category I exported for demonstration purposes direct to a trade representative of the exporting manufacturer, such representative being duly authorised by the Government of the importing country to receive them.

In the above-mentioned cases, an order in writing, endorsed by the Government of the importing country or by its representative duly authorised so to act, must have been presented to the authorities of the exporting country. It shall contain all the information necessary to show that the order is properly made under this Article.

Article 4

Permission to export under Articles 2 and 3 shall be signified by a licence. An export declaration, if filed with and approved by the competent authorities of the exporting country, may take the place of a licence.

Such licence or declaration must contain:

(a) A description sufficient for the identification of the articles to which it relates, and giving their designation according to the headings in Category I, and their number or weight;

(b) The name and address of the exporter;

(c) The name and address of the importing consignee;

(d) The name of the Government which has authorised the import.

Each separate consignment which crosses the frontier of the exporting country, whether by land, water or air, shall be accompanied by a document containing the particulars indicated above. This document may be either the licence or export declaration or a certified copy thereof or a certificate issued by the Customs authorities of the exporting country, stating that the consignment is exported under licence or export declaration in accordance with the provisions of the present Convention.

Article 5

The articles covered by Category II shall only be exported under cover of an export document, which may be either a licence issued by the competent authorities of the exporting country or an export declaration endorsed by or filed with them. If the legislation of the importing country requires the endorsement of a duly authorised representative of its Government, and if this fact has been notified by the said Government to the Government of the exporting country, then such an endorsement must have been obtained and submitted to the competent authorities of the exporting country before the export may take place.

Neither the licence nor the export declaration shall entail any responsibility upon the Government of the exporting country as to the destination or ultimate use of any consignment.

Nevertheless, if the High Contracting Parties consider, on account of the size, destination or other circumstances of a consignment, that the arms and ammunition consigned are intended for war purposes, they undertake to apply to such consignment the provisions of Articles 2, 3 and 4.

Article 6

As a preliminary to a general system of publicity for armaments irrespective of their origin, the High Contracting Parties undertake to publish, within two months of the close of each quarter, a statistical return of their foreign trade during this quarter in the articles covered by Categories I and II. This return shall be drawn up in accordance with the specimen forms contained in Annex I to the present Convention and shall show under each heading appearing in Categories I and II in Article 1 the value and the weight or number of the articles exported or imported under a licence or export declaration, allocated according to country of origin or destination.

In all cases where the consignment comes from, or is sent to, a territory possessing an autonomous Customs system, such territory shall be shown as the country of origin or destination.

The High Contracting Parties further undertake, so far as each may be concerned, to publish within the same time-limits a return containing the same information in respect of

the consignments of articles covered by Categories I and II to other territories placed under their sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection or tutelage, or under the same sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection or tutelage.

The first statistical return to be published by each of the High Contracting Parties shall be for the quarter beginning on the first day of January, April, July or October, subsequent to the date on which the present Convention comes into force with regard to the High Contracting Party concerned.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to publish as an annex to the above-mentioned return the text of the provisions of all statutes, orders or regulations in force within their territory dealing with the export and import of articles covered by Article 1, and to include therein all provisions enacted for the purpose of carrying out the present Convention. Amendments and additions to these provisions shall be likewise published in annexes to subsequent quarterly returns.

Article 7

The High Contracting Parties, in all cases covered by Category III, undertake to publish within two months of the close of each quarter a return for that quarter, giving the information detailed below for each vessel of war constructed, in course of construction or to be constructed within their territorial jurisdiction on behalf of the Government of another State:

(a) The date of the signing of the contract for the construction of the vessel, the name of the Government for which the vessel is ordered, together with the following data:

Standard displacement in tons and metric tons;

The principal dimensions, namely: length at water-line, extreme beam at or below water-line, mean draft at standard displacement;

(b) The date of laying the keel, the name of the Government for which the vessel is being constructed, together with the following data:

Standard displacement in tons and metric tons;

The principal dimensions, namely: length at water-line, extreme beam at or below water-line, mean draft at standard displacement;

(c) The date of delivery, the name of the Government to which the vessel is delivered,

together with the following data with respect to the vessel at that date:

Standard displacement in tons and metric tons;

The principal dimensions, namely: length at water-line, extreme beam at or below water-line, mean draft at standard displacement;

As well as the following information regarding the armament installed on board the vessel at the date of delivery and forming part of the vessel's normal armament:

Number and calibre of guns;

Number and calibre of torpedo-tubes;

Number of bomb-throwers;

Number of machine-guns.

The above information concerning the armament of the vessel shall be furnished by means of a statement signed by the ship-builder and countersigned by the commanding officer or such other representative fully authorised for the purpose by the Government of the State to whom the vessel is delivered. Such statement shall be transmitted to the competent authority of the Government of the constructing country.

Whenever a vessel of war belonging to one of the High Contracting Parties is transferred, whether by gift, sale or other mode of transfer, to the Government of another State, the transferor undertakes to publish within two months of the close of the quarter within which the transfer is effected the following information:

The date of transfer, the name of the Government to whom the vessel has been transferred and the data and information referred to in paragraph (c) above.

By the standard displacement in the present Article is to be understood the displacement of the vessel complete, fully manned, engined and equipped ready for sea, including all armament and ammunition, equipment, outfit, provisions and fresh water for crew, miscellaneous stores and implements of every description that are intended to be carried in war, but without fuel or reserve feed-water on board.

Article 8

Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 7, if the transport of any vessel of war is carried out otherwise than by such vessel's own motive power or towage, the vessel, whether assembled or in component parts, and the armament thereof will become

subject also to the provisions of this Convention as if they were included in Category I.

Article 9

The High Contracting Parties undertake to publish, within six months of the close of each quarter, a return for that quarter of the export of aircraft and aircraft engines, giving quantities exported and their allocation according to country of destination.

Article 10

Subject to the provisions of Chapter III, the articles covered by Categories IV and V may be exported without formalities or restrictions.

Article 11

The High Contracting Parties undertake not to apply a more favourable regime to imports of articles referred to in Article 1 coming from territories of non-contracting States than that which they will apply to such imports coming from territories of contracting States, and to subject these imports, of whatever origin, to the same conditions of authorisation and, so far as possible, of publicity.

CHAPTER III

Special Zones

Article 12

The High Contracting Parties agree that the provisions of this Chapter apply to the territorial and maritime zones hereinafter defined and referred to in the present Convention as the "special zones."

1. Land Zone:

(a) The whole of the continent of Africa, with the exception of Egypt, Lybia, Tunisia, Algeria, the Spanish possessions in North Africa, Abyssinia, and of the Union of South Africa together with the territory under its mandate, and of Southern Rhodesia.

This zone also includes the adjacent islands which are situated within 100 marine miles from the coast thereof and also Prince's Island (Principe) in the Bight of Biafra, St. Thomas (São Thomé), Annobon and Socotra, but does not include the Spanish islands situated to the north of the parallel of 26° North latitude.

(b) The Arabian peninsula, Gwadar, Syria and Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan, and Iraq.

2. Maritime Zone:

A maritime zone, which includes the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman and is bounded by a line drawn from and following the latitude of Cape Guardafui to the point of intersection with longitude 57° East of Greenwich and proceeding thence direct to the point at which the eastern frontier of Gwadar meets the sea.

Article 13

The High Contracting Parties undertake not to export or to permit articles covered by Categories I, II, IV and V to be exported to places within the special zones, unless a licence has been issued in conformity with the conditions defined in Article 14.

An export declaration, if filed with and approved by the competent authorities of the exporting country, may take the place of a licence.

The High Contracting Parties also undertake, each in respect of any territory under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection or tutelage situated within the special zones, not to permit articles covered by the Categories above mentioned to be imported into such territory unless their import has been authorised by the authorities of the territory concerned. Such articles shall only be admitted into territory within the special zones at such ports or other places as the authorities of the State, colony, protectorate or mandated territory concerned shall designate for this purpose.

Article 14

The High Contracting Parties undertake not to issue the export licences nor to approve the export declarations required under Article 13 unless they are satisfied that the conditions stated in paragraph (a) or (b) hereof are fulfilled and also, as regards articles covered by Categories I and II, the conditions laid down in Articles 2, 3, 4 and 5.

(a) That, if an export is being made to territory under the sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection or tutelage of a High Contracting Party, articles covered by Categories I, II and IV to which the licence or export declaration applies are required for lawful purposes and that the authorities of the territory to which they are consigned are willing to admit them; and that, in the case of articles covered by Category V, a copy of the licence or export

declaration has been sent to the authorities aforesaid before the export takes place.

(b) That, if an export is being made to territory which is not under the sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection or tutelage of a High Contracting Party, articles covered by Categories I, II, IV and V are required for lawful purposes.

Article 15

The High Contracting Parties undertake to publish, in addition to the returns provided for in Article 6 and Article 9 in respect of articles covered by Categories I, II and IV, a return of articles covered by Category V exported to territory situated within the special zones. This return shall be published within the same time-limits and at the same intervals as those provided in the first paragraph of Article 6, and shall contain, as far as possible, the same particulars.

Article 16

The trade in articles covered by Categories I, II, IV and V within the special zones shall be placed under the supervision of officials of the authorities of the State, colony, protectorate or mandated territory concerned.

The admission and transit of and trade in such articles within the said zones shall also be subject to the provisions of Section I, §§ 1 and 2, of Annex II of the present Convention, to which provisions the High Contracting Parties undertake to conform.

An authorisation must be given by a duly authorised representative of the authorities aforesaid in each case before any such articles may be reconsigned to any place outside the territory to which they have been admitted.

Article 17

The manufacture, assembly and repair within the special zones of articles covered by Categories I, II, IV and V shall be subject to the provisions of Section I, § 3, of Annex II of the present Convention, to which provisions the High Contracting Parties undertake to conform.

Article 18

The High Contracting Parties undertake, each in respect of any territory under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection or tutelage situated within the special zones, not

to permit the transit by land across such territory of articles covered by Categories I, II, IV and V when their destination is another territory also situated in the special zones, unless their transport to their destination is assured and the authorities of the latter territory have authorised their import.

The prohibition referred to in the above paragraph shall not apply to the transit of such articles through a territory situated in the special zones when their destination is territory of one of the High Contracting Parties not included in the said zones, provided that their transport to their destination is assured.

If, for the purposes of transport to a territory situated within the special zones, it is necessary to pass through a contiguous territory likewise situated within the said zones, the transit shall be permitted, subject always to the conditions laid down in the first paragraph hereof, at the request of the authorities of the importing territory, provided that such authorities guarantee that the articles in respect of which the request is made shall not at any time be sold, or otherwise transferred, contrary to the provisions of the present Convention. Nevertheless, if the attitude or the disturbed condition of the importing State constitutes a threat to peace or public order, permission for transit shall be refused to such State by the authorities of all such contiguous territories until this threat has ceased to exist.

Article 19

Subject to any contrary provisions in existing special agreements or in any future agreements, provided that in all cases such agreements otherwise comply with the provisions of the present Convention, the High Contracting Parties agree that in the special zones the authorities of the State, colony, protectorate or mandated territory concerned shall carry out within their territorial waters the supervision and police measures necessary for the application of the present Convention.

Article 20

The High Contracting Parties agree that within the special zones no native vessel, as hereinafter defined, of less than 500 tons (net tonnage) shall be allowed to ship, discharge or tranship articles covered by Categories I, II, IV and V.

A vessel shall be deemed to be a native vessel if she is either owned, fitted out or commanded by a native of any country bordering on the Indian Ocean west of the meridian of 95° East of Greenwich and north of the parallel of 11° South latitude, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, or the Gulf of Oman, or if at least one-half of the crew are natives of such countries.

The provisions of paragraph 1 hereof do not apply to lighters or barges or to vessels engaged exclusively in the coasting trade between different ports of the same State, colony, protectorate or mandated territory where warehouses are situated. The conditions under which articles covered by Categories I, II, IV and V may be carried by such vessels are laid down in § 1 of Section II of Annex II of the present Convention, to which the High Contracting Parties undertake to conform.

The provisions of this Article and of Section II, § 1 of Annex II do not apply:

(a) To arms, ammunition or implements carried on behalf of a Government either under an authorisation or accompanied by a duly authorised official of such government; or

(b) To arms and ammunition in the possession of persons provided with a licence to carry arms on the condition that such arms are for personal use of the bearer and are accurately described in such licence.

Article 21

The High Contracting Parties agree that, with the object of preventing all illicit conveyance within the special zones of articles covered by Categories I, II, IV and V, all native vessels within the meaning of Article 20 must carry a manifest of their cargo or a similar document specifying the quantities and nature of the goods on board, their origin and destination. This manifest shall remain covered by the secrecy to which it is entitled by the law of the State to which the vessel belongs, and must not be examined during proceedings for the verification of the flag, unless the interested party consents thereto.

The provisions of this Article shall not apply to:

(a) Vessels exclusively engaged in the coasting trade between different ports of the same State, colony, protectorate or mandated territory; or

(b) Vessels engaged in carrying arms, ammunition and implements on behalf of a Government under the conditions defined in Article 20 (a) and proceeding to or from any point within said zones; or

(c) Vessels only partially decked, having a maximum crew of ten men, and exclusively employed in fishing within territorial waters.

Article 22

The High Contracting Parties agree that no authorisation to fly the flag of any of such High Contracting Parties shall be granted to native vessels of less than 500 tons (net tonnage) as defined in Article 20, except in accordance with the conditions prescribed in Section II, §§ 3 and 4 of Annex II of the present Convention. Such authorisation, which shall be in writing, shall be renewed every year and shall contain the particulars necessary to identify the vessel, the name, tonnage, type of rigging, principal dimensions, registered number and signal letters if any. It shall bear the date on which it was granted and the status of the official who granted it.

Article 23

The High Contracting Parties agree to communicate to any other High Contracting Party who so requests the forms of the documents to be issued by them under Articles 20 (a), 21 and 22 and Section II, § 1 of Annex II of the present Convention.

The High Contracting Parties further agree to take all necessary measures to ensure that the following documents shall be supplied as soon as possible to any other High Contracting Party who has requested the same:

(a) Certified copies of all authorisations to fly the flag granted under the provisions of Article 22;

(b) Notice of the withdrawal of such authorisations;

(c) Copies of authorisations issued under Section II, § 1 of Annex II.

Article 24

The High Contracting Parties agree to apply in the maritime zone the regulations laid down in Annex II, Section II, § 5, of the present Convention.

Article 25

The High Contracting Parties agree that any illicit conveyance or attempted conveyance legally established against the captain or

owner of a vessel authorised to fly the flag of one of the High Contracting Parties, or holding the licence provided for in Section II, § 1 of Annex II, of the present Convention, shall entail the immediate withdrawal of the said authorisation or licence.

Article 26

The High Contracting Parties who have under their sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection or tutelage territory situated within the special zones, undertake, so far as each is concerned, to take the necessary measures to ensure the application of the present Convention and, in particular, the prosecution and punishment of offences against the provisions thereof, and to appoint the territorial and consular officers or competent special representatives for the purpose.

They will communicate these measures to such High Contracting Parties as shall have expressed the desire to be informed thereof.

Article 27

The High Contracting Parties agree that the provisions of Articles 16 to 26 inclusive and of Annex II of the present Convention establishing a certain regime of supervision in the special zones shall not be interpreted, as regards such High Contracting Parties as have no territory under their sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection or tutelage within or immediately adjacent to the said special zones, either as constituting an obligation to apply the regime defined in the above-mentioned provisions or as involving their responsibility with respect to the application of this regime.

However, the said High Contracting Parties shall conform to the provisions of Articles 22, 23 and 25, which relate to the conditions under which native vessels under 500 tons (net tonnage) may be authorised to fly the flag of such High Contracting Parties.

CHAPTER IV

Special Provisions

Article 28

Abyssinia, desirous of rendering as effective as possible the supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war, which is the subject of the present Convention, hereby undertakes, in the free exercise of her sovereign rights, to put into

force, so far as concerns her own territory, all regulations which may be necessary to fulfill the provisions of Articles 12 to 18 inclusive of the said Convention relating to exports, imports and the transport of arms, ammunition and implements of war.

The High Contracting Parties take note of the above undertaking, and, being in full sympathy with the desire of Abyssinia to render as effective as possible the supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war, hereby undertake to conform to the provisions of the above-mentioned Articles so far as concerns Abyssinian territory, and to respect the regulations put into force, in accordance with the said undertaking, by Abyssinia as a sovereign State.

If a State, at present included in the special zones, should at the moment of its accession to the present Convention assume with respect to its own territory the same undertakings as those set forth in the first paragraph of this Article, and also, when such State possesses a seacoast, those contained in Articles 19 to 26 inclusive in so far as the same are applicable, the High Contracting Parties hereby declare that they will consider such State as excluded from the said zones from the date that its accession becomes effective as specified in Article 41 and that they will accept as regards such State the obligations set forth in the second paragraph of the present Article, and also, when the State excluded possesses a sea-coast, the obligations of Articles 19 to 27 inclusive in so far as they are applicable.

Article 29

The High Contracting Parties agree to accept reservations which may be made by Esthonia, Finland, Latvia, Poland and Roumania at the moment of their signature of the present Convention and which shall suspend in respect of these States, until the accession of Russia to the present Convention, the application of Articles 6 and 9, as regards both export to and import into these countries by the High Contracting Parties. These reservations shall not be interpreted as preventing the publication of statistics in accordance with the laws and regulations in effect within the territory of any High Contracting Party.

Article 30

The High Contracting Parties who possess extra-territorial jurisdiction in the territory

of another State party to the present Convention undertake in cases where the rules of this Convention cannot be enforced by the local courts as regards their nationals in such territory to prohibit all action by such nationals contrary to the provisions of the present Convention.

CHAPTER V

General Provisions

Article 31

The provisions of the present Convention are completed by those of Annexes I and II, which have the same value and shall enter into force at the same time as the Convention itself.

Article 32

The High Contracting Parties agree that the provisions of the present Convention do not apply:

(a) To arms or ammunition or to implements of war forwarded from territory under the sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection or tutelage of a High Contracting Party for the use of the armed forces of such High Contracting Party, wherever situated, nor

(b) To arms or ammunition carried by individual members of such forces or by other persons in the service of a High Contracting Party and required by them by reason of their calling, nor

(c) To rifles, muskets, carbines and the necessary ammunition therefor, carried by members of rifle clubs for the sole purpose of individual use in international competitions in marksmanship.

Article 33

In time of war, and without prejudice to the rules of neutrality, the provisions of Chapter II shall be suspended from operation until the restoration of peace so far as concerns any consignment of arms or ammunition or of implements of war to or on behalf of a belligerent.

Article 34

All the provisions of general international Conventions anterior to the date of the present Convention, such as the Convention for the Control of the Trade in Arms and Ammu-

nition and the Protocol signed at St. Germain-en-Laye on September 10th, 1919, shall be considered as abrogated in so far as they relate to the matters dealt with in the present Convention and are binding between the Powers which are Parties to the present Convention.

The present Convention shall not be deemed to affect any rights and obligations which may arise out of the provisions either of the Covenant of the League of Nations or of the Treaties of Peace signed in 1919 and 1920 at Versailles, Neuilly, St. Germain and Trianon, or of the Treaty Limiting Naval Armaments signed at Washington on February 6th, 1922, or of any other treaty, convention, agreement or engagement concerning prohibition of import, export or transit of arms or ammunition or of implements of war nor, without prejudice to the provisions of the present Convention itself, shall it affect any other treaty, convention, agreement or engagement other than those referred to in paragraph 1 of the present Article having as its object the supervision of import, export or transit of arms or ammunition or of implements of war.

Article 35

The High Contracting Parties agree that disputes arising between them relating to the interpretation or application of this Convention shall, if they cannot be settled by direct negotiation, be referred for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice. In case either or both of the States to such a dispute should not be parties to the Protocol of December 16th, 1920, relating to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the dispute shall be referred, at the choice of the Parties and in accordance with the constitutional procedure of each State, either to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to a court of arbitration constituted in accordance with the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, or to some other court of arbitration.

Article 36

Any High Contracting Party may declare that its signature or ratification or accession does not, as regards the application of the provisions of Chapter II and of Articles 13, 14 and 15 of the present Convention, bind either all or any one of the territories subject to its sovereignty, jurisdiction or protec-

tion, provided that such territories are not situated in the special zones as defined in Article 12.

Any High Contracting Party which has made such a declaration may, subsequently, and in conformity with the provisions of Article 37, adhere entirely to the present Convention for any territories so excluded. Such High Contracting Party will use its best endeavours to ensure as soon as possible the accession of any territories so excluded.

Any High Contracting Party may also, as regards the application of the provisions of Chapter II and of Articles 13, 14 and 15 of the present Convention, and in conformity with the procedure laid down in Article 38, denounce the present Convention separately in respect of any territory referred to above.

Any High Contracting Party which shall have availed itself of the option of exclusion or of denunciation provided for in the preceding paragraphs undertakes to apply the provisions of Chapter II to consignments destined for territories in respect of which the option has been exercised.

Article 37

The High Contracting Parties will use their best endeavours to secure the accession to the present Convention of other States.

Each accession will be notified to the Government of the French Republic and by the latter to all the signatory or acceding States.

The instruments of accession shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic.

Article 38

The present Convention may be denounced by any High Contracting Party thereto after the expiration of four years from the date when it came into force in respect of that Party. Denunciation shall be effected by notification in writing addressed to the Government of the French Republic, which will forthwith transmit copies of such notification to the other Contracting Parties, informing them of the date on which it was received.

A denunciation shall take effect one year after the date of the receipt of the notification thereof by the Government of the French Republic and shall operate only in respect of the notifying State.

In case a denunciation has the effect of reducing the number of States parties to the

Convention below fourteen, any of the remaining High Contracting Parties may also, within a period of one year from the date of such denunciation, denounce the Convention without waiting for the expiration of the period of four years mentioned above and may require that its denunciation shall take effect at the same date as the first-mentioned denunciation.

Article 39

The High Contracting Parties agree that, at the conclusion of a period of three years from the coming into force of the present Convention under the terms of Article 41, this Convention shall be subject to revision upon the request of one-third of the said High Contracting Parties addressed to the Government of the French Republic.

Article 40

The present Convention, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, is subject to ratification. It shall bear to-day's date.

Each Power shall address its ratification to the Government of the French Republic, which will at once notify the deposit of ratification to each of the other signatory Powers.

The instruments of ratification will remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic.

Article 41

A first proces-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up by the Government of the French Republic as soon as the present Convention shall have been ratified by fourteen Powers.

The Convention shall come into force four months after the date of the notification of this proces-verbal by the Government of the French Republic to all signatory Powers.

Subsequently, the Convention will come into force in respect of each High Contracting Party four months after the date on which its ratification or accession shall have been notified by the Government of the French Republic to all signatory or acceding States.

(Then follows Annex I, entitled "Statistical Forms," which indicate the nature of the reports for imports, exports, and re-exports. There is also a "Schedule" enumerating the

arms, etc., designed and intended for land, sea, or aërial warfare and the arms and ammunition capable of use both for military and other purposes. Annex II covers the supervision within the special zones. The declaration regarding the territory of Ifni is of special interest to the Spanish Government only.)

Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries, in the name of their respective Governments:

Whereas the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of all analogous liquids, materials or devices, has been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilised world; and

Whereas the prohibition of such use has been declared in Treaties to which the majority of Powers of the world are Parties; and

To the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of International Law, binding alike the conscience and the practice of nations;

Declare:

That the High Contracting Parties, so far as they are not already Parties to Treaties prohibiting such use, accept this prohibition, agree to extend this prohibition to the use of bacteriological methods of warfare and agree to be bound as between themselves according to the terms of this declaration.

The High Contracting Parties will exert every effort to induce other States to accede to the present Protocol. Such accession will be notified to the Government of the French Republic, and by the latter to all signatory and acceding Powers, and will take effect on the date of the notification by the Government of the French Republic.

The present Protocol, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified as soon as possible. It shall bear to-day's date.

The ratifications of the present Protocol shall be addressed to the Government of the French Republic, which will at once notify the deposit of such ratification to each of the signatory and acceding Powers.

The instruments of ratification of and accession to the present Protocol will remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic.

The present Protocol will come into force for each signatory Power as from the date of deposit of its ratification, and, from that moment, each Power will be bound as regards other Powers which have already deposited their ratifications.

Protocol of Signature

The undersigned, having today signed at Geneva, in the name of their respective Governments, the Instruments hereinafter set out, or some of the same, to wit:

A Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War,

A Declaration regarding the Territory of Ifni,

A Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare,

agree, each in respect of such Instruments as he has signed, to recognise the right of all other States enumerated in the Preamble of the Convention aforesaid to sign all or any of the Instruments above mentioned by any Plenipotentiary, whether named in the Final Act or otherwise, at any date prior to September 30th, 1926.

Done at Geneva in a single copy, this seventeenth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-five.

Final Act

The final act was signed by forty-four governments, as follows: Germany, United States of America, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, British Empire, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Denmark, Egypt, Spain, Esthonia, Abyssinia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Netherlands, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Salvador, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

The delegates from the United States of America were Hon. Theodore E. Burton, former Senator, member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives; Hon. Hugh S. Gibson, Minister of the United States in Switzerland; Rear Admiral A. T. Long, of the Navy Department; Mr.

Allen W. Dulles, Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Department of State; Brigadier General Colden I. H. Ruggles, Assistant Chief of Ordnance. Technical advisers: Mr. Alan F. Winslow, Secretary of the American Legation at Berne; Mr. Charles E. Herring, Commercial Attaché at Berlin; Major George V. Strong, of the War Department, and Commander Herbert F. Leary, Assistant Naval Attaché at London, Paris, and Rome.

GERMAN NOTE ON THE SECURITY PACT

(NOTE.—Following is the text of the German Note on the Security Pact, sent in reply to the French Note of July 16 and presented to Foreign Minister Briand on July 20:)

The German Government have thoroughly examined the reply to the German memorandum of February 9, which was delivered by His Excellency the French Ambassador, M. de Margerie, on June 16. They gather from it with satisfaction that the French Government and their Allies are disposed in principle to co-operate with the German Government for the consolidation of peace by way of mutual understanding and to enter into an exchange of views about the matter.

Before, however, embarking on an examination in detail, the Allied governments wish the questions touched upon in the German memorandum to be further elucidated, and for their part make a number of concrete proposals, upon which they ask the German Government to state their view. Although these proposals are based on the suggestions of the German memorandum, yet they give them another direction on important points and also add to them new constructions. The German Government, animated by the same spirit of good will and peaceful understanding which prompted their own suggestions, will state their opinion about the Allied proposals as follows. In doing this, however, they believe that they should confine themselves to a general statement on some questions of principle and reserve their attitude on points of detail for the final negotiations to come:

Existing Treaty Provisions

I. The Allied governments, in their Note of June 16, emphasize that the settlement of

the question of security must not involve a modification of the treaties of peace. The German Government cannot clearly make out from what is said in the Note about this point what the intentions of the Allied governments are. The conclusion of a pact of security as outlined in the German suggestions does not represent a modification of existing treaties. There should, therefore, be no need for special statements in this respect. The German Government consider as self-evident that it is not meant to exclude for all future time the possibility of adapting existing treaties at the proper time to changed circumstances by way of peaceful agreement. They may point out that even the Covenant of the League of Nations allows for such necessities.

If the Allied governments emphasize, for instance, that the pact of security must not affect the treaty provisions in force concerning the military occupation of German territories, it is correct that the German memorandum has not made the conclusion of the pact dependent on a modification of those provisions. But should the Allied governments intend to set those provisions up as sacrosanct for the future, the German Government would, in answer to this, like to point out that the conclusion of a security pact would represent an innovation of such importance that it could not but react on the conditions in the occupied territories and the questions of occupation in general.

Treaties of Arbitration

II. Under the system outlined by the Allied governments for the security pact in their Note of June 16 a prominent part is assigned to the treaties of arbitration which Germany would have to conclude with her neighbor States who are signatories of the Treaty of Versailles. The construction of the treaties of arbitration within this system leaves room for considerable doubts, which need further elucidation. The German Government contemplated treaties of arbitration such as have been concluded during the last few years by Germany as well as by a number of other powers. Treaties of this kind, modeled on the corresponding terms of the Covenant of the League of Nations, exhaust, in the opinion of the German Government, the possibilities existing under present conditions of bringing about, with prospects of practical

results, the arbitral settlement of conflicts among States. The Allied proposals appear to contemplate a different system. What chiefly attracts attention are the cases of exception provided for by the Allied governments in which coercive action by one State against another State is to be permitted. In this respect the German Government, judging by the terms of the Note of June 16 and the correspondence published between the French and his Britannic Majesty's Governments, cannot but assume that in those cases, in the opinion of the Allied governments, coercive action can take place without any regular procedure laid down in advance either by arbitral or some other international procedure.

If this is correct, the result would be that the Allied governments, for instance, would not wish to subject the decision on the question of the admissibility or inadmissibility of reprisals on account of reparation obligations to a regular procedure, but would leave the decision to their own unilateral discretion. A further result would be that the German Government would by treaty have to concede to the Allied governments the right to take military measures against Germany without any preceding regular procedure, whenever they are of opinion that Germany had infringed the provisions regarding the demilitarization of the Rhineland.

Just as serious would be the consequences which might result from the form, as proposed by the French Note, of the guarantee for the treaties of arbitration, the conclusion of which is suggested. Although the intervention of the guarantor would be dependent upon definite conditions, he would nevertheless be entitled to decide on his own free judgment whether in the case under consideration these conditions in fact exist. This would mean that, should a conflict arise, it would be for the guarantor to decide which of the two contracting parties to the treaty of arbitration is to be considered the aggressor, and he would have the right to decide, even if he were bound to one of the contracting parties by a special alliance.

It is quite clear that the system of guarantees would by such constructions be invalidated to the sole detriment of Germany. Real pacification as aimed at by the German Government in concert with the Allied governments would not be reached. The German Government, therefore, hope that their mis-

givings concerning these points can be removed by the Allied governments. They believe that they can all the more expect this, as otherwise the guarantee system could not be brought into harmony with the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Whereas, according to the Covenant, the question whether a disturbance of peace exists has to be decided by a carefully regulated procedure, and the application of coercive measures is subject to conditions which have to be conclusively established, all these decisions, according to the system outlined in the French Note, would be put into the hands of one of the contracting parties. Such a system would not maintain peace and might even give rise to the danger of serious complications.

Germany and the League

III. According to the opinion of the German Government, the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations would not be a necessary condition for the realization of the fundamental ideas of the German memorandum. The Allied governments, however, on their part, are of the opinion that the security pact, as suggested in the German memorandum, is only conceivable if Germany enters the League of Nations. In view of the great importance which the German Government attach to the solution of the security question, they will in principle not raise any objection against the linking up of the two problems. They must, however, draw attention to the fact that the question of Germany's entry still needs to be carefully cleared up.

The standpoint of the German Government on this question is known to the Allied governments from the memorandum handed to them in September last, as well as from the German Note addressed to the League of Nations on December 12 last. The Note of the Council of the League of Nations of March 13 last, mentioned in the French Note, has not removed the objections that have been expressed by Germany against the acceptance of the obligations under Article 16 of the Covenant. Even after the explanations by the Council of the League of Nations, the danger remains that Germany as a disarmed country, surrounded by strongly armed neighbors, in a central position, having been in history repeatedly the theater of great wars,

would after entering the League of Nations be exposed without limitation to the danger of being involved in the armed conflicts of third countries.

Germany, as a member of the League of Nations, can only be considered as enjoying equal rights when her disarmament is followed by the general disarmament provided for by the Covenant of the League of Nations and the preamble to Part V of the Treaty of Versailles. Therefore, if the immediate entrance of Germany into the League of Nations is to be rendered possible, a solution has to be found to tide over the time till general disarmament has become a reality. This solution would have to pay due regard to the special military and economical as well to the special geographical situation of Germany.

With regard to the contents of the Note of June 16, the German Government wish to confine themselves for the present to these remarks. In spite of the doubts and apprehensions indicated, they are able to note that on essential points a significant *rapprochement* of the views of the two sides has already taken place. The interested governments are in principle unanimous in the earnest desire to settle the security problem by a guarantee pact, as suggested by Germany, and by further development of the system of arbitration treaties. Where there still exist doubts and differences of opinion concerning the details of such a settlement, these also can be overcome, if the governments keep their eyes fixed firmly on the goal to be reached, and do not lose sight of the indispensable requirements of equality and reciprocity. The German Government therefore believe they are justified in hoping that further discussions will lead to a positive result. They would heartily welcome an acceleration of these discussions, so that the urgent desire of the nations for reliable guarantees of peace and peaceful development, as well as for the restoration of the world's normal economic relations destroyed by the war, may soon be satisfied.

BRITISH DOMINIONS AND THE PROTOCOL

(NOTE.—On July 17 the British Government issued, as a White Paper, the text of the correspondence between the Dominions and the Colonial office relative to the formers' position in regard to the Geneva Protocol. In December last the Secretary of

State for the Colonies sent a dispatch to the various dominions calling attention to the momentous character of the question, stating that His Majesty's Government conceived it to be essential that upon it the Empire should have a single policy and suggesting a special meeting of the Imperial Conference to discuss the problem. It was found, however, that it was impossible to arrange for such a special meeting. Telegraphic dispatches received enabled the Prime Minister to state on March 3 that the British Government had been confirmed in their conclusion that they could not accept the Protocol "by the general agreement revealed in the communications so far received from the Dominion governments." Replies subsequently received were of the same tenor. Following is a summary of these replies:)

1. South African View

The view of the Government of the Union of South Africa is set forth in a dispatch dated January 26. The following reasons are given for non-acceptance of the Protocol:

It seems generally admitted, and ministers share that feeling, that the League of Nations as at present existing, with America, Germany, and Russia standing aloof, cannot over any length of time achieve its great and primary object of insuring a peaceable world, and must, unless these great nations become members, necessarily, as time goes on, assume more and more the character of a political alliance. To accept the Protocol, Ministers feel, would be only to make it more difficult for countries at present outside the League, notably America, to become members, and would consequently contribute very materially to making it impossible for the League to attain its real object, and so give an additional impulse to the diversion of its activities in the direction of an alliance having as its object the maintenance of a balance of power.

It is quite impossible even approximately to calculate or tell in advance what are going to be the obligations and consequences, direct and indirect, which may accrue from an acceptance of the Protocol or what may be the many and various international complications to which it may give rise.

By accepting the Protocol, the character of the League will be so modified that no nation being a member of it, subject to the provisions of the Protocol, can rightly be said any longer to retain its full measure of sovereign rights. This ministers deem a matter of very grave concern, in view more particularly of

indefinite character of the obligations which are sought to be imposed and of the practical consequences it may have for the weaker nations not possessing influence derived from power to add prestige and weight to their interpretation of the obligations thus assumed. . . . Ministers feel they are called upon to exercise particular vigilance and to bestow particular attention upon the peculiar position and interests of South Africa, and are of the opinion that these interests demand that no International obligations should be entered into which may entail a participation and interference by the Union in matters which do not, or only remotely, concern her, and whereby her real and proper interests may eventually be jeopardized.

2. New Zealand

Mr. Massey, on behalf of New Zealand, wrote on January 6 a long memorandum, in which he argues, first, against the supposed urgency of the question; then cites particular provisions in the Protocol to which exception is taken, such as the powers conferred on the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. For example, the immigration laws of the Dominion are framed to preserve, as far as possible, British nationality in New Zealand. "Our law advisers believe that, if a question arose for determination under the Protocol, the Permanent Court might decide, first, that the right of foreigners to reside in New Zealand was not a matter exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of New Zealand; and, secondly, that as a matter of international law we must admit them or reduce the restrictions on their admission."

"But consideration of the minor interests of New Zealand in this respect is negligible as compared with admission of the Permanent Court as the deciding factor in Great Britain's belligerent rights at sea. . . . And it seems obvious that the effect of adhesion to the Protocol would be deliberately to accept a foregone conclusion against the exercise of privileges in war which are essential to the defense of the Empire."

Finally, Mr. Massey, paraphrasing the British objections to the proposal for a treaty of mutual assistance, says the Protocol "holds out no serious prospect of advantage sufficient to compensate the world for the immense complication of international rela-

tions which it would create, the uncertainty of the practical effect of its clauses, and the consequent difficulty of conducting national policy."

3. Australian Objection

The Australian Government, in formulating its views, states that the Protocol contains principles and provisions which do not appear to be applicable to the present situation of international life. Ministers devote considerable attention to the arbitration clauses of the Protocol. On this point it is said:

It is obvious that the adoption of the principle of compulsory arbitration, which, as laid down in the Protocol, would apply not only between countries accepting that instrument, but also between a signatory State and a non-signatory State not a member of the League, would completely transform the method at present provided in the covenant for the settlement of disputes. The covenant obliges the member States to refer disputes that are not settled by diplomatic means either to arbitration, judicial settlement, or to inquiry by the Council. A limited class of disputes is regarded as being generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement. Should the Protocol become law between member States, compulsory arbitration would become the rule for the settlement of all disputes. Inquiry by the Council would tend to disappear. It is not proposed to enter into discussion on the principle of compulsory arbitration, nor to review the difficulties that may be encountered by a government in giving effect to an award pronounced by an arbitral body on a matter which public sentiment considers to be of paramount and vital importance. The present system as laid down in the covenant, which furnishes an alternative procedure, does appear, however, to have very evident advantages in elasticity and adaptation to the existing state of public opinion over the proposed machinery of compulsory arbitration.

There exist at the present time other very serious practical objections to the adoption of compulsory arbitration as a general system. To be effective, compulsory arbitration must secure the consent of all countries between which disputes may conceivably arise. To establish a general system of compulsory arbitration to which any powerful States are not parties cannot fail to be a source of danger, both to the successful carrying out

of the system itself and to the international organization under which it operates. It has been a matter of grave concern always to the Commonwealth Government that certain of the foremost nations of the world have not yet become members of the League of Nations, thus accepting the international obligations which are contained in the covenant and lending their authority for the preservation of peace, this position throwing heavier obligations on the member States than were originally contemplated when the covenant of the League was agreed to.

It is therefore considered that the progressive incorporation of those nations in the League should precede and not follow the assumption of greater obligations that the Protocol will impose upon member States. This reason alone is considered by the Commonwealth Government as amply sufficient to render premature any endeavor at the present time to generalize the principle of compulsory arbitration.

4. Canadian Opinion

The Canadian view is set out in the following terms:

First, that we should continue to give whole-hearted support to the League of Nations, and particularly to its work of conciliation, cooperation, and publicity.

Second, that we do not consider it in the interests of Canada, of the British Empire, or of the League itself, to recommend to Parliament adherence to the Protocol, and particularly to its rigid provisions for application of economic and military sanctions in every future war. Among the grounds for this conclusion is the consideration of the effect of non-participation of the United States upon attempt to enforce sanctions, and particularly so in the case of contiguous countries like Canada.

Third, that as Canada believes firmly in submission of international disputes to joint inquiry or arbitration and has shared in certain number of undertakings in this field, we would be prepared to consider acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction of Permanent Court in justiciable disputes with certain reservations and co-operation in further consideration of method of supplementing the provisions of the covenant for settlement of non-justiciable issues, including method of joint investigation, reserving ultimate decision in

domestic issues and without undertaking further obligations to enforce decisions in case of other States.

Fourth, that we would be prepared to take part at any time in any general conference on reduction of armaments which did not involve prior acceptance of the Protocol.

5. Irish Free State

The White Paper also contains a statement made in the Dail of the Irish Free State by the Minister for External Affairs on May 13. This says that on consideration of the details of the Protocol "we find ourselves unable to recommend its acceptance, but we are by no means of opinion that the object of the framers of the Protocol is beyond the realm of achievement." It is added:

The expressed intention of the framers of the Protocol to exclude from the new system of pacific settlement any disputes which may arise regarding existing territorial divisions appears to us to detract considerably from the value of the instrument. We realize that the stability of the Continent of Europe and the prevention of a renewed international race in armaments must depend largely on the extent to which the existing apprehensions of nations, whether well or ill founded, regarding possible interference with their territorial integrity can be allayed. As long, however, as some of the more powerful States refrain from participation in the League of Nations, the feeling of uneasiness and distrust will continue. The continued absence of certain of these States from the Councils of the League is in some degree admittedly attributable to their unwillingness to be called upon to take active measures to maintain for all time existing frontiers, even though these should prove to have been inequitably drawn.

We fear that the conclusion of an agreement which must, to some extent, appear to these nations to partake of the nature of an alliance confined to States members of the League, emphasizing by implication the immutability of these frontiers and imposing upon members additional obligations, particularly by way of participation in disputes and in sanctions, is not calculated to induce them to accept the responsibilities of membership, and is therefore likely to hinder rather than further the progress of world pacification and disarmament.

News in Brief

THE FIRST PAN AMERICAN PRESS CONFERENCE will be held in Washington on April 7, 1926, in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Fifth Pan American Conference, held in Santiago, Chile, in 1923. In setting the date for this conference, Secretary of State Kellogg stated that "only by constant exchange of opinions and discussions will it be possible to arrive at a stable and continental point of view."

THE GOVERNMENT OF BRAZIL has decided to take part in the Sesquicentennial Exposition in Philadelphia and has asked the Congress of that country for an appropriation of \$355,000 for the purpose.

THE ARGENTINE AND CHILIAN GOVERNMENTS have cordially acceded to the suggestion of the Ambassador of the United States to Chile that a replica of the "Christ of the Andes" be jointly given by the two governments for exhibition at the Sesquicentennial Exposition at Philadelphia.

PRESIDENT DE ALVEAR, OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC, has asked Congress for a appropriation of \$125,000 for the erection of a monument to the Revolutionary Liberator of the North, Simon Bolivar. There has long been a difference of opinion, amounting to a stumbling block to Spanish American diplomacy, as to whether Bolivar or San Martin have won the higher place in South American history. The northern nations laud the former as the greater liberator, the southern nations the latter. A short time ago Venezuela erected a handsome monument to San Martin in Caracas. The Argentine plan to honor Bolivar is, therefore, in the nature of a reply to the friendly gesture of Venezuela.

A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE IN MEXICO has just completed a draft of a new labor law to be submitted for discussion in September. It is drawn with a view to check the spread of the radical movement. The American Fed-

eration of Labor is credited with the suggestion of some vital clauses in the bill, which tend toward a better understanding between capital and labor.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION has allotted the sum of \$420,000 for the establishment in Madrid, Spain, of an institute of physics and chemistry. A commission of the Foundation recently spent some time in Spain studying the various diseases peculiar to that country, and has drawn up its plans for the new institute jointly with the National Institute of Science and Bacteriology. The government has ordered the purchase of grounds for the institute.

THE PRESIDENT OF CUBA, General Machado, issued, in July, a decree ordering the expulsion from Cuban territory of undesirable aliens. It is based upon laws protecting the stability of the government and public morals.

BOLIVIA'S MINISTER TO WASHINGTON, Mr. Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, presented to the State Department, on July 22, a formal statement of the neutrality of Bolivia in the Tacna-Arica plebiscite. The document clearly outlines the position of Bolivia and states that the "question of the Pacific" cannot finally be settled without taking into consideration the claims of Bolivia, Peru's ally in the war with Chile. *The Prensa* (New York) makes the comment that this is an exceedingly well-drawn document, opportunely presented. It will leave Bolivia in a position to take any legal action she may find possible after the plebiscite, whatever its result may be.

A NEW DUTCH CABINET has been formed, upon which equal representation is given the three coalition parties—the Roman Catholic, the Anti-Revolutionists, and the Christian Historians. H. Colijn, Minister of Finance, is president of the cabinet.

THE PRICE OF BREAD IN SOFIA has fallen again, as the result of a bumper wheat crop throughout Bulgaria, and it is officially stated that a further reduction may be expected. The quality of the bread has also been improved by the elimination of corn and rye. The wheat yield is estimated at 200,000,000 bushels, with 33,000,000 bushels available for

export. Incidentally, considerable relief is felt in government circles, because the people will probably be too busy with the harvest to indulge in Communism or any other form of unrest.

A SECOND AND REVISED EDITION of the International Year Book of Child Care and Protection will shortly be issued by Messrs. Longman Green & Co. The "International Year Book" deals in detail with highly organized nations, such as Great Britain, the Dominions, the United States of America, Belgium, with younger nations, such as Czechoslovakia and the Baltic States, and with primitive and savage communities in Africa, Australia, and elsewhere—all from the same point of view the welfare of the child. In each case, so far as information is available, the following subjects are dealt with under every individual country and State: General information relating to populations, birth rates, vaccination, religion, etc.; the law of marriage and divorce as affecting children; child welfare and the care of dependent children; education; employment of children; juvenile delinquency; legislation—a list of the principal statutes, current in each country, which relate to children; voluntary societies and institutions—a list of the names and addresses of the principal voluntary efforts in each country for the care and protection of children, forming a unique international directory.

A COMMITTEE FOR A MEMORIAL of Peace and International Reconciliation has been formed in France. Its membership consists of political, philosophical, and economic organizations of pacifist tendencies, representatives of the French Trade Union federation, and ex-service men. Among its members are Eduard Herriot, Paul Panlevé, Leon Bourgeois, Ferdinand Buisson, Paul Boncour, and Paul Appel. Its object is to co-operate with similar organizations in other lands for the erection of a peace memorial. The committee states that the different nations who yesterday were fighting each other are today erecting memorials to their dead, and celebrate the heroism of their soldiers at the front; thus they perpetuate in the minds of men the thought of war and its glories. The time has come for a memorial to peace. This might be on some spot which for hundreds of years has been the scene of battles, or it might be in

the form of a memorial bridge across the Rhine. Information as to the project may be obtained from the office of the committee at Quai de Bourbon, 15, Paris 4e.

A CELEBRATION OF THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY of the founding of Greenwich Observatory took place in England in July. The observatory was founded by Charles II in 1675. Five hundred pounds were granted the Royal Observatory by the King; in addition, he provided bricks from Tilbury Fort and iron, lead, and wood from an old gate-house in the Tower, then in process of demolition. Flamsteed began his immortal work in astronomy a few years after the laying of the cornerstone, August 10, 1675.

THE TRANS-PACIFIC, published by the *Japan Advertiser* in Tokyo, is authority for the statement that Japan maintains the highest death rate of babies in the world, and an average of from 150 to 200, or sometimes even 250, of every 1,000 babies die in infancy. In comparison with this figure it is stated that in England, France, and Holland the death rate among the babies is 50 or 60 to every 1,000. This appalling infant mortality in Japan is traced by the authorities there to the imperfect sanitary conditions in that country and the lack of knowledge on the part of the mothers. Considering this state of affairs a grave question for the welfare of the nation, the Health Bureau of the home office has announced that plans are now under way to establish a nursery in every city of more than 50,000 population in Japan.

NEW YORK COUNCIL 124 of the Knights of Columbus has gone on record in support of widespread organization for the promotion of international peace.

IN THE COURSE OF THE TWELVE MONTHS from May, 1924, to May, 1925, 251 international engagements were presented for registration with the League of Nations as compared with 189 the year before. Great Britain heads the list with 38; Germany, not a member of the League, next, with 30; Norway, 24; Denmark, 21; Finland, 21; France, 20, the Netherlands, 14, and Sweden, 12. The international agreements filed during this period include 18 arbitration and conciliation treaties, 16 political agreements and treaties of

peace and friendship, 59 concerning commerce and navigation, 24 on postal, telephonic, telegraphic, and radio-telegraphic communications, 24 economic and financial treaties, 21 legal and extradition conventions, and 3 on aerial navigation.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR CHILD PROTECTION will be held in Brussels in 1926, under the patronage of the King and Queen of Belgium.

The first and second of these congresses met in Brussels in 1913 and 1921. The reports submitted to the King by the Ministers of Justice, Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, and Public Health state that these congresses were of great importance and marked a distinct step forward in the history of child protection.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS closed its first conference at Honolulu on July 14 without adopting resolutions or approving findings. Differences in racial, national, and organizational connections made it impossible to formulate resolutions which would reach unanimity at any meeting. It was, however, a general opinion that the conference had made a positive contribution to the understanding of Pacific issues and situations. Plans were approved to make the work of the institute permanent.

RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITIES IN BUDAPEST have sanctioned a scheme of Count Klebelsberg, Minister of Public Instruction, for the endowment of an English college there. They have also sanctioned the endowment of twelve scholarships in three British universities.

THE INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY FOR COMPARATIVE LAW, established in September, 1924, at Geneva, opened August 1 at The Hague. The Minister of Justice, Dr. Heemskerck, explained that the foremost aim of the institution, the uniformity of commercial law, was difficult to attain. The conferences at The Hague before the war had, however, made a beginning.

THAT THE OPIUM TRAFFIC is one of the great menaces to world peace, in the opinion of Count Michimasa Soyeshima. The Count is a member of the Japanese House of Peers

and expressed this opinion before the International Relations Conference at Chautauqua this summer.

THE GERMAN REICHSTAG, on July 17, received without discussion three large volumes representing the findings of the Subcommittee on the Causes of the Collapse of 1918. As a result of six years' work, the committee has not reached an unanimous conclusion, but publishes a majority and minority report, the latter being signed by the Socialist and Communist members. The volumes have been long awaited, as they contain the considered views of a number of army experts on the events which preceded the armistice and the revolution. They will undoubtedly fill many gaps in the historical knowledge of the events of those months. The documents had been sent to General Ludendorff to obtain his opinion on the evidence and conclusions, but he flatly refused either to receive or consider them. The chief of the operations section at the German headquarters, however, has seen the documents, and his monograph on the matter is one of the important contributions to the work.

BOLIVIA CELEBRATES THIS YEAR the centennial of her independence. It was on August 6, 1825, that the Deliberative Assembly of what was then the Province of Alto Peru declared the independence of that country from Spain. On August 6 of this year Dr. José Gabino Villanueva was inaugurated President, latest successor to President Sucre, the Deliverer and first President of Bolivia.

THE OBSERVANCE OF JULY 1 as the second so-called "humiliation day" in Japan, on account of the exclusion clause in the American immigration bill which went into effect a year ago, was marked by the calling off of one of the two meetings planned, as a mark of sympathy to the earthquake sufferers in Santa Barbara.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE on July 20 remitted the final payment of China's Boxer indemnity. The indemnity payments have been used as a fund for the education of Chinese students in America.

THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION, Amsterdam, commenting on present conditions in Mexico, says that though Mexico had become

almost proverbial for its corrupt administration, even captious critics admit that the administration of Calles has made considerable cuts in the expenditure of the government. The result is that most of the internal floating debts have been paid off and 40 million Mexican pesos have been put aside for the formation of a Mexican bank of issue. Economies have been effected to such a degree in the state departments, the army, and national railways that, after a few months in office, Calles had over three million pounds in the treasury. Current commercial bills are being met regularly, while much has been done to pay off long-standing accounts. Five hundred so-called generals have been eliminated and the army is being reduced from 78,000 to 50,000. Such was the situation when America sent her "warning" to Mexico, in reply to which Calles denied the right of any foreign country to intervene in Mexico's domestic affairs.

AN ANTICIPATED SHORTAGE OF ARCHITECTS in Great Britain is a cause of anxiety among leaders of the profession. Many prominent architects were lost in the war, and there are now only about a thousand in Britain who are practicing. To overcome this condition, the College of Architects has instituted 25 scholarships for the training of promising young men and women by study, both at home and abroad.

AT A RECENT CONFERENCE between the British Foreign Secretary and the ambassadors of the United States, France and Japan, it was intimated that a purely judicial inquiry would be held into the collision which occurred between Chinese students and police of the Shanghai International Settlement on May 31. It was agreed that the Tariff Conference provided for in the Washington Treaty should be held, but the date for this was left open.

DR. NANSEN has gone to Erivan in order to explore the possibilities of providing a national home for the Armenians.

SPECIAL LECTURES ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS were given, under the auspices of the Geneva Federation, for the benefit of the American and European students who visited Geneva this summer. Courses were scheduled to begin July 13, July 27, August 10,

and August 24. Besides supplying technical information on international law, economics, and politics, there were lectures dealing with the customs and habits of the various peoples. Among the speakers were the following: Eduard Benesh, Minister of Foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia; Sir Arthur Salter, head of the economic section of the League of Nations; Nicholas S. Politis, Greek Minister to France; Paul Hymans, Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs; Albert Thomas and Julian Luchaire, of France; W. S. Culbertson, vice-chairman of the United States Tariff Commission; James G. Douglas, Senator, of the Irish Free State; Dr. Hans Mohr, of Norway; J. L. Briery and Dr. Gilbert Murray, of Oxford; Prof. James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University; Prof. Manley O. Hudson, of Harvard; Prof. Oeston Unden, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden; Sir Michael Sadler, master of University College, Oxford; Spencer Miller, Jr., of Columbia; Prof. E. Leroux, of the University of Rennes, France, and Dr. Alexander Rossman, of Wiesbaden, Germany.

LETTER BOX

JULY 20, 1925.

To the Editor:

I believe that many of the readers of your July editorial on our governmental essays in the superintendence of the behavior of the smaller sister States of this Continent have found it far from persuasive. Is not our conduct exactly in imitation of the proceedings of imperial governments in stretching their mailed hands over smaller and weaker peoples and even taking over the charge of their public funds? Have Great Britain or Germany or France ever done these and similar things out of the benevolence of their hearts for the welfare of the subjected peoples, or indeed for the welfare of their own plain people at home? Is it then out of a purer good will toward Haiti or San Domingo that we find it necessary to dispatch war ships to their harbors and land soldiers on their shores and meddle with their governments and inevitably at last to be obliged to shoot their citizens?

Mr. Lincoln well said that no man is wise enough or good enough to make himself another man's master. Surely no national government is wise or good enough to assume, in addition to its own domestic duties (never as yet anywhere very perfectly performed!), the administration of the affairs of another nation. As with slavery, the enterprise reacts injuriously upon both parties to the anomalous situation; for, as your illustrations demonstrate, this kind of wholesale im-

pertinence, acting under whatever plausible excuse, is bound to rest back upon force and to involve bloodshed, with shame and bitterness as the consequences.

I understand, however, that you plead the obligations of the Monroe Doctrine as making all these things necessary. This should remind us that this doctrine was never Holy Scripture or even a section of the Constitution of the United States. It was, at its best, a temporary matter of national convenience or bluff and only a proposition of our State Department. If it really works out by its gathering momentum into such consequences as you admit exist in our relations towards feeble sister States, we believe that the *Advocate of Peace* ought to do its best to call a halt in its growth, and in fact to deny, not to re-enforce, its present imperialistic pretensions.

After the awful teachings of the Great War and its "wicked peace," has not the time come for all genuine believers in the need and the power of international good will to join hands in urging certain straightforward and vastly necessary reforms in the administration of our National Government?

First: Let us insist upon the termination, as immediately as possible, of every one of these anomalous arrangements in which American officials are involved in the fiscal or any other business of a sister republic. In plain words, let us withdraw from every adventure that we are now making in imperialistic conduct, not forgetting the Philippine Islands.

Secondly: Let us definitely forbid our State Department, or any other department of our government, even at the instance of the President, to make use of the army or the navy in taking action towards a weaker nation, such as would be resented as a cause of war if taken toward a strong power. In short, let the United States be expected to use its great civilizing forces towards all peoples, as the Golden Rule would dictate. For example, we desire to see the United States treat China at least as well as it treats France, as we should wish China to treat us, if she were strong and we were weak or divided.

Finally, let us publish to the world the opposite of what Secretary Wilbur (without any authority) has been saying, namely, that this nation will *not* hold itself responsible for the life and property of traders, travelers, missionaries, or other nationals who venture into backward parts of the earth. They shall look for no *armed* assistance from our government. They shall rely, as the nationals of all weak governments must, and as truly democratic governments ought to, upon their own good will and humane behavior for respectful treatment from the natives of the backward regions. In other words, we will yield no American official the authority to represent us anywhere as a "paramount power," or a benevolent elder brother, holding a rock to chastise the little ones.

Can our Congress do better service for our people, even with a view to all legitimate

business interests, and for the welfare of the world and true civilization, than by passing adequate legislation to carry into effect every one of these proposals?

CHARLES F. DOLE, *President,*
Association to Abolish War.

BOOK REVIEWS

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, FOUNDER OF NEW FRANCE. By *Ralph Flinley*. Macmillan, Toronto, 1924. Pp. 149.

Though the general appearance of this book is that of a text-book, it is not cut up into sections and paragraph headings. Therefore one can read it consecutively and with interest.

The narrative confines itself to the deeds of Champlain. There is little biographical appraisal and no delving into the man's soul and personality. As a biography, this is a blemish. As a chapter in Canadian history and a contribution to the Canadian Men of Action series, it is all it pretends to be.

The story is told simply. The end-paper map is serviceable and quaintly interesting; it is more than this. The complacent whale on one side of Champlain's high-pooed vessel, as it noses its way up to the Bay of Fundy, and the scornful dolphin on the other side are of more than humorous interest. They symbolize the terrible and thrilling natural world of those days and the adventures that were likely to meet one who traveled those then uncharted lands and seas.

LEAVES FROM A RUSSIAN DIARY. By *Pitirim Sorokin*. Dutton, New York, 1924. Pp. 310. Price, \$3.00.

Dr. Sorokin, one-time professor in the University of Petrograd, now in the University of Minnesota, has here given long excerpts from his diaries of 1917 to 1922. One could scarcely find a more advantageous position from which to view the tremendous events of those years in Russia than from the daily experiences of a university sociologist, one who was, indeed, himself a member of the Kerensky Government while it lasted.

Sorokin, however, had not much faith at any time in Kerensky as a force to guide the revolution. "Hamlet, wavering to and fro, such was the impression Kerensky created," he says, after recording one meeting of the conference.

In October, 1917, came the Bolshevik Revolution, and the history of the next five years is one of unspeakable horror, hardship, and injustice. They were truly times "in the witnessing of which young people grew old, the mature grew white-haired, and many spectators met their death."

Professor Sorokin, though in the beginning a Russian Social Revolutionist, is now making continuous and comprehensive attacks on revolution as a means of political and social change. In spite of his personal sufferings under the Bolsheviks, he lays their barbarities to the general tendency which always underlies the psychology of revolution.

In closing his book, he enumerates some convictions which have come to him out of his experiences. Among them is this most fundamental doctrine: "Cruelty, hatred, and injustice never can and never will be able to create a mental, moral, or material millennium."

THE LITTLE DARK MAN AND OTHER RUSSIAN SKETCHES. By *Ernest Poole*. Macmillan, New York, 1925. Pp. 141. Price, \$2.00.

These four or five Russian stories are written in a mood of sympathetic interpretation of the real people of Russia.

Some of the tales are mystical, some humorous, and all human. They come from the villages, from the steppes, and from fishing boats on the Volga. They tell of people, rich and poor, of angels and devils, muzhiks and Czars.

But through them all moves the spirit of kindness and simple good sense which, we are persuaded, is really inherent in the peasants of Russia.

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD. By *Herbert Adams Gibbons*. Century Co., New York, 1924. Pp. 227. Price, \$2.00.

If this book contained no other chapter than that upon the policy of isolation, it would deserve a wide reading, not only in the United States, but abroad; but Mr. Gibbons makes a carefully objective study of America's relations with her neighbors, in many

respects. Not always is the United States found blameless; not always have we been ready to submit to arbitration or other friendly discussion. Sometimes, he finds, we have "insisted upon the offender doing as we said."

Mr. Gibbons reviews the whole policy of the United States in regard to Latin America, the Far East, the Panama Canal; also, as respects arbitration, recognition of new governments, and the League of Nations.

He repeatedly and consistently stresses the need of close co-operation between the countries of this hemisphere before thinking of a closer political union with Europe.

His last topic, "Pitfalls in World Politics," has a special value, in that it achieves a sober-minded view of the nations of today and appraises them. At the same time he believes that we should uphold that "just and amicable feeling toward all" which will avoid "habitual hatred" or "habitual fondness," those doctrines first enunciated by President Washington, but apparently just as good now for a policy as they were then.

WHEN LIFE LOSES ITS ZEST. By *Abraham Myerson*, M. D. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1925. Pp. 213. Price, \$1.75.

This book is number 9 in the Mind and Health Series, edited by H. Addington Bruce. The author, Dr. Myerson, Professor of Neurology in Tufts College Medical School, has taken for his subject that pathological condition of the nerves which expresses itself in continual boredom. He calls the disease "anhedonia."

This state of mind is quite familiar to most of us. We have experienced enough of it, in some phase or other, so that we know exactly what he is talking about from the start.

Aside from its personal application, moreover, the social significance of "anhedonia" is considerable. A better adjustment of the individual to normal life means immediate improvement in social efficiency.

Dr. Myerson has written the book in simple and popular form. He canvasses the causes of "anhedonia" and prescribes the remedies. It all seems so sensible and plain. He does not invoke the subtleties of Freud, nor does he think it necessary to delve deep into the unconscious for interpretation. He finds the modern tendency is toward prolonged and

constant tensions. The natural and "common-sense" way to live is quite contrary. By nature, life is rhythmic and periodic. He persuades us that the pace we should take ought to be comparable with the systole and diastole of the heart-beat, if we would be really alive and whole, happy and useful.

THE GENEVA PROTOCOL. By *David Hunter Miller*. Macmillan, New York, 1925. Pp. 279. Price, \$3.50.

While the author assumes that the Geneva Protocol of October 2, 1924, is not yet in its final form, the document makes, he thinks, a distinct chapter in the history of international relations. Its sources and history, of course, go far back of its date.

He discusses the Protocol, in its legal aspects, to both members and non-members of the League. This comprises the first half of the book. The second part is made up of annexes, consisting of documents pertinent to the study of the Protocol. They begin with the Covenant of the League of Nations and conclude with the "Amended Covenant," as it would be changed by the provisions of the Protocol. The book is profusely annotated, making it a really valuable text for study.

To those of us who are suspicious of the Protocol as a means of approach to peace, it is of interest to read what Dr. Miller himself says at the close of his discussion of it. "In various respects," he states, "the Protocol goes further than cautious public sentiment of countries like Great Britain and her Dominions is, or ought to be, willing now to proceed; but it is these very matters which can easily be changed and which will be changed."

BOOKS RECEIVED

ON EARTH PEACE. Edited by *Rhoda McCulloch* and *Margaret Burton*.

PRAYER AND MISSIONS. By *Helen Barrett Montgomery*.

BRAVE ADVENTURES. By *Katherine Sheerer Cronk*. Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions.

COMMANDING AN AMERICAN ARMY. By *Hunter Liggett*, Major-General, U. S. A., retired. Houghton, Mifflin Co. Price, \$2.00.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

Edited by ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

1815-1828

Suite 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

(Cable address, "Ampax, Washington.")

PUBLISHED MONTHLY EXCEPT SEPTEMBER

Sent free to all members of the American Peace Society. Separate subscription price, \$2.00 a year. Single copies, 20 cents each.

Entered as second-class matter, June 1, 1911, at the Post-Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917; authorized August 10, 1918.

It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

CONTENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD..... 571

EDITORIALS

Success of the Interparliamentary Conference—Elements in Its Success—Locarno—Our Debt Negotiations with France—Editorial Notes 573-582

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

Story of the Conference—Who's Who of the Conference—French Debt Negotiations—Important International Dates..... 583-598

SOME ADDRESSES AT THE CONFERENCE

Opening Address..... 599

By Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States of America

Address of Welcome..... 601

By Senator William B. McKinley

The Codification of International Law..... 603

By Honorable Elihu Root

Remarks on Codification of International Law..... 610

By Honorable Theodore E. Burton

Farewell Addresses..... 612

By Senator McKinley, Mr. Call, Baron Adelswaerd, Dr. Lange, and Senator Belcourt.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Resolutions Adopted by the Interparliamentary Conference..... 618

Mutual Guarantee Pact..... 626

NEWS IN BRIEF..... 628

BOOK REVIEWS..... 630

Vol. 87 OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 1925 Nos. 10 and 11

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.

Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant, and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.

It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.

Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.

It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.

FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is two dollars;

Sustaining Membership, five dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of ADVOCATE OF PEACE, Washington, D. C.

Hon. P. P. CLAXTON, Ex-United States Commissioner of Education, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Senator from Illinois, Washington, D. C.

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN, 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, Esq., Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

HENRY C. MORRIS, Esq., 1155 Hyde Park Boulevard Chicago, Ill.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

Prof. ARTHUR RAMSAY, Ex-President Fairmont Seminary, Southern Pines, N. C.

THEODORE STANFIELD, 126 W. 74th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Hon. HENRY TEMPLE, Representative from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON
ARTHUR DEERIN CALL
Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN
Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY
Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE
Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS
HENRY C. MORRIS
THEODORE STANFIELD
JAY T. STOCKING, D. D.
Hon. HENRY W. TEMPLE
Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE

OFFICERS

President:

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

GEORGE W. WHITE, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Washington, D. C.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.
A. T. BELL, Esq., Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.
GILBERT BOWLES, Esq., Richmond, Ind.
Dean CHARLES R. BROWN, New Haven, Conn.
Pres. E. E. BROWN, New York University, New York.
GEORGE BURNHAM, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston, Mass.
Rt. Rev. Bishop J. DARLINGTON, Harrisburg, Pa.
Dr. W. H. P. FAUNCE, Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
GEORGE A. FINCH, Washington, D. C.
EVERETT O. FISK, Esq., Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM P. GEST, Philadelphia, Pa.
Hon. CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Washington, D. C.
CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D. D., New York, N. Y.
Dr. DAVID STARR JORDAN, Stanford University, Calif.
GEO. H. JUDD, Washington, D. C.

Bishop WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Mass.
JOSEPH LEE, Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM H. LUDEN, Reading, Pa.
L. H. PILLSBURY, Derry, N. H.
Judge HENRY WADE ROGERS, New York, N. Y.
Hon. ELIHU ROOT, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. FREDERIC SCHOFF, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. RUTH H. SPRAY, Denver, Colo.
Senator THOMAS STERLING, Washington, D. C.
EDWARD STEVENS, Columbia, Mo.
*Pres. M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
*Pres. C. F. THWING, Cleveland, Ohio.
Pres. MARY E. WOOLLEY, South Hadley, Mass.

* Emeritus.

Suggestions for a Governed World

(Adopted by the American Peace Society, May 27, 1921)

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference

for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council in the performance of their respective duties whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment whenever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council

of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that.

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for and, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instructions in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
87

OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 1925

NUMBERS
10 and 11

EDITORIALS

CONFERENCE OF INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION A SUCCESS

THERE are reasons for believing that the Twenty-third Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, held in Washington October 1 to 7, failed in important respects.

A vital aspect of legislative procedure is freedom of discussion, candor, frankness. Here was a group of legislators concerned with legislative aspects of international relations. To be of effect, their discussions should have been untrammelled by any rules save the ordinary rules of courtesy and legislative procedure. The delegates were not untrammelled. They were forbidden the privilege of talking about the Saklatvala case, about tariffs, about international debts, about immigration. These prohibitions did not take the form of official decrees; but they were none the less effective. When one of the Labor members of the British Parliament expressed the conviction that all members should enjoy equal rights, and said that his Labor colleagues felt a profound regret "that, in connection with this Twenty-third Conference, a member of this Union, whose personal views we are not in agreement with, but who was entitled by every statute and article of the Union to be present and to participate in the work of this Conference, has been prevented from doing so," his words were met with applause. The next morning,

however, a leading Washington editorial called the gentleman a "blatherskite." There was no further attempt to discuss the Saklatvala case. There was censure in the atmosphere of the Conference against any discussion of tariffs, international debts, or immigration, because it was made known that these are matters of vital interest to the United States. A Belgian Senator mentioned them, but no one seemed inclined to follow them with discussion. Thus frankness and candor were sometimes conspicuous by their absence. One gathered the impression at the session in Ottawa that the British delegation successfully maneuvered the conference away from any discussion of the traffic in drugs.

Then, too, there is an element of postponement in the resolutions which subtracts from their value. Eight matters were before the Conference in the form of draft resolutions. In only two of them, the one relating to national minorities, the other to the reduction of armaments, was definitive action taken. One of them, relating to dangerous drugs, as we have said, was omitted altogether. The others, relating to the codification of international law, the declaration of the rights and duties of nations, the criminality of wars of aggression, European customs understanding, and the parliamentary system, got no further than recommendations for further studies. It was easy to gather the impression that too many sub-

jects were before the Conference. It is difficult to put one's finger upon precise achievements.

There were evidences that the Conference was overshadowed by the League of Nations. Some of the delegates had just come from the sixth assembly at Geneva. The president of the Council, in presenting the report of the Secretary General, devoted a disproportionate amount of his time, not to the work of the Interparliamentary Union, but to the importance of the League of Nations. Mr. Root's address opened the way for a resolution calling for a conference of the nations in the interest of international law. Such a resolution was blocked by the friends of the League. Indeed, fears of such a resolution had moved the League of Nations to backfire such an effort. During the summer there came from the League a most astonishing circular denouncing the effort of certain members of the Interparliamentary Union as originating "in sources inimical to the League of Nations, indifferent to the Permanent Court of International Justice, and skeptical of the work of codifying international law as initiated by the League." This effort on the part of the League officials to stop the Interparliamentary Union was successful.

And yet the Twenty-third Conference of the Interparliamentary Union was far from a failure. Never before have representatives from so many parliaments met in conference. In our judgment, the Conference was right in not discussing the Indian Communist of the British Parliament. After accepting the invitation of the American Group for himself and his wife, he announced through the press that he was coming to America to preach a doctrine which he knew to be distasteful to his hosts. By such conduct he had surrendered all claims as a guest. Furthermore, tariffs and policies of immigration are acute questions, particularly

just now, in America. It has always been the wise policy of the Interparliamentary Union to omit discussion of such questions. That policy has proved to be not only wise, but beneficent. If the resolutions did not head definitely into actual legislation, their discussion was most profitable. All of the resolutions are in better form today because of the Conference. As for the League of Nations, its fears of the Interparliamentary Union are as unnecessary as they are unfounded. No one in the Interparliamentary Union wishes to injure the League. Nothing in Mr. Root's speech, nothing in the efforts of the friends of international law has been calculated to counteract the efforts of the League. Quite the contrary.

The Conference was in no sense looked upon as a joke by the press or the public generally. A careful reading of the addresses shows that the discussions were of a very high order, free of cant and hypocrisy. The delegates averaged of a higher order of importance in their respective countries than at any previous conference. The questions discussed were significant. Invaluable acquaintances were made. The atmosphere of the Conference was the atmosphere of a world parliament. Because of this gathering, foreigners have met American ladies and gentlemen, visited American cities, ridden upon American railroads, lived in American hotels, and sensed something of American art, energy, and kindliness. Many of our American people met these distinguished foreigners and caught something of the charm, of the problems, and of the aspirations of other lands. The Conference was a success. A problem clearly stated is half solved. In this Conference many problems were clearly stated. For that reason their solution is nearer at hand. Here was an exchange of opinions between continents. Statesmen from forty-one parliaments, including our own American par-

liament, know each other better, appreciate more fully the issues of inequality, of class conflicts in the financial, economic, and social areas, the divergent human interests, such as the furious competitions and the national ambitions at the basis of world policies. If impatient onlookers wished that more were done, it is only necessary to remind them that it is better to do nothing than do something and to do it badly. The Conference was a success because of what it did not attempt to do. It was a success because of what it did.

ELEMENTS IN ITS SUCCESS

REPRESENTATIVES from forty-one parliaments of the world, fourteen of them from Latin America, convened in the House of Representatives, Washington, Thursday morning, October 1, at 10 o'clock. The Washington sessions continued through the 2d, 3d, 5th, 6th, until 1 p. m. of the 7th. The final session was held Tuesday, October 13, in the House of Commons at Ottawa, capital of Canada. The maximum number of registered delegates was 292. Accompanying these delegates were 143 ladies and secretaries. Counting the forty-three members of the American Group who registered and paid the registration fee, there was a grand total of 435 persons.

As a result of the Conference, new groups have already been formed for the parliaments of Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Panama, and the Dominican Republic. These are the first groups to be formed within Latin America. The number of parliaments represented in this Conference exceeded that of any previous conference by fifteen. For the first time in the history of the Union, a conference has been held upon the invitation of the Chief Executive of a government. The United States Congress appropriated \$50,000 for

the entertainment of these guests. The Canadian Government spent substantially the same amount. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace spent many thousands of dollars for their entertainment during October 8 and 9. The War Department transferred large quantities of their luggage from the piers of New York to various hotels without compensation. The Mayor's Committee on Reception of the city of New York met a number of the incoming boats at quarantine with radio messages of welcome and, at the expense of the city, transferred the incoming delegates from their steamers to their hotels. The police department of the city of New York guarded the incoming delegates, escorted them to their hotels, to the city hall, and back to their hotels. The Mayor of Philadelphia and a representative committee also provided a long-to-be remembered reception. The Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Ohio, and New York Central railroads granted reduced rates, issued special souvenir brochures, and offered the best of meals on their special trains with the compliments of the roads. All of the hotels, the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York, the new Mayflower in Washington, the Waldorf-Astoria, and others in New York, made every possible effort to add to the comforts of the visitors. The Pan-American Union, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the entire force of the United States Capitol, the women of Washington, the diplomatic and consular representatives, both in Washington and in New York, the State Department in Washington, Treasury and customs officials, members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives—these and many others contributed immeasurably to the success of the Conference.

The Conference met in an atmosphere of disappointment because of the failure

of the Franco-American debt negotiations. Offsetting this, however, was the hope in the Conference at Locarno. Too, a number of the delegates had just come from the sessions of the Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva. If there appeared something of bewilderment in the early moments of the Conference, it soon disappeared. The addresses by the Secretary of State, Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, and by Senator William B. McKinley, President of the American Group, indeed, seemed to place the visitors quite at ease. Business got under way quickly. It was announced that the sessions were to be held from 10 to 1 and from 3 to 6 daily. The first subject for discussion was the report of Dr. Christian L. Lange, Secretary General of the Interparliamentary Union. The debate upon this report lasted throughout the first session and until noon the next day, October 2.

The conference of the afternoon, October 2, following a reception by President Coolidge, met in the *Hall of the Americas*, Pan-American Union building. Senator Claude A. Swanson, of Virginia, rapporteur, delivered an address upon the Pan-American Union. Speeches were also delivered by Senator Pedro de Alba, of Mexico; Representative José Ramon Cruells, of Cuba; Senator José Mattoso Sampaio Correa, of Brazil; Senator Ismal Cortinas, of Uruguay; Representative Ezequiel Padilla, Speaker of the Mexican House of Representatives; Representative Carlos Grisanti, President of the Venezuela Congress, and Senator Bergstrom, former Minister of War of Sweden. At this session a resolution was introduced asking that the Spanish language be hereafter considered, along with English, French, and German, as an official language of the Interparliamentary Union. Under the constitution, the resolution was referred to the Council for consideration.

The third session of the Conference, held in the House of Representatives, was

devoted to the development of international law. The subject was divided into three parts: (1) the codification of international law; (2) the declaration of the rights and duties of nations; (3) the criminality of wars of aggression. The first of these three was laid before the Conference in the form of an address written by Honorable Elihu Root and read by Representative Theodore E. Burton, both of the United States. The second took the form of an address by Senator Henri La Fontaine, of Belgium. Senator La Fontaine's remarks aimed to aid the commission whose work is to formulate a final draft of the rights and duties of nations for the next Interparliamentary Conference. The third, having to do with the criminality of wars of aggression, was laid before the Conference in an address by Professor V. V. Pella, of Rumania. Professor Pella is the author of a volume of nearly 400 pages, entitled "*La Criminalité Collective des Etats et le Droit Pénal de l'Avenir.*" In his address he dwelt upon the collective criminality of war-waging nations, of the criminal psychology of countries and of its causes, such as criminal heredity, atavism, herd instincts. He dwelt with certain external aspects of the problem, such as race antagonism, competition, imitation, and contagion. The speaker pleaded for intellectual, economical, and political solidarity among the nations. Professor Pella's address, like his book, shows him to be a student scientifically concerned with the problem of enabling nations to check their blind impulses with the supremacy of reason. Notable addresses were also given by Mr. Gustave Gratz, former Minister of Foreign Affairs in Hungary; the head of the German Group, Professor Walter Shücking; Mr. Dennis Herbert, of the British House of Commons; Mr. Thomas Johnson, of the Irish Free State; Madame Pfülf, of the German Reichstag; Senator

Osmena, of the Philippine Congress; Sir Robert Horne, former Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain; Mr. Carl Lindhagen, of Sweden; Mr. Maxence-Bibie, of the French Chamber of Deputies; William Medinger, of Czechoslovakia; Giuseppe Stefano-Napolitani, of the Italian Senate; M. Falcoz, of the French Chamber of Deputies; Mr. A. Fraenkel, of Denmark; General Richard Mulcahy, of the Irish Free State, and H. J. Procopé, of Finland.

The fourth session, held October 5, considered European customs understanding. The discussion was opened by Dr. Adolf Braun, of the German Reichstag. This address was discussed by Sir Arthur Shirley Benn, of Great Britain; Mr. Procopé, of Finland; Mr. Yankovitch, of Yugoslavia; Mr. William Medinger, of Czechoslovakia; Mr. P. E. Flindin, of the French Chamber of Deputies; Mr. Karl Drexel, of Austria, and Rudolf Schneider, of Germany. It was during this session that Mr. Procopé's resolution was presented and referred to the Council. The original resolution, together with Mr. Procopé's substitute, appear elsewhere in these columns.

On the afternoon of October 5 the discussion turned to the reduction of armament and a report on demilitarized zones. The whole matter was opened with an address by Brigadier General E. L. Spears, of Great Britain. General Spears' views had been laid before the Interparliamentary Union months before the Conference, with the result that the delegates were able to discuss the problem after preparation. General Spears starts with the principle that there can be no hopeful reduction of armaments until the nations are satisfied that they can be secure under such a readjustment. He proposes demilitarized zones along national boundary lines as effective assurances of that security. He believes that no demilitarized zones can be effectively imposed except by

mutual consent. He also holds that reciprocity is essential—that is to say, sacrifices and concessions required by one of the zoned States must be met by corresponding sacrifices and concessions on the part of the other. Those taking part in the discussion were Dr. P. Munch, of Denmark; Sir Park Goff, of Great Britain; Senator Thomas J. Walsh, of the United States; Mr. Simon Reynaud, of France; Mr. Alfred Gildemeister, of Germany; Mr. Kurt Grabe, of Poland, and Mr. Thomas Williams, of Great Britain. After the discussion of the demilitarized zones the Conference was turned to the debate on the report of the Secretary General. It was here that Mr. Jephtha B. Duncan, of Panama, pleaded for compulsory arbitration, and Mr. Axel de Vries, of Esthonia, called attention to the dangers of the Third International Conference of Moscow. Other speakers at this time were Reich, of Poland; Tinzi, of Italy; Bianchi, Italy; Nakamura, of Japan; Mateu, of Rumania, and Kwiathowski, of Poland. It was at this time also that Lindhagen, of Sweden, brought up his three motions, systematically and unanimously turned down at Bern last year and at Copenhagen the year before, calling for a revision of the Covenant of the League of Nations, for an appeal to the United States to join the League of Nations, and for a universal language. All three of these motions were subsequently defeated.

The fifth session of October 6 was devoted principally to a general debate on the reduction of armaments, participated in by Mayeda, of Japan; Zamorski, of Poland; Lukacs, of Hungary; Hudson, of Great Britain; Escoffier, of France; Sollman, of Germany; Maddison, of Great Britain; Mangabeira, of Brazil; Moloff, of Bulgaria; Brabec, of Czechoslovakia; Lindhagen, of Sweden; Pella, of Rumania; Charteris, of Great Britain; Quidde, of Germany; Rennie Smith, and

Sir Robert Hutchinson, of Great Britain. After this discussion the two resolutions, appearing elsewhere in these columns, were passed.

In the sixth and last session the discussions related to customs understanding. The resolutions as finally adopted were discussed by Wittert van Hoogland, of Holland; Gratz, of Hungary; Ilski, of Poland; Georgesco, of Rumania, who offered amendments to the resolutions; Semerdjieff, of Bulgaria; Bento José de Miranda, of Brazil; Lithander, of Sweden; McMaster, of Canada; Blanton, of the United States, and Col. A. England, of Great Britain. There was also a debate upon the parliamentary system. This debate was opened by J. Hugh Edwards, of Great Britain, and continued by Schopfer, of Switzerland; Lindhagen, of Sweden; Chassaing, of France; Yepes, of Colombia; Cortinas, of Uruguay; Moore, of Great Britain; Bergman, of Sweden; Capgras, of France, and Connally, of the United States. The resolution affecting the parliamentary system, drafted by Michaeli, of Switzerland, appearing elsewhere in these columns, was passed at this session.

It was in the light of these facts, summarized as briefly as possible, that Representative Theodore E. Burton was led to say at this the last of the sessions in Washington: "In many respects this has been the most notable gathering ever held in this city"; and that Bronislaus Dembinski, of Poland, was moved to remark: "We have made a long step forward on the road of international progress."

General Spears, of the British Group, has written of the Conference: "What was really impressive was to see the unanimity with which the Conference welcomed any attempt which had as its object the peaceful solution of international disputes. In this matter there was no division of opinion, no hesitation . . . in itself a justification of the Conference."

LOCARNO

THE amount of enthusiasm aroused by the signing of the mutual guarantee pacts at Locarno is most gratifying, as an indication of how widespread and deep-seated is the desire of international peace all over the world. But, apart from that, the various treaties themselves add little to the security of Europe or the potential peace of the world. In principle they differ little from the Geneva Protocol of last year, and are in fact but a makeshift substitute for that instrument, which was speedily chilled out of existence by the attitude of the British dominions. And yet the success of the Locarno Conference is a welcome consummation.

It is naïve to suppose that the Locarno treaties do, effectively and forever, banish the specter of war from the European horizon—any more than the Geneva Protocol would have done it, or than the Covenant of the League has done it. They change nothing in the configuration of post-war Europe, and it is in that configuration that either lie or do not lie the seeds of future wars. It does not, as we are assured from so many quarters, open the way for general disarmament in Europe. On the contrary, the very nature of the treaty structure built up at Locarno makes for a likelihood of a retention of their military equipment by those powers which now have large standing armies.

Germany has once more solemnly accepted the validity of her frontiers as laid down by the Treaty of Versailles. But she did that in July, 1919, when she signed the Peace Treaty. Great Britain, Italy, and Belgium have solemnly undertaken to protect the Rhine frontier of France from any aggression on the part of Germany. But they did that when they became members of the League of Nations and undertook their obligations under Articles X and XIV of the League Covenant. The only difference is that

they have now gone a step farther and guaranteed the Rhine frontier for Germany as well. But no sane man has ever supposed that France would attempt to invade Germany, and thus violate the Rhine frontier, except in the manner in which she invaded the Ruhr, as her right under the economic sanctions provisions of the Versailles Treaty. And there is nothing in the Locarno treaties that can prevent her from doing this again if she should deem it necessary.

The Locarno treaties presumably do for the eastern frontier of Germany what they do for the western frontier on the Rhine. This frontier involves Germany's relations with Czechoslovakia and Poland. With regard to the former there is no difficulty; with regard to the latter, there are distinct difficulties. Germany has never denied, and does not deny now, the fact that she is not reconciled to her Polish frontier, especially to the existence of the Polish corridor, which cuts German territory into two parts. Ostensibly, the Polish-German treaty signed at Locarno precludes the possibility of Germany's attempting to rectify this frontier by force. But so great apparently have been Poland's misgivings as to the effectiveness of such a pact that her acquiescence had to be purchased by means of a triangular arrangement—also made and signed at Locarno—between herself, France, and Czechoslovakia, which assumed the form of a defensive alliance among them, directed against any attempt on the part of Germany to disavow the validity of her signature affixed to the Locarno instruments.

This defensive alliance is the clearest possible indication of the fact that neither France nor Poland put any greater trust in Germany's honorable intentions with regard to the Locarno treaties than they have put in her signature under the Treaty of Versailles. Under these circumstances, what reason is there to be-

lieve that they will show the slightest inclination to change the arrangement whereby they have hitherto assured themselves of Germany's inability to make any hostile moves against them—the maintenance of their armies and a continued disarmament of Germany?

Taken in all their implications, the Locarno treaties are not only a limited substitute for the Geneva Protocol, but they bring into even sharper relief the idea which underlay that instrument, viz., that the road to peace is through military alliance and a constant display of force. Europe has been living with this idea for a long time. On the basis of it she has been able, time and again, to provide for herself short breathing spells of peace. But it never has and never can lead to permanent peace.

And yet the Locarno treaties are a welcome development in the European situation. They do introduce a new element into it. After the ratification of the Locarno treaties, Germany will have a different international status than she had before the treaties were signed. Through these treaties she attains a position of diplomatic parity with the great powers of the Allied group. The way is open for her entry into the League of Nations. One of the most glaring abnormalities of the post-war European situation is thus obviated.

There is scarcely a major problem of intra-European policy that does not, in some way or other, concern Germany. With Germany outside the League, it has been practically impossible for that body to deal effectively with any of these problems. A serious test of the League as an instrument for the aims for which it was originally devised will come when Germany sits in its Council. The real test will probably not come until Russia, too, is in the League. But the test provided by Germany's participation in the work of the League will go a long way toward

demonstrating whether the League is capable of developing into a political force — which we greatly doubt — or whether it will follow the lines of its present development and evolve into a great international agency for the gathering and exchange of information and viewpoints.

Locarno may be, and probably is, one of the milestones on the road toward international peace; but it is far from being the goal attained.

OUR DEBT NEGOTIATIONS WITH FRANCE

WHILE it is most regrettable that our debt-funding negotiations with France have not resulted in a definite agreement, there has been indisputable value accruing from M. Caillaux's visit to Washington. An attempt to settle the debt problem was made three years ago, when the Parmentier Mission came to the United States. That attempt led to no results whatever. Since then there has been a great deal of loose talk, both here and in France, on the subject of the debt; but it was not until the last conference in Washington that the moot points of this very intricate question were really threshed out and its various phases brought into proper perspective. The two notes addressed by our Debt Funding Commission to M. Caillaux, the text of which appears elsewhere in this issue, state the problem admirably.

The circumstances under which the negotiations ended merely leave it to be desired that the next attempt at similar negotiations be handled, on the side of France, by a more skillful and tactful technical personnel; but the courage and clear-mindedness with which the problems of the settlement were faced by our Debt Funding Commission are certainly a good augury for the eventual satisfactory solution of the matter.

When our Debt Funding Commission accepted the principle of paying capacity as a guide in determining the size of the annuities, and when it further agreed to recognize the difficulties of economic and financial uncertainty under which France is laboring at the present time by postponing the final settlement to a future date, it demonstrated the fact that it was prepared to face realities and order its actions accordingly; for these two factors are the outstanding realities of the debt problem.

Paying capacity is the only fair principle in which arrangements for the liquidation of large international indebtedness can be grounded. The World War, which left the nations of the world with huge outstanding accounts against each other, also left the world in a state of more or less complete confusion on the question of what is really involved in adjusting these accounts. The most pressing of these accounts was the bill presented to Germany by the Allied Powers for reparation, and for five years all attempts to regulate this account were based on anything but the sound principle of Germany's paying capacity.

The London schedule of payments of 1921, with an arbitrarily settled annuity far beyond Germany's capacity to meet it, resulted in the spectacular crash of German finances and led to all the bitterness and waste of the Ruhr occupation. It was not until the Dawes Plan and London Protocol that the question was placed where it should be, and the way was open for an intelligent and sane approach to the problem.

The nature of a nation's debt-paying capacity was clearly set forth in the report prepared by the experts who worked under the chairmanship of the present Vice-President of the United States. The world's attention was directed to the fact that, in order to be able to meet, year

after year, large payments on its foreign indebtedness, the debtor nation must be in a position not only to raise enough revenue within the country to provide the necessary funds in its own currency, but must also have an excess of exports over imports in her foreign trade to allow her to convert these funds into foreign currencies or gold—the only means of payment acceptable to the creditor nation. Hence the emphasis that the world has been placing since upon the “transfer problem,” which is nothing else but the process of converting domestic currencies into foreign ones.

It was inevitable, after the enthusiasm with which the Dawes Plan was received in the United States, that we should not refuse to apply its underlying principles to the analogous problem of the French debt to us. The circumstances under which this debt was contracted were different from those under which Germany piled up against herself the reparation account which she has to meet; but the processes involved in liquidating the two accounts are identical. Just as Germany, in order to pay reparations, must have an adequate surplus in her budgetary revenue and a corresponding surplus in her foreign trade, so France, in order to meet payments on her foreign debts, must be in a position to meet these two primary requirements.

The uncertainty of France's economic position proceeds from several sources. Ostensibly the most important and pressing factor in her situation at the present time is the currency problem. The franc is on the downgrade. At the same time, the vaults of the Bank of France contain an ample amount of gold for the franc to be placed immediately on a sound gold basis. Why is this not done? The answer to this question touches the very heart of the difficulties under which France is laboring.

Ever since the war France has been piling up a stupendous domestic debt, originating principally from the expenditures for the reconstruction of the devastated regions. Ultimately this debt is to be liquidated by means of Germany's reparation payments. In the meantime it weighs as an insupportable burden upon the national budget of France. The interest on this debt constitutes more than one-half of the total expenditures in the French budget. It cannot be met out of ordinary taxation, for France is already groaning under a crushing tax burden. It is met out of further borrowing, and as the difficulties of borrowing become greater and greater, the government is forced to resort to new issues of paper money. The result is a downward pressure on the franc.

This downward course of the franc has, however, a very important result in another direction. It stimulates the foreign trade of France. This is a phenomenon which always occurs under inflation. In a country which passes through inflation, goods are cheaper than in other countries, and that country's opportunities for selling abroad are increased. At the same time, its purchases abroad become more expensive and its imports fall behind its exports. The result is, for the time being, a brilliant foreign trade situation, which, however, cannot continue long, because its net result is a draining of the country's stocks of raw materials. Nevertheless, while it lasts, it gives the appearance of great prosperity.

These are the essentials of the French economic situation at the present time. Stimulated by a low currency, the French foreign trade apparently gives France a considerable transfer capacity. Her budgetary situation, however, is such that, in order to obtain within the country the amounts to be transferred, she would have to unbalance her budget still further, and thus court the sort of disaster into

which Germany was plunged prior to the inauguration of the Dawes Plan.

But that is not all. A series of heroic measures, involving great patriotic sacrifices, as, for example, an agreement on the part of the French holders of the government bonds to accept a very much reduced rate of interest on them, may give France an opportunity to balance her budget and save herself from a catastrophic inflation crisis. Then she would be able to use her gold for stabilizing the franc. But the inevitable result of stabilization would be a sharp rise in prices and an equally sharp decline in French exports. This would immediately create for France a serious transfer problem.

All these are difficulties which stare France in the face. They are real, not imaginary. Nor are they light, by any manner of means. And it is well that our Debt Funding Commission, in its efforts to place on a regularized basis the loose ends of the war debts which are still dangling in the air seven years after the armistice, faces squarely and frankly the problem which they create.

THE Canadian Group of the Interparliamentary Union gave to the visiting delegates a vivid illustration of the energy and ability at the heart of the Canadian people. For a number of reasons, Senator N. A. Belcourt and Senator C. P. Beaubien found themselves early in September faced with the problem of entertaining some 400 foreigners in five different cities within five consecutive days, and nothing in the way of organization accomplished. Within the limits of one month they laid all their plans, set up their organization, and carried every detail through to a successful issue, without a hitch, and to the admiration and unalloyed pleasure of every guest.

THE next conference of the Interparliamentary Union will probably not be held until 1927. The decision lies with the Council, the governing board of the Union. It now appears that in 1926 there will be a meeting of the Council, made up of two members from each group, and of the six commissions. Each of these commissions consists of one representative from each of the groups. This means that, with its two members upon the Council and its six members of commissions, each group will be represented by eight persons. The place of the meeting has not yet been determined.

THE Interparliamentary Union is an agency for the promotion of international understanding. It is an international organization with which we of the United States can work without violence to our established policies.

The Twenty-third Conference of the Interparliamentary Union was quite in keeping with the aims and spirit of democratic institutions. The object of the Interparliamentary Union is the study of all questions of an international character suitable for settlement by parliamentary action. Since international treaties and understandings, any hopeful international law, depend or should depend upon legislative action, such conferences of lawmakers are of importance, the discussions relating, as they often do, to matters of peace and war. The Interparliamentary Union is, therefore, to the legislative bodies of the world what the League of Nations is to the executive departments of governments. It aims to aid and to coordinate parliamentary action on the international plane. Its goal is the co-operation of lawmaking bodies in the interest of a society of nations governed by law. An unofficial clearing-house of official legislators, a get-together conference of lawmakers, the Interparliamentary Union is the world's nearest approach to a parliament of man. The Twenty-third Conference of the Interparliamentary Union was such a parliament.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

THE outstanding events of the Twenty-third Conference of the Interparliamentary Union were associated with New York city, September 28 and 29; Philadelphia, September 30; Washington, October 1 to 7; New York city, October 8 and 9; Niagara Falls, October 10 and 11; Hamilton and Toronto, Ontario, October 11 and 12; Ottawa, Ontario, October 12 and 13; Montreal and Quebec, October 14 and 15.

Headquarters of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union were opened at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York city, Saturday, September 26, at 10 o'clock a. m., where incoming delegates registered as they arrived. The Mayor's Reception Committee of the City of New York, led by Mr. George F. Mand, met incoming steamers bearing delegates at quarantine, and conveyed them from the piers to the hotels, accompanied by official escort. September 28 the Mayor's Committee conveyed the delegates from the Hotel Pennsylvania to the City Hall, where they paid their respects to His Honor the Mayor, who delivered to them an address of welcome. Following the welcome by the Mayor, the delegates were conveyed to the Astor Hotel, where they were given a luncheon by the League of Nations Non-partisan Association. The English-Speaking Union gave a dinner to the members of the English delegation the same day. The Executive Committee of the Interparliamentary Union met in the afternoon of September 28 at the Hotel Pennsylvania, and the Council had a meeting the following day, at 10 a. m.

September 29, at 1 o'clock, the delegates became the guests of the city of New York on a sight-seeing tour around the harbor, being conveyed to and from the Hotel Pennsylvania by an official escort of the Mayor's Committee. On the same

day the Council on Foreign Relations gave a dinner to the officers of the Interparliamentary Union and the head of each delegation, at the Harvard Club, New York city.

Wednesday, September 30, at 9:30 a. m., the delegates became the guests of the American Group on its special train at the Pennsylvania station. The party arrived at Philadelphia at 11:30 a. m., where they were met at the Broad Street station by the Mayor's Committee. They were received by the Mayor and shown the shrines of Philadelphia. They were then taken to *Villa Nova*, the home of Mr. Morris Lewis Clothier, where luncheon was served. Later in the afternoon they drove to the home of Ex-Governor William Cameron Sproul, near Chester, stopping for a short visit at Swarthmore College. At 6:30 p. m. the delegates took the special train at Chester for Washington. The dinner aboard the train was given with the compliments of the Pennsylvania Railroad. The party arrived at Washington at 9:30 p. m., where they were received at the Washington Terminal station by a delegation from the United States Congress, assisted by the Marine Corps, the Navy Band, and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. The delegates were taken to the Mayflower Hotel, where they remained as guests of the American Group throughout their stay in Washington.

October 1, delegates registered at the Bureau of Information, at the United States Capitol, where they received their invitations, notices, and the like. The first session of the Twenty-third Conference opened in the House of Representatives at 10 o'clock.

The Capitol Building had been prepared and manned especially for the Conference. A branch post-office was opened for the benefit of the guests. There was a ticket office, an American Express Company tourist office, and the National

Metropolitan Bank of Washington served the banking needs of the delegates. Telegraph and telephone service was at their disposal. Special rooms were assigned to the various committees of the Union, to the officers, and to the groups.

The Washington social program included the following:

Thursday, October 1, 1:00 p. m., luncheon at the Mayflower for the ladies of the delegations, by Miss Julia Mattis; 4:30-7:00 p. m., tea and reception for the ladies, by the League of American Pen Women, at the Shoreham Hotel; 9:00 p. m., reception and ball for all guests, by Mrs. John B. Henderson.

Friday, October 2, 2:00 p. m., the President of the United States received the guests at the White House. The Conference of the Interparliamentary Union convened at the Pan-American Union Building immediately following the reception by the President. At 4:30-6:00 p. m., there was a reception and tea for all guests, by the American National Red Cross, at Red Cross headquarters.

Saturday, October 3, at 4:00-6:00 p. m., there was a garden party for all guests at "*Twin Oaks*," home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles J. Bell, Woodley Lane. From 9:00-11:00 p. m., there was a reception for the ladies by the General Federation of Women's clubs, 1734 "N" Street.

Sunday, October 4, 4:30-7:00 p. m., tea for all guests, by Mrs. Thomas F. Walsh, 2020 Massachusetts Avenue.

Monday, October 5, 1:00 p. m., luncheon for all guests, by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Connecticut Avenue and "H" Street; 4:30 p. m., reception and tea for the ladies by the National University Women's Club, 1634 "I" Street.

Tuesday, October 6, 2:00 p. m., the guests left the Mayflower Hotel for Mount Vernon; at 8:00 p. m., there was a dinner for all guests, the Secretary of State presiding, at the Mayflower Hotel.

Wednesday, October 7, 4:00 p. m., the delegates took the special train at the Washington Terminal station and were conveyed by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to New York city. The dinner aboard the train was given with the compliments of the railroad. Arriving in

New York, the party became the guests of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, some at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, some at the McAlpin Hotel, and some at the Martinique Hotel.

The program of the Carnegie Endowment was as follows:

Thursday, October 8, 10:00 a. m., automobiles were provided and the guests were taken through the parks and parkways of New York city, through Westchester County, stopping for lunch at Briarcliff Lodge, returning to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel at 6:00 p. m. At 7:00 p. m., there was a banquet at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, attended by nearly a thousand persons.

Friday, October 9, through the courtesy of the Endowment, some of the guests were able to visit the Stock Exchange; others the Museum of Natural History; others the Metropolitan Museum.

Saturday, October 10, the delegates were taken from the New York hotels to the Grand Central station, from which they went by two special trains to Niagara Falls, where they arrived at 7:00 p. m. At 9 o'clock the delegates were shown the colored illumination of the Falls, and later the night display of the rapids below the Falls.

Sunday, October 11, farewell luncheon by the American Group. At 2:35 p. m. the delegates became the guests of the Canadian Group of the Interparliamentary Union and left by train for Hamilton. There was a drive through the city of Hamilton that afternoon, and a dinner given by the city, after which the delegates left by train for Toronto, where they were entertained at the King Edward Hotel.

On the 12th they were given a drive through the city of Toronto and a luncheon by the Government of Ontario. They arrived at Ottawa at 10:45 p. m., Monday, the 12th, where they stayed at the Chateau Laurier.

Tuesday, October 13, the final session of the Conference was held, lasting all day. The dinner in the evening by the Federal Parliament, was another brilliant affair. Similar hospitalities were extended by the city officials, at Montreal, Wednesday, the 14th, and by the Govern-

ment of the Province, at Quebec, Thursday, the 15th.

Perhaps nothing, however, pictures the international importance of the Conference more than a mere reading of the names of the delegates. The "Who's Who of the Conference" follows:

WHO'S WHO OF THE XXIII CONFERENCE OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE

Baron Theodor Adelswaerd, President of the Council, Senator of Sweden.

Dr. Christian L. Lange, Secretary-General, Geneva, Switzerland.

Dr. Leopold Boissier, Assistant Secretary-General.

Miss Hilda Strachan, Private Secretary to Dr. Lange.

Senator Wm. B. McKinley, General Chairman of the Conference, President of the American Group.

Arthur Deerin Call, Director of the Conference, Executive Secretary, American Group.

Hon. J. Butler Wright, Chairman of the Budget Committee, Assistant Secretary of State.

Hon. William McNeir, Disbursing Officer, Chief, Bureau of Accounts and Disbursing Clerk, Department of State.

Representative Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, Chairman Committee on Reception.

Andrew J. Montague, of Virginia, Chairman Committee on Entertainment.

Representative Fred A. Britten, of Illinois, Chairman Committee on Transportation and Hotel Accommodations.

Mrs. John Allan Dougherty, Chairman Ladies' Committee of Washington.

INTERPRETERS

French—J. Labat.

German—Arthur F. J. Remy and Edwin Emerson.

Spanish—Antonio Llano.

AUSTRIA

Five Delegates

Drexel, Dr. Karl, Member of National Assembly,

Heigl, Mr. Josef, accompanied by Mrs. Heigl, Member of National Assembly.

Keinböck, Dr. Viktor, Member of National Assembly, Former Minister of Finance.

Stöckler, Mr. Josef, Member of National Assembly, Former Secretary of State, 1918-1920.

Waiss, Dr. Erwin, Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Secretary-General of Austrian Group; Member of National Assembly; Former Undersecretary of State, 1918-1920.

BELGIUM

One Delegate

La Fontaine, Hon. Henri, accompanied by Mrs. La Fontaine; Member of Interparliamentary Council and Senator.

BRAZIL

Three Delegates

Corrêa, Dr. José Mattoso Sampaio, with Mrs. Corrêa, Senator from District of Rio de Janeiro, Civil Engineer.

Mangabeira, Dr. Joao, with Mrs. and Master Mangabeira; Deputy from State of Bahia; Lawyer.

Miranda, Dr. Bento José de, with Mrs. and Miss de Miranda, Deputy from State of Pará, Civil Engineer.

Muniz, Mr. Joao Carlos, Secretary of Delegation; Deputy Consul for Brazil in New York; Graduate in Law courses from Rio de Janeiro and University of New York.

Corrêa, Britto, Mr. S., Secretary.

Bueno Brandao, Mr. F., Secretary.

Austin, Eloise, Secretary.

BULGARIA

Four Delegates

Molloff, Mr. Vladimir, Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; President of Bulgarian Group; Member of Chamber of Deputies; Professor of Law, University of Sofia; Member of Council of Bar Association of Bulgaria; Member of Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Mouschanoff, Mr. Nicolas, Member of Chamber of Deputies; Former Minister.

Semerdjieff, Mr. Georges, Secretary of Bulgarian Group; Member of Chamber of Deputies; Chairman of Committee on Finances of Chamber of Deputies.

Vassilieff, Mr. Grigor, Member of Chamber of Deputies.

CANADA**Nine Delegates**

- Belcourt, Hon. N. A., with Miss Belcourt; President of Canadian Group; Member of the Executive Committee and of the Council of Interparliamentary Union; Senator.
- Beaubien, Hon. C. P., with Miss Beaubien; Senator; attended several previous conferences of Interparliamentary Union; Former President Canadian Group.
- Casgrain, Mr. J. P. B., with Mrs. Casgrain; Senator.
- Foster, Sir George, with Lady Foster; Senator.
- McMaster, Mr. Andrew, with Mrs. McMaster; ex-Member of Parliament.
- White, Hon. Smeaton, Senator.
- Willoughby, Hon. W. B., Senator.
- McMeans, Mr. L., with Mrs. McMeans; Senator.
- Macdonell, Mr. A. H., Senator.
- Montigny, Mr. L. de, Secretary.
- Halpin, D. J., Secretary.

COLOMBIA**Four Delegates**

- Botero Saldarriaga, Mr. Roberto, Senator; Lawyer.
- Uribe, Mr. Antonio José, Member of Congress; Charter Member of American Institute of International Law; Member of American Academy of Political and Social Science, and many other international organizations.
- Yepes, Mr. J. M., Senator; Lawyer.
- Zea Uribe, Dr. Luís, Member of Congress; Physician.

COSTA RICA**Six Delegates**

- Facio, Mr. Antonio, accompanied by Mrs. Facio; Member of Congress from Limón; Graduate in Medicine from University of Pennsylvania; Chief Surgeon, United Fruit Co. Hospital at Port Limón.
- Fernández, Mr. León, accompanied by brother, Mr. Luís Fernández; Congressman from Province of Alajuela.
- Fonseca, Mr. Enrique, Congressman from Province of San José.
- Leiva, Mr. Carlos, accompanied by Mr. Alfred Pirie, Secretary of Group; Congressman from Province of Cartago; Lawyer.

Robles, Mr. Miguel Angel, accompanied by Mrs. Robles; Congressman from Province of Limón; Plantation Owner.

Volio, Mr. Arturo, Former President of Congress; Lawyer and Capitalist.

CUBA**Four Delegates**

- Cruells, Mr. José Ramón, with Mrs. Cruells; Representative in Cuban Congress; Lawyer; Former Attorney General of Province of Santa Clara.
- Duque de Heredia, Mr. Alfonso, with Mrs. Duque; Senator (serving first term) from Santiago; formerly Representative for four terms; Lawyer.
- Espino, Mr. José Ramón, with niece, Miss Diaz; Representative.
- Rodriguez Ramirez, Mr. Juan, with his wife, Mrs. Rodriguez, mother, and sister; Lawyer; Representative, serving third term from Province of Matanzas; Chairman of Committee on Finances and the Budget of House of Representatives.
- Garcia, Mr. T., Secretary of Group.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA**Two Delegates**

- Brabec, Dr. Jaroslav, with nephew, Mr. George Beaufort; President of Group; Member of the Executive Committee and of the Council of Interparliamentary Union; Senator; Vice-Chairman of Judicial Committee; Member of Committee on Foreign Affairs.
- Medinger, Dr. Wilhelm, with daughter, Miss Medinger; Member of Chamber of Deputies; Acting Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union.
- Voska, Captain Em. V., Secretary to Delegation.
- Nebuska, Otokar, Permanent Secretary of Group; Assistant Secretary of Parliament; Composer and authority on music of Czechoslovakia.

DENMARK**Twelve Delegates**

- Berendsen, Mr. Ivar, Former Member Chamber of Deputies; Member Central Committee Danish Radical Party; Customs Inspector; Newspaper man, free-lance.
- Fraenkel, Mr. A., Member of Chamber of Deputies.
- Gronborg, Andr. Th., Former Member of Parliament; Author and Teacher.

Hanssen, Mr. H. P., Acting Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Member of Chamber of Deputies; Former Minister.

Hendricksen, Mr. Halfdan, with Mrs. Hendricksen; Member of Chamber of Deputies; Shipowner.

Hauschultz, Mrs. Mathilde, with Mrs. Signe Cleve; Member of Chamber of Deputies; Lawyer.

Kyed, J. C., Member of Chamber of Deputies; Farmer.

Lauesgaard, Mr. A., with Mrs. Lauesgaard; Secretary of Danish Group.

Lou, Dr. Johannes, with son, Niels Henning Lou; Member of Chamber of Deputies; Physician.

Munch, Mrs. Elna, Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

Munch, Dr. P., with son, Mr. Ebbe Munch; Member of Chamber of Deputies; Former Minister.

Sundbo, Mr. J. P., with daughter-in-law, Mrs. Sundbo; Member of Chamber of Deputies; Editor.

Trier, Mr. Sven, Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Member of Chamber of Deputies; Director of Labor Bureau.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Five Delegates

Brache, Mr. Rafael, with Miss Brache; Representative.

Diaz, Mr. Gustavo Adolfo, President of the Senate.

Gomez, Mr. Manuel J., Senator.

Perez, Mr. Francisco, with Miss Perez, Representative.

Santamaria, Rev. Father, Representative.

ESTHONIA

One Delegate

de Vries, Axel, Member of Parliament.

FINLAND

Three Delegates

Procopé, Mr. Hj. J., Member of Chamber of Deputies; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Saastamoinen, Mr. A., Member of Chamber of Deputies; Former Minister to Washington.

Tanner, Mr. W., Member of Chamber of Deputies; Former Minister of Finance.

FRANCE

Twelve Delegates

Bokanowski, Mr. Maurice, Former Minister; Deputy.

Beaumont, Mr., Senator from l'Allier.

Capgras, Mr., Deputy from Tarn-et-Garonne.

Chassaing, Dr., Deputy from Puy de Dôme.

Escoffier, Mr. André, Deputy from Drome.

Falcoz, Mr. Henri, Deputy from Savoie; Secretary of Delegation.

Flandin, Mr. Pierre Etienne, with Mme. Flandin, Former Undersecretary of State for Aviation; Head of Inter-Allied Air Commission, 1917; President of First Aeronautical Conference in 1919.

Grinda, Mr., Deputy Maritime Alps.

Merlin, Dr. Fernand, President of the Group; Member of the Executive Committee and of the Council of Interparliamentary Union; Senator.

Maxence-Bibie, Mr., Deputy from Dordogne.

Reynaud, Mr. Simon, Deputy from the Loire.

Thivrier, Mr., Deputy from l'Allier.

GERMANY

Twenty-seven Delegates

Bartschat, Mr. Franz, Member of Reichstag.

Braun, Dr. Adolf, with daughter, Miss Braun; Member of the Reichstag; Author; Journalist.

Brodauf, Mr. Alfred, Member of the Reichstag; Judge.

Diez, Carl, Member of the Reichstag; Landwirt.

Eickhoff, Prof. Richard, Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Teacher; Former Deputy.

Emminger, Mr. Erich, Member of the Reichstag from Bavaria; Former Minister of Justice.

Erkelenz, Mr. Anton, Member of the Reichstag; Journalist.

Gildemeister, Dr. Alfred, Member of the Reichstag; Lawyer.

Hildenbrand, Mr. Karl, Member of the Reichstag; Former Minister of Wertemburg in Berlin.

Korell, Mr. Adolf, Member of the Reichstag; Minister of the Gospel.

Lang-Brumann, Mrs. Thusnelda, Member of the Reichstag; Teacher.

Lemmer, Mr. Ernst, Member of the Reichstag.

Löbe, Mr. Paul, President of the Reichstag.

Mende, Mrs. Clara, Member of the Reichstag; Former teacher.

Mittelmann, Dr. Fritz, Member of the Reichstag; Lawyer.

Pfülf, Mrs. Antonie, Member of the Reichstag; Teacher.

Quidde, Dr. Ludwig, with Mrs. Kleinschmidt; Professor of History; Author and Lecturer; Former Deputy.

Rauch, Mr. Hans, Member of the Reichstag; Engineer.

Rheinbaben, Baron Werner von, Member of the Reichstag; Former Secretary of State.

Rosenfeld, Dr. Kurt, Member of the Reichstag; Lawyer.

Schnee, Dr. Heinrich, with Mrs. Schnee; Member of the Reichstag; Former Governor of German East Africa.

Schneider, Dr. Rudolf, Lawyer; Member of the Reichstag.

Schröder, Mrs. Louise, Member of the Reichstag.

Schücking, Dr. Walter, President of the German Group; Member of the Council of the Interparliamentary Union; Professor of Law.

Sollmann, Mr. Wilhelm, Member of the Reichstag; Editor; Former Minister of Interior.

Teusch, Mrs. Christine, Member of the Reichstag; Teacher.

Wirth, Dr. Josef Karl, Member of the Reichstag; Former Chancellor.

Boye, Richard, Secretary to the German Group.

GREAT BRITAIN

Forty-one Delegates

Benn, Sir Arthur Shirley, with Lady Benn; Member for Plymouth since 1910; Former President of British Association of Chamber of Commerce; Member of International Chamber of Commerce.

Bird, Sir Robert, Bart., with Lady Bird; Member for Wolverhampton; Business man.

Boothby, Mr. R. J. G., Member of Parliament.

Brocklebank, Mr. Edmund, Member of Parliament.

Brooke, Brig. General, C. R. I., C. M. G., D. S. O., Member of Parliament.

Charteris, Brig. Gen. John, C. M. G., D. S. O., Member for Dumfries since 1924; "Times" correspondent in Balkan War; D. S. M. (U. S. A.), Rising Sun (Japan), Leopold (Belgium), Croix de Guerre and Legion of Honor (France).

Colfox, Major W. P., with Mrs. Colfox; Member of Parliament since 1918; Major Royal Field Artillery.

Couper, Mr. J. B., Member for Glasgow; Shipping business.

Cowan, Sir Henry, with Lady Cowan, and Miss Cowan; Member for North Islington; Chairman of W. & B. Cowan, Ltd.

Davies, Major George F., with Mrs. and Miss Davies; Member for Somerset; Business man; Served in World War, 1914-19.

Edwards, J. Hugh, Member of Parliament from Wales; Author and Lecturer.

England, Col. A., with Mrs. England; Member for Lancashire; Head of Manchester business; Served through war in Gallipoli, Egypt, France, and Belgium; C. M. G., D. S. O., T. D.

Evans, Capt. Arthur, with Mrs. Evans; Member for Cardiff, Wales.

Goff, Sir Park, Member of Parliament; King's Messenger; Member of several Interparliamentary and Commercial Conferences.

Gunston, Capt. D. M., with Mrs. Gunston; Member of Parliament; Officer of Irish Guards; Served through war in Irish Guards.

Hall, Capt. W. D'Arcy, with Mrs. Hall; Member of Parliament.

Harvey, Mr. C. M. Barclay, with Mrs. Barclay-Harvey; Member of Parliament.

Harvey, Mr. George, Member of Parliament.

Hemphill, Lord, with Lady Hemphill and Hon. Martyn Hemphill; Member of Parliament; Lawyer.

Herbert, Dennis, with Mrs. Herbert; Member for Watford Division of Herts; Solicitor.

Horne, Sir Robert, Former Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Hudson, R. S., with Mrs. Hudson; Member for Cumberland; was in diplomatic service.

Huntington-Whiteley, Sir Herbert, Bart., with Lady Huntington-Whiteley, and son, Eric Arthur; Former Member of Parliament.

Hutchison, Sir Robert, with Lady Hutchison; Member of Parliament; In charge of British Army of Occupation

in Cologne, 1919-22; K. C. M. G., C. B., D. S. O., D. S. M. (U. S. A.), and other foreign decorations.

Law, T., Assistant Secretary.

Lougher, Mr. Lewis, Member for Cardiff; Extensively interested in shipping; Member of Court of Governors, National Museum of Wales and University of Wales.

Lynn, Sir Robert, with Lady Lynn; Member of British and Ulster Parliaments; Journalist; Chairman, Ulster Educational Commission.

Maddison, Mr. F., with daughter, Miss Ellen Maddison; Secretary, British Group; Former Member of Parliament; Secretary of the International Arbitration League.

Mason, Lt. Col., G. K. M., with Mrs. Mason; Member of Parliament; Served through war in France, Salonika, Serbia, Palestine; D. S. O.

Milne, J. Wardlaw, with Mrs. Milne; Member of Parliament; Ex-member, Viceroy of India's Council; Ex-chairman Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

Moore, Maj. Gen. Hon. Sir Newton J., with Lady Moore; Member of Parliament; Former Prime Minister of Western Australia; Chairman Standing Orders Committee, House of Commons.

O'Connor, Capt. T. J., and Mrs. O'Connor; Member of Parliament; Member of English Bar; Fellow Royal Geographical Society; Served with West African Frontier Force.

Paling, Mr. Wilfred, Member for Doncaster, Yorks, 1922-24; Coal Miner until 1916; West Riding County Council, 1919.

Pethick-Lawrence, Mr. F. W., with Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence; Member of Parliament; Author; Barrister; Lecturer.

Pownall, Lt. Col. Assheton, with Mrs. Pownall and Miss Pownall; Member from East Lewisham since 1918; Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Labour.

Riley, Mr. Ben, Member of Parliament.

Roberts, Mr. Samuel, with Mrs. Roberts; Member of Parliament for Hereford; One of Chairmen of Standing Committees, House of Commons.

Smith, Mr. Rennie, Member of Parliament.

Spears, Brig. Gen. E. L., Former Member of House of Commons; First British officer at the front in 1914; Head of liaison work and of British Military Mission until after Peace Conference; C. B., C. B. E., M. C., and numerous foreign military decorations.

Vaughan-Morgan, Col. K., Member for East Falham, London, since 1922; Director and Vice-Chairman of Morgan Crucible Co., Ltd.; Served through war in France and Belgium.

Williams, Thomas, with Secretary, J. T. Rowan; Member for Don Valley Division, South Yorks; Former coal miner.

Woodcock, Col. H. C., Member for Liverpool; Member of City Council of Bristol; Commander of Battalion in 1914; Served through war in command of regiments; Stock-broker.

GREECE

One Delegate

Major Byron Carapanayoti, M. P., Ex-Minister of Communications; Delegate to the 23rd Interparliamentary Conference.

GUATEMALA

One Delegate

Batres Jauregui, Mr. Antonio, and son; Member of Congress; Charter member of American Institute of International Law; Historian and Author.

HAITI

Two Delegates

Thomas, Mr. Emmanuel James, with daughter, Miss Elvyra Thomas; President of the Council of State; Held many public offices in his country and represented Haiti as Consul-General in Mobile.

Beauvoir, Dr. G., Member of Council of State.

HOLLAND

One Delegate

Wittert van Hoogland, Baron E. B. F. F., Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Senator of Parliament of Holland; Member of City Council of The Hague; President of the Labour Council of The Hague.

Horn, Mr. F. N., Secretary of Delegation.

HONDURAS

Two Delegates

Castaneda, Prof. Gustave A., Member of Congress; Teacher; Author.

Callejas, Mr. Venancio, President of Congress.

HUNGARY

Six Delegates

Gaal, Mr. André de, Member of Parliament; Former Secretary of State.

Gratz, Mr. Gustavius, Former Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Kallay, Mr. Tibor de, Member of Parliament; Former Finance Minister.

Lukàcs, Mr. Georges de, Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Public Instruction; Member of the Executive Committee and of the Council of the Interparliamentary Union.

Petri, Mr. Paul, Member of Parliament; State Secretary to Minister of Public Instruction.

Poka-Pivny, Dr. Adalbert de, with Mrs. Poka-Pivny; Secretary of Delegation; Former Counsellor of the Ministry of Commerce.

IRISH FREE STATE

Four Delegates

Hayes, Mr. Michael, Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Speaker of Dail Eirann; Chairman of Civil Service Commission.

Johnson, Thomas, Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Representative in Dail for Dublin; Member of several commissions of Dail.

McGilligan, Patrick, Member of the Dail Eirann; Minister of Industry and Commerce; Member of Executive Committee; Former Member of High Commission for the Irish Free State in London.

Mulcahy, General Richard, Representative in Dail Eirann since 1918; Chief of Staff of Irish Republican Army; Made Commander-in-Chief on death of General Michael Collins; Chairman of Commission on Educational and Economic Conditions of the Irish speaking areas.

ITALY

Ten Delegates

Barzilai, Mr. Salvatore, with son, Mr. Georges Barzilai; Senator; Lawyer; Former Minister.

Bianchi, Mr. Fausto, Deputy; Lawyer.

Buratti, Mr. Vittorio, accompanied by brother, Bramante Burratti; Deputy; Manufacturer.

Di Stefano-Napolitani, Hon. Giuseppe, President of Delegation; Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Lawyer; Senator.

Luiggi, Mr. Luigi, with daughter, Miss Luisa Luiggi; Senator; Engineer.

Miliani, Mr. Giambattista, Deputy; Manufacturer; Former Minister.

Nuvoloni, Mr. Domenico, Senator; Lawyer. Sardi, Baron Alessandro, Deputy; Former Undersecretary of State; Vice-President of Italia-America Society.

Tinzi, Mr. Carlo, Deputy; Lawyer; Secretary on train only.

Ungaro, Mr. Filippo, Deputy; Lawyer; Secretary of Chamber of Deputies.

Nuvoloni, Mr. Luigi, Lawyer; Secretary to Delegation.

Guzzardi, Mr. Ignazio, Secretary.

JAPAN

Ten Delegates

Hirano, Mr. Mitsuo, with Secretary, Mr. Shutarō Tomimas; Member of Parliament; Editor.

Isobe, Mr. Hisashi, Member of Parliament; Lawyer.

Mayeda, Mr. Fusanosuke, Member of Parliament; Business man.

Morita, Mr. Shigérū, Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Member of Parliament; Lawyer.

Nakamura, Mr. Kaju, Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Lawyer.

Sakai, Mr. Daisuké, Member of Parliament.

Seki, Mr. Shunkiti, Member of Parliament. Taguchi, Mr. Sukeichi, Member of Parliament; Secretary of House of Representatives.

Takagi, Mr. Masutaro, with daughter, Miss Kiyoko Takagi; Member of Parliament; Lawyer.

Takatori, Mr. Junsaku, Member of Parliament.

Hosigawa, Mr., Secretary to Mr. Marita.

KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES

Five Delegates

Yankovitch, Dr. Velizar, with Mrs. Yankovitch; Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Finance and Communications; President of the Group.

Marinkovitch, Dr. Voislav, with Mrs. Marinkovitch; Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Neshitch, Mr. Ljoubisha, Member of Parliament; Former Undersecretary of State and Minister at Prague.

Boudisavljevitch, Dr. Srdjan, Member of Parliament.

Preka, Mr. Nikola, Member of Parliament.

Drignakovitch, Mr. Veljke, Secretary of the Delegation.

LITHUANIA**One Delegate**

Smulkstys, Dr. A., Member Chamber of Deputies.

MEXICO**Eight Delegates**

Alba, Dr. Pedro de, with Mrs. de Alba; Senator; Delegate to the XXI Conference of Interparliamentary Union; Physician.

Bautista, Mr. Gonzals, Secretary of the Group.

Fabila, Mr. Gilberto, Representative; Agricultural Engineer.

Góngora, Mr. Victorio E., Senator.

Hernandez Galván, Mr. Manuel, Representative; Lawyer.

Merla, Mr. Pedro, Representative.

Padilla, Mr. Ezequiel, President of Delegation; Representative; Speaker of House; Lawyer.

Vasquez, Mr. Genaro V., Representative; Lawyer; Former Governor of Oaxaca.

NEWFOUNDLAND**Six Delegates**

Bishop, Mr. Robert K., Senior Member, Legislative Council; Business, exporting and importing and shipping; In public life since 1889, representing Newfoundland on commissions and at conferences.

Fox, Hon. Cyril J., Speaker of Assembly since July, 1924; Barrister and Solicitor; Elected to House of Assembly 1919.

Higgins, Mr. William J., with Mrs. Higgins; Member of the House of Assembly; Attorney General, and Minister of Justice; In public life since 1913.

McGrath, Hon. Sir Patrick, with nephew, Mr. Claude Fraser; President of Legislative Council since 1916; Knighted for war work; Journalist and author; Represented his government on many commissions and at conferences.

Monroe, Hon. Walter S., with Mrs. Monroe; Prime Minister of Newfoundland; Engaged in fisheries industries; In political life since 1923.

Morine, Hon. Alfred B., with Mrs. Morine; Member of Legislative Council; Journalist; Lawyer; Politician; Minister without portfolio.

NICARAGUA**Three Delegates**

Callejas, Mr. Santiago, with sister-in-law, Miss Mayorga; Member of Senate, from Chinandega; Former Minister of War and of Finance; Knight Commander, Order of Leopold II of Belgium.

Paniagua Prado, Mr. Francisco, with son, Mr. Luis Paniagua; Member of Senate from Leon; Lawyer; Former Justice of Central American International Court.

Salazar, Mr. J. Leopoldo, with daughter, Miss Emily Salazar; President of Delegation; Member of Senate from Matagalpa; Coffee exporter.

Carazo Morales, Mr. Evaristo, Secretary of Delegation.

NORWAY**Three Delegates**

Bergersen, Mr. Johannes, Member of Parliament.

Sundby, Mr. Jon, Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Member of Parliament; Agriculturist.

Wefring, Mr., Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Member of Council of State; Minister of Foreign Affairs.

PANAMA**Three Delegates**

Alemán, Mr. Julio, with Mrs. Alemán; Member of National Assembly.

Duncan, Mr. Jephtha B., Member of National Assembly; Secretary of Education, 1918-1923; Professor of Modern Languages, in National Institute of Panama; Editor of "The Times," daily paper published in English and Spanish; Editor and publisher of English weekly.

Vallarino, Mr. Octavio A., with Mrs. Vallarino; Member of National Assembly.

Zubieta, Mr. J. A., with Mrs. Zubieta; Secretary to Delegation; Former member of City Council of Panama; Delegate from Panama to Int. Labor Congress, Washington, 1919.

PERU**Two Delegates**

Curletti, Mr. Lauro A., with Miss Curletti; Senator; Chairman, Joint Congressional Committee on Foreign Affairs; Lawyer, author, lecturer.

Pazos Varela, Mr. J. F., and Miss Pazos; Member of Chamber of Deputies.

Pazos, Miss Cecilia, Secretary of the Group.

PHILIPPINES

One Delegate

Osmena, Hon. Sergio, with his wife, Mrs. Osmena; President pro-tempore, Senate; Formerly Speaker, Lower House (1907-1922) and Vice-President, Council of State.

Reyes, Dr. J. S., Secretary of the Delegation.

POLAND

Ten Delegates

Dembinski, Dr. Bronislaus, President of the Polish Group; Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Professor of History in the University of Posen (Poland); Former Member of Parliament and Former Undersecretary of State, etc., etc.

Zamorski, Jan, Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Member of Chamber of Deputies (Sejm); Professor of College.

Kosydarski, Wladislaw, Treasurer of Polish Group; Member of Chamber of Deputies (Sejm).

Dabski, Jan, Member of Chamber of Deputies (Sejm); Former Undersecretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Dymowski, Dr. Thaddaeus, Member of Chamber of Deputies (Sejm).

Graebe, Kurt, Member of Chamber of Deputies (Sejm).

Ilski, Dr. Konrad, Member of Chamber of Deputies (Sejm); Vice-President of City of Warsaw.

Krajczyrski, Rev. Otto, Member of Chamber of Deputies (Sejm).

Kwiatkowski, Michal, Member of Chamber of Deputies (Sejm).

Reich, Dr. Leon, Member of Chamber of Deputies (Sejm).

Czosnowski, Stanislaus, Secretary.

Sobieniowski, Rev. Stanislaus, Secretary.

Szczerbinski, Jan Stanislaus, Secretary; Representative of Polish Governmental Telegraphic Agency.

RUMANIA

Five Delegates

*Bocu, Mr. Sever, with Mrs. Bocu, and Secretary; Deputy; In public life for many years; Prominent in Roumanian affairs since war.

Botez, Mr. Nicolae, with Mrs. Botez; President of Group; Senator.

Georgesco, Mr. Constant, with Mrs. Georgesco; Deputy; Professor of Economics, University of Rumania; Lawyer; Author of many works on economics and social questions.

Mateiu, Dr. Jon, Deputy since 1922; Teacher, lawyer, and author.

Mateiu, Mrs., Inspector for the Ministry of Social Protection and Public Health; Secretary of the Group.

Pella, Mr. Vespasian, with Mrs. Pella; Senator, in Parliament for 25 years; Lawyer; Journalist.

Pella, Prof. V. V., Deputy; Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Professor of Criminal Law in University; Specializes in criminal law, both private and international; Author of works on various aspects of crime and criminals.

SWEDEN

Twenty-one Delegates

Abrahamson, Mr. E. R., Member of First Chamber.

Adelswaerd, Baron Theodor, with Baroness Adelswaerd; President of Council of Interparliamentary Union; President of Swedish Group.

Bengtsson, Mr. Sven, Member of Second Chamber; Proprietor.

Bergman, Dr. J., with Mrs. Bergman; Member of First Chamber; Former University Professor.

Bergstrom, with Mrs. Bergstrom; Member of First Chamber; Former Minister of War.

Carlsson-Frosterud, Mr. J. L., Member of Second Chamber.

Fehr, Mr. Martin, Member of First Chamber; Professor.

Hallin, Mr. Eric, with son, Hon. Eric Hallin; Member of First Chamber; Lord of the Bedchamber.

Hamrin, Mr. Felix, with Miss Hamrin; Member of Second Chamber; Merchant.

Jaerte, Mr. Otto, with Mrs. Jaerte; Member of Second Chamber; Chief First Division of the Swedish Royal Social Board.

Larson, Mr. Edvard, Member of First Chamber.

Lindhagen, Mr. Carl, Member of First Chamber; Mayor of Stockholm.

Lithander, Mr. Emil, with Mrs. Lithander; Member of Second Chamber; Merchant.

* Mr. Bocu not present.

Lundell, Mr. Ernst, Member of First Chamber.

Nilsson, Mr. C. P. V., Member of First Chamber.

Olofsson, Mr. Johan, Member of Second Chamber.

Olsson, Mr. Oscar, Member of First Chamber; Lecturer.

Palsson, Mr. J., Member of First Chamber.

Pettersson, Mr. David, Member of Second Chamber; Former Minister of Agriculture.

Sjöström, Mr. Algot, Member of Parliament.

Vennerström, Mr. Ivar, Member of Second Chamber; Editor.

Johannesson, Mr. Frederik, Secretary to Delegation.

Wallis, Mr. Kurt, Assistant Secretary.

Miss Engström, Secretary to Baron Adelswaerd.

SWITZERLAND

Two Delegates

Usteri, Dr. Paul, with daughter, Mrs. Loosli; Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Member of Council of Switzerland.

Schöpfer, Mr. Sidney, and his sister, Madam Ellen de Kernay; Member of Council of Interparliamentary Union; Deputy of Congress; Lawyer; Acting President of Delegation.

URUGUAY

One Delegate

Cortinas, Hon. Ismael, with Mrs. Cortinas; Senator.

VENEZUELA

Two Delegates

Churión, Mr. Luís, President of Chamber of Deputies; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Former Secretary to Washington Legation; Author.

Grisanti, Dr. Carlos, with Misses Margarita and Ana Teresa Grisanti; President of Congress; Lawyer; Professor of Law in University; Former President of Federal Court.

Olavarria Matos, Mr. J. A., with Mrs. and Miss Matos; Secretary to Delegation.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The officers and executive committee of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

OFFICERS

President, Senator William B. McKinley.

Vice-Presidents: Representative Andrew J. Montague, Virginia; Representative Henry W. Temple, Pennsylvania; Representative William A. Oldfield, Arkansas.

Treasurer, Representative Adolph J. Sabath, Illinois.

Secretary, Representative John J. McSwain, South Carolina.

Executive Secretary, Arthur Deerin Call, 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C. (Tel., Main 7409.)
Cable Address, "Ampax, Washington"

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Senator William B. McKinley, Illinois, ex officio Chairman.

Representative Fred Britten, Illinois.

Representative Theodore E. Burton, Ohio.

Representative Henry Allen Cooper, Wisconsin.

Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Arkansas.

Senator Claude A. Swanson, Virginia.

Senator Charles Curtis, Kansas.

Representative James C. McLaughlin, Michigan.

Representative Tom Connally, Texas.

Representative John E. Raker, California.

Delegates registered from United States as of October 2, 1925.

Forty-three Delegates

SENATORS

Fess, Simeón D., Ohio; Washington only.

McKinley, William B., Illinois.

Swanson, Claude A., Virginia.

REPRESENTATIVES

Ackerman, Ernest R., New Jersey; Washington only.

Barkley, A. W., Kentucky.

Black, L. M., New York.

Blanton, Thomas L., Texas; Washington only.

Britten, Fred A., Illinois.

Burton, Theodore E., Ohio.

Cannon, Clarence, Missouri.

Carpenter, Edmund N., Pennsylvania.

Celler, Emanuel, New York; New York only.

Chindblom, Carl R., Illinois.

Collins, Ross A., Mississippi; Washington, doubtful; New York and O.

Connally, Tom, Texas.

Davila, F. Cordoba.

Denison, Edward E., Illinois.

Garrett, Finis J., Tennessee.

Gasque, Allard H., South Carolina; Washington only.

Hall, Thos., North Dakota.

Hill, John Philip, Maryland; Washington only.

Hill, Lister, Alabama.

Hoch, Homer, Kansas; Washington, possibly; New York and O.

Hudson, Grant M., Michigan; Washington only.

Hull, Morton D., Illinois.

Jeffers, Lamar, Alabama; Washington only.

LaGuardia, Fiorello H., New York.

Linthicum, J. Charles, Maryland.

McSwain, John J., South Carolina.

Mills, Ogden L., New York.

Montague, Andrew J., Virginia; Washington only.

Oldfield, William A., Arkansas.

Porter, Stephen G., Pennsylvania.

Schneider, George J., Wisconsin.

Sinclair, J. H., North Dakota; Washington only.

Sosnowski, John B., Michigan; All sessions.

Temple, Henry W., Pennsylvania.

Thatcher, Maurice H., of Kentucky.

Tilson, J. Q., Connecticut.

Timberlake, C. B., Colorado.

Wainwright, J. M., of New York.

Yates, Richard, Illinois.

Zihlman, F. H., Maryland.

FRENCH DEBT NEGOTIATIONS

IT still does not appear clear just what it was that led to the rupture of the negotiations between our Debt Funding Commission and the French delegation, headed by Finance Minister Caillaux. There seems little doubt, however, that an important rôle in this whole incident was played by a statement issued to the press by one of the officials of the French delegation, on the authority of a member of the French delegation (presumably

Caillaux himself), to the effect that an agreement had been reached. The statement also suggested that there were serious differences of opinion among the American delegates, and that this difference of opinion was to be placed before the President. The statement caused quite a stir in official American circles, and on October 1 the following statement was issued by the White House:

The representation in the press, on the supposed authority of a member of the French Commission, that an agreement had been reached, and purporting to give its terms, is entirely incorrect. Such a statement obviously did not come from M. Caillaux, because before the adjournment of the subcommittee last evening the French members were informed by the American members that their proposals were not likely to be accepted. There has been no difference of opinion whatever among the members of the American Commission. The visit to the President this morning was to inform him of the position of the negotiations. No proposal has been made acceptable to the American Commission and none has been submitted to the President for his approval or disapproval.

Whatever was the source and the inspiration of the French statement, it created a situation in which further negotiations became exceedingly difficult. It bore all the earmarks of a rather clumsy attempt to force the issue, and consequently demanded an immediate counter-move on the part of the American Commission. The attempt at forcing the issue had for its sole result the ironing out of whatever differences of opinion there had existed in the ranks of the American delegates. On the counter-move the American Commission was united. The French were asked to make good their revised offer, and when the issue was thus squarely put to Caillaux he declared that he would have first to place the whole question before his government. That was the end of the conference.

The following two notes, addressed by the American Commission to the French Delegation, set forth with admirable clarity the point of view of our government and really tell the story of the negotiations.

On September 28 the Debt Funding Commission addressed M. Caillaux as follows:

We have had the privilege of considering your statement of today. We understand this to be a reaffirmation of your proposal to us of the 24th instant—that is, that you should pay \$25,000,000 annually for the first five years; \$30,000,000 annually for the following five years; \$60,000,000 annually for the following ten years; and \$90,000,000 annually for the last 42 years, this sum completely to extinguish the indebtedness. We have stated the reasons why this sum, in our opinion, is inadequate.

It seems to us that you consider the above proposed annuities are an application to your indebtedness to us of principles discussed between France and England as applicable to the war debt of France to England; but we wish to point out that an examination of the existing settlements and tentative agreement between France and England discloses an entire difference. We find that the principles of these arrangements, if applied to the debt of the United States, would imply a larger obligation upon the part of France to the United States than that contained in our proposal below.

The English Settlement

For instance, in its treatment with England, France has considered its indebtedness for surplus war stocks and the indebtedness from the Bank of France to the Bank of England for exchange purposes as ordinary commercial debts, repayable in full at full current rates of interest. Already payment is being made of these two categories of obligations. On the British-French debt proper there appears to be contemplated a settlement by the payment of an annuity of £12,500,000 for 52 years. The \$407,000,000 representing France's indebtedness to the United States for surplus war stocks is, of course, of the same character as the similar indebtedness to England. While there has been no separation into categories in the general debt of France to the United States, there is separation in the purposes to which the money loaned by the United States was devoted, many of which are similar to those involved in the creation of the Bank of France-Bank of England debt. Some \$682,000,000 of American advances are exchange transactions, meeting of maturing

commercial debt obligations, and advances to the Bank of France. In order that the two creditor nations be treated on a parity, this sum would also have to be settled on the same basis as the Bank of France-Bank of England debt—that is, as any commercial obligation.

These principles of settlement, as applied to France's indebtedness to the United States, would necessitate:

The \$407,000,000 of indebtedness for surplus war supplies would in these terms be treated as a commercial debt. It now bears 5 per cent interest and matures in 1929. If from June 15, 1925, the interest rate be reduced to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the rate which we now pay on our Liberty bonds, and the principal be made payable over a period of 20 years, then the annuity payments required would amount to over \$30,000,000 per annum. This is parallel to the existing French agreement for payment of British war supplies, except that it is based on a lower rate of interest and upon a term of years more favorable to France than accorded by England.

Six hundred and eighty-three million dollars of the \$2,933,000,000 of other indebtedness represents advances to make payments on maturing commercial obligations and in support of the franc in international exchange, and is probably therefore on parallel lines to the advances made by the Bank of England to the Bank of France. If this sum were treated also upon a commercial basis and interest were calculated to June 15, 1925, at the rates paid by France to the Bank of England, the principal sum, with accrued interest at that date, would be \$927,000,000, and if in this case also future interest be reduced to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and the principal be repaid over a period of 20 years, the annual annuity required would be nearly \$70,000,000. This again compares with the existing English-French settlement, except that it is at a lower rate of future interest and the principal is extended over a term of years more favorable to France.

If an annuity over 62 years comparable to that mentioned in the British-French negotiations were applied to the remainder of our debt, it would imply an annuity payable to us of about \$61,000,000 per annum, even without adjustment for the gold security involved in the British negotiations.

The Net Result

The net result of the application of the principles to the American debt would bring about that France should pay to the United States an annual amount of \$161,000,000 for the first 20 years and \$61,000,000 thereafter for 42 years. These payments would be altered if the annuity of \$61,000,000 were deferred for the first seven years and added to the subsequent period, as discussed in London. It seems to be that these principles of repayment are impossible to France in the application of her indebtedness to us.

We had intended in our note of the 25th to indicate a basis which we believed would be a foundation for negotiations. We recognize the great difficulties under which the French Government is struggling and it is our utmost desire to meet them. We feel that such difficulties will be overcome within a few years, and that our mutual problem is to take into account this expected improvement.

You have requested that we should be more specific, and we have now the pleasure of laying before you a definite proposal:

(1) We propose to consolidate the entire indebtedness into one total sum. The amount of this indebtedness as of June 15, 1925, with accrued interest at the rate of the existing French obligations, is about \$4,227,000,000. We propose, however, that interest should be calculated upon the most favorable basis of our previous settlements, under which the principal with accrued interest would, as of June 15, 1925, amount to about \$4,025,000,000, being a concession of over \$200,000,000 in accrued interest.

(2) We propose that the French Government should undertake to pay the principal of the debt in annual installments graduated upward, during the period of 62 years, as in cases of the other settlements made by the United States. This would require at the first year the sum of \$20,000,000 on account of the principal, being approximately one-half of one per cent of the total principal, the payments on principal increasing gradually over the entire period of 62 years. You will recognize that, in the arrangement of this schedule, it has been the desire of the American Commission to so arrange the payments as to meet the existing and fiscal necessities of France.

(3) There therefore remains the question

of the rate of interest to be created upon the debt. In our desire to meet difficulties of the French Government and at the same time to provide that the American people may secure some return by participation in the increased strength and productivity to be expected in France, we propose that interest the first year shall be at the rate of one-half of one per cent per annum, and that this rate shall increase each year by one-quarter of one per cent. This would bring the interest rate up to 3½ per cent at the thirteenth year, and this to remain as the maximum for the balance of the period.

The American Offer

On October 1, simultaneously with the White House statement given above, the following communication was addressed to the French by the Debt Funding Commission:

We wish to express our high appreciation of the frank and earnest effort of our French colleagues to find a basis for settlement of this, the most difficult problem which confronts our two peoples.

We have before us the revised offer of the French Commission—that is, France should pay \$40,000,000 annually for the first five years, \$60,000,000 annually for the following seven years, and \$100,000,000 annually for the next 56 years, thus spreading payments over 68 years, there being important conditions attached to this proposal which render these payments entirely uncertain.

The total payments offered imply a return of the principal of the debt at somewhat less than one per cent per annum. In order to illustrate the sacrifice which such a plan would impose upon our people, we may point out that the present value of the above payments, if made in full (upon the basis of interest which we bear on Liberty bonds), is about \$1,750,000,000. This amount compares with over \$4,100,000,000 which we have to meet in charges upon our taxpayers in respect of the loans to France. In the plan which we laid before you, the present value of the payments which we proposed would be about \$2,800,000,000 as compared with the \$4,100,000,000 as above; so that we have made most important concessions.

We believe that it is fully recognized by both commissions that the only basis of negotiations fair to both parties is the principle of the capacity of France to pay.

The hub of the difficulty of the two commissions arises from a difference in judgment as to the future capacity of France to pay without, as we have stated, undermining her economic and social fabric; and this difficulty narrows itself to the future rather than to the present, for we are prepared to accept the views of the French Commission as to the immediate difficulties of France.

In order that we shall not be unmindful of every effort to meet the whole problem, and at the same time to maintain the agreed principle of settlement, and that there may be no break in the effective continuity of our discussions, we wish to lay before you the following suggestion—that is, while we cannot accept the proposal made, we do propose that France shall undertake unconditionally to pay the \$40,000,000 per annum mentioned in your statement as your capacity for the next five years, this to be considered full current interest on the debt during that period, and at the end of this five-year period the two governments shall again revise the capacity of France to pay and determine at that time the amounts which shall be paid over such further term as may be then agreed. The above is, of course, subject to the approval of Congress.

It appears to us that within this period of five years the economic problem with which we are mutually confronted will have been much clarified and we shall both be in a position to make better determination. We know that it is the earnest desire of the American people not only to be just, but that they are willing to make necessary sacrifices. We believe that, with peace, the natural progress of industry and commerce, and the recovering strength of France, a basis can be found at such later date which will meet the views of our two countries.

After this communication nothing remained for M. Caillaux but to bring the negotiations to a close and return to France.

Comments of the French Press

The French press reacted to what happened in Washington in a rather curious way. In its comments, the attitude toward Caillaux personally plays perhaps an even more important part than the negotiations themselves.

The *Temps*, while declaring itself unwilling to recriminate, regrets that all the efforts

expended for a settlement should have resulted as they have. It considers that no one can say that France has not shown good will and a spirit of conciliation, for she has gone as far as she could, in view of her determination not to undertake more than she was sure that she could perform. The negotiations will continue on the basis of the principles established in Washington, and, if the temporary agreement is ratified, there will be five years in which to carry them through. Much may happen in five years, and in any case France will by that time know more clearly where she is and how far the Dawes Plan comes up to expectations.

The *Journal* considers that, although the terms which France was called upon to accept were excessively onerous, it would still have been no slight advantage for the country to know exactly how it stood and to have done once for all with an unpleasant question, which was poisoning relations with the United States. "Time settles many things, but it does not settle the money difficulties." It considers that the worst of the Washington incident is the effect which it will have on internal politics. The narrow-minded intriguers of the political arena have, it declares, long been waiting for a good weapon with which to attack the Painlevé Cabinet. Now they have got it, and will no doubt make the best of it.

Even the *Ere Nouvelle*, the organ of the Cartel des Gauches, while "disagreeably surprised," can only say that it is better that the negotiations should be postponed without an understanding than that they should end in "an understanding at any price—that is to say, against France." M. Caillaux and his colleagues have therefore, it considers, done well.

The *Gaulois* says that the postponement for five years of the settlement of the American debt implies a similar postponement in regard to the debt to Great Britain, and the delay of any steps for setting the franc on its feet, if at the end of that period the sword of Damocles of the American war stocks is still hanging over France's head. The *status quo* would be better than a temporary agreement, which might merely mean the lumping together of a purely moral political debt with a commercial debt, and create a situation capable of having a dangerous effect on the economic future of the country. "If the whole of America spoke by

the mouth of Senator Borah, we should despair of American friendship. We are of those who prefer to believe that the American statesmen, prisoners of their own electoral declarations, have brought about the failure of the negotiations in order not to incur before history the crushing responsibility of having inflicted on France, a friend and ally, an intolerable financial slavery as the price of her sacrifices in the common cause."

The *Œuvre*, which has never believed that the negotiations were going so well as was represented, says that the whole affair is back in the melting pot. The consequences may be serious, but they cannot be more so than would have been those of a surrender deeply involving several generations of Frenchmen. The *Œuvre* further points out that the American war stocks were bought by France for 400 million dollars at 7.25 francs to the dollar. Today the rate is about 21 francs. This means a loss to France of 5,500 million francs. "Why," it asks, "should France alone have to bear the loss resulting from the fall in value of the franc? And, further, there is the interest of 20 million dollars a year or 420 million francs. Is it not astounding?"

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DATES

(August 11—October 15)

- August 11—The Spanish and French forces operating against Moroccan rebels effect a junction and prepare for a combined Spanish-French offensive.
- August 12—M. Briand, French Foreign Minister, and Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Secretary, reach full accord regarding a security compact with Germany.
- The Soviet Government grants to foreign interests a contract for the exploitation of the Lena gold fields of Siberia, which are estimated to contain over \$100,000,000 worth of gold.
- August 14—Norway formally annexes the Spitzbergen Islands, discovered by the Vikings in 1914, and awarded to Norway by the Allied Supreme Council in 1920.
- August 18—The Belgian Debt Commission to Washington signs an agreement funding the Belgian debt to the United States.
- August 26—Finance Minister Joseph Cailiaux agrees that France shall pay \$12,500,000 annually for sixty-two years in payment of her debt to Great Britain.
- August 28—Great Britain announces that diplomatic relations with Mexico will be resumed.
- August 29—A constitution providing for presidential and parliamentary general elections is approved by the people of Chile.
- September 3—Four pacts are signed in La Paz and in Rio de Janeiro, which clear up the diplomatic differences between Bolivia and Brazil.
- September 4—Hungary ends her fiscal year with a surplus of 63,000,000 gold crowns, whereas a deficit of 100,000,000 had been anticipated.
- September 7—René Viviani, Premier of France at the beginning of the World War, dies at Clamart, France, in his sixty-fourth year.
- The Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations opens in Geneva, and Senator Raoul Dandurand, of Canada, is elected President.
- September 8—Poland and Czechoslovakia demand that they be included directly in the security conference between the Allies and Germany.
- September 19—The League of Nations decides to ask the Permanent World Court for an advisory opinion concerning the Turks' attitude in the Mosul question.
- September 23—Conference between the French Finance Commission and the American Debt Commission opens in Washington.
- September 24—The Council of the League of Nations adopts a resolution providing for a draft convention on the private manufacture of arms, so that an international conference to consider it may be summoned before the next assembly.
- September 26—The Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations adjourns.
- October 1—The twenty-third conference of the Interparliamentary Union, with forty-one nations participating, convenes in Washington.
- President Arturo Alessandri, of Chile, resigns, which is the second time he has left office since his election in 1920.
- The Franco-American debt negotiations in Washington are broken off.
- October 4—After eleven years of partial prohibition, Russia returns to vodka.
- October 5—The Security Conference opens at Locarno, Switzerland.
- October 6—The Czechoslovakian Debt Commission begins its negotiations with the United States for settlement of its debt to this country.
- October 15—France and Germany, accepting a neutral zone and arbitration at the Locarno Conference, promise never to fight each other again.

INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION CONFERENCE OPENING ADDRESS

By FRANK B. KELLOGG

Secretary of State of the United States of America

House of Representatives, October 1, 1925, at 10 o'clock

Mr. President and Members of the Inter-parliamentary Union:

It is a notable event when delegates from the parliaments of forty-one self-governing nations meet for the first time in convention in the capital in one of the first republics established in the eighteenth century. It shows that in this remarkable age the attention of the world is centered upon the study of self-government. Probably in no period in history has there been greater expansion of democratic government, a more decided trend toward liberal views and a greater awakening of the people for participation in government than since the close of the Great War. The end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth was a notable period in the growth of western civilization because it was the period in which came the greatest development in self-government. Parliamentary government was not, of course, unknown in the eighteenth century. The British Constitution was a conspicuous example of such governments but, prior to the American Revolution and the French Revolution, the governments of the world were in the main monarchies, in some cases tempered in degree by parliamentary control. The fact remains, however, that even during the first decade of the nineteenth century, there were only two republics in the world, the Swiss Republic and the United States. Today nearly all countries of the world are either representative democracies or constitutional monarchies with parliamentary control. Following the American and the French Revolution, there was an almost universal movement against absolute monarchy growing out of aspiration of the people for greater participation in government. This was notably true of the Western Hemisphere, for between 1810 and 1825 there swept over that vast continent of Central and South America a general up-

rising of the people, a demand to be released from the autocratic colonial control of the old world and for the establishment of self-governing democracies or monarchies.

As a result of this wonderful degree of unanimity of sentiment among the people and of their combined action, there were established in substantially all the central and South American countries representative democracies very similar in their construction to that of the United States. It is also true that, in spite of the suppression of the French Revolution and in spite of the reactionary influence of the Napoleon régime which followed, there were in Europe also a great awakening of the people and an advance in liberal ideas of government. The history, however, of the last hundred years demonstrates that the pathway of representative democracies and parliamentary governments is beset with many difficulties. Many nations have undergone long and painful struggles, disorders and revolutions before reaching that stability necessary to the prosperity and happiness of the people. But in spite of difficulties the last hundred years have revealed a wonderful growth in democratic spirit, in self-reliance and capacity for self-government and in the education of the masses of the people in the duties and obligations incident thereto, and once more the Western Hemisphere has taken a leading part. In no part of the world has progress been greater than in Central and South America. You represent countries with varying economic conditions, many races with widely different political histories and traditions, and one of the prime objects of your organization is, I understand, to further the cause of peace—a noble aspiration which will find sympathy in millions of hearts after the devastation of the great world conflict. Nothing can be more stimulating to the

advancement of liberal ideas or will contribute more certainly to peace than for members of the various parliaments and legislative bodies to meet as you are doing to exchange views on your respective problems. The permanent peace of the world depends on the spread of knowledge and the proper understanding of each other's problems.

The principal causes of war are national ambitions, national jealousies and racial hatreds. Knowledge and acquaintance remove suspicions and intercourse softens animosities. Universal peace has been the dream of statesmen for ages, but no one has yet found a specific. The cure must come from the hearts and understanding of the people. They must be taught to think in terms of peace; they must realize that there are better means of adjusting international disputes than the arbitrament of war. Arbitration and judicial settlements have a conspicuous place and are powerful instruments for peace, but there must be more than treaties and conventions; there must be the spirit of tolerance and a willingness to submit to arbitration or judicial settlements. How many nations have been plunged into war by a false sense of patriotism!

The extension over the world of true representative democracies where the voice of the people may be made effective in shaping the destinies of nations is undoubtedly a very powerful instrument in the maintenance of peace, but unfortunately all history teaches us that even this is not always effective. To make it effective the people themselves must study and understand the problems of government, the relation of nations to each other; they must acquire an appreciation of the obligations of citizenship and these principles should be taught to the youth of every land. Parliamentary government, used in its broad sense as including all forms of representative democracies, is today facing as grave problems as at any time within the memory of any man now living. There are forces at work for the disintegration of orderly representative government and for the establishment of class rule which may well give us serious thought. I am not an alarmist and I have absolute confidence in the intelligence and the patriotism of the people of

all those nations who have reared and maintained the marvelous institutions of the twentieth century, but I cannot be blind to the forces which are working in many of the self-governing countries for the destruction of really representative government and the establishment of class tyranny. It is not sufficient to label a government a democracy and simply provide for majority rule. A government must be stable, must insure the protection of law to minorities as well as to majorities, the maintenance of individual liberty, the protection of property, freedom of religious belief and worship, freedom of the press, maintenance of the home, an equal opportunity for individual enterprise and initiative. There may be a tyranny of the majority as arbitrary and as detrimental to human liberty as the tyranny of monarchs. Some of the darkest pages of human history have been written under the guise of liberty.

I am aware that one of the questions which has invited the attention of the Interparliamentary Union in the past, and still is a burning question in some countries under a republican form of government, is protection of minorities. I have no mind to touch upon this delicate and controversial subject. I can only say in passing, without assuming to hold up the Constitution of the United States as an example to all the world or as containing all the wisdom of government, that the framers of our Constitution did not leave to the representatives of the people in Congress assembled the sole protection of the rights of minorities. They placed in the written Constitution prohibitions upon the power of Congress and in the Bill of Rights guarantees of liberty for the humblest citizen, irrespective of racial origin or religious belief, as well as for the wealthy and powerful, and by the Constitution itself established a Supreme Court with full power to protect all citizens in those rights and to declare void any legislative or executive act infringing upon them. I know there are many in this country who are restive under the restraint of these constitutional protections and demand unlimited power for Congress, but I believe the experience of one hundred and forty years has demonstrated the wisdom of the constitutional provision and I have absolute confidence

that the people of the United States will never sweep away those guarantees of liberty.

Whether a government has a written constitution or not, these principles for the guarantee of individual liberty underlying all representative democracy must be maintained if self-government is to survive. Stability of government, security for the person, the right to labor and to enjoy the fruits of industry, protection of property and of equal opportunity are necessary for the highest advancement of the human race. The genius of enterprise, of invention, or learning cannot thrive under a government that is too weak or too vacillating to insure protection. Education, in its highest sense, which fits a man for citizenship and participation in government, can take place only where there is guaranteed security for the fruits of education. Not only, as I have said, must there be a sense of the responsibility of individual citizenship, but there must be equally a high sense of responsibility by the representatives of the people. The high ideal of government is that the representatives of the people shall be free to act for the greatest benefit to the whole people. This cannot be accomplished where representatives are torn by factions and are not morally free to use their best judgment.

There is another phase of legislative responsibility which I should like to mention in passing, and that is the growing practice of nations to submit treaties to parliaments or to some branch of their legislative bodies for ratification. Under our form of government, and that of many other countries, this is obligatory and the present tendency among European countries is to follow this practice. Under the British Constitution, to be sure, the government in power has the right to make a treaty which may be ratified by the King without the authority of the Parliament; but, especially since the war, this practice has been abandoned and all treaties of importance are submitted to the House of Commons; in France a certain class of treaties must be ratified by both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. This is generally true in Central and South America. I believe the adoption of this practice by parliamentary govern-

ments is a wise step towards the maintenance of peace. There has been at times criticism of the American Government that treaties negotiated by the President can become valid only when ratified by the Senate. I think it has always been considered in this country a very wise provision. Treaties between nations often, in fact usually, affect the intimate life, business and economic interests of the people. They are often, and should always be, powerful instruments for the maintenance of peace, but many times in history secret treaties and alliances have been the cause of war. The more the people know about their own governments the better for them and for the stability of the world. Why should not some representatives of the people have a right to pass upon the treaties which shall be made between the nations?

Permit me, on behalf of the Government and the people of the United States, to extend to you a sincere and cordial welcome. It is a most enlightening and momentous occasion when the representatives of the world's parliaments meet to discuss the problems of government, to lend their influence to the passage of wise and beneficent laws, which are so necessary to the stability and the peace of the world and the advancement of civilization.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

By SENATOR WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY
President of the American Group

MR. PRESIDENT, COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS:

In behalf of the American Group I welcome you most heartily to the 36th anniversary and to the Twenty-third Conference of the Interparliamentary Union.

We are glad that you are with us. We treasure the memories of those guests of ours at the Twelfth Conference in our midst, twenty-one years ago; but we recall especially just now how through the years many of us of America have been immeasurably benefited and charmed by the choice friendships and the boundless hospitalities from your groups across the seas. For your countless unforgettable courtesies we thank you every one. While we cannot repay, we must assure you—and I

am proud here also to speak for our Canadian colleagues, who have so kindly co-operated to make your visit to these shores a pleasure and a profit—we must assure you that we are comforted because you have so graciously accepted our invitation, because you are here, and we open wide to you not only our hearths, but our hearts. We aim to leave no stone unturned to make your stay among us a worthy expression of our common hope.

As a result of your visit, you will discover increasingly that we of the Congress of the United States believe in the Interparliamentary Union.

Because of Its Past

We believe in it because of its past, which at least is secure.

The Interparliamentary Union has modified the thoughts of men. Its history is a history of practical persons bent upon the pursuit of attainable ideals.

For a generation it has stood for the principle of arbitration of disputes between nations. Following 1892, largely upon the initiative of our late and lamented Lord Weardale, it labored in behalf of a permanent arbitration tribunal until that tribunal became a fact. In no small way it influenced the calling of the First Hague Conference. A resolution adopted at our Brussels meeting in 1895 served that conference in 1897 as the basis for its discussions relative to an international organization for the furtherance of international arbitration.

How in 1904 the Interparliamentary Union prevailed upon President Roosevelt of the United States to take the initiative in the calling of the Second Hague Conference has often been told. The draft treaty of arbitration drawn up by this body in London in 1906 became the basis of discussion at the Second Hague Conference in 1907.

It is not necessary in this presence to recall the labors of the Interparliamentary Union in behalf of a Third Hague Conference and of a Permanent Court of International Justice.

There is not only history, there is a veritable romance, in the efforts of the Union to develop its own organization; to provide for a permanent office and a paid Secretary General; to increase its

support, financial and moral, from the parliaments of the world, and to promote a friendlier international understanding.

Some of the results have been tangible. It is proper to note that there were twelve groups represented at Stockholm in 1921, twenty-six at Vienna in 1922, twenty-six at Copenhagen in 1923, and twenty-six at Bern and Geneva in 1924, with 211 delegates. When we think of the costs of travel, of the depreciated currencies abroad, and of the many distresses following the World War, it is peculiarly encouraging to report at this our Twenty-third Conference 31 countries represented by a total of 271 delegates. You from the other hemisphere will join with me in expressing our special gratification that representatives of seven Latin American republics are with us.

Evidently not only is the past secure; there is evidence of a substance and of a value to the present.

Because of Its Purposes

We believe in the Interparliamentary Union because of its purposes. While all of these purposes are not fixed and unchangeable, we shall continue to believe in arbitration as a practicable and civilized method of settling disputes between nations. We shall always believe in the judicial settlement of controversies between States. As members of parliaments, we are concerned to know more of the relations between our legislative bodies and foreign policies. We crave that light and leading which can come only from intercourse with our fellow parliamentarians. We would know more of each other's conditions precipitated by the World War, of the mandated territories, of the minorities, of the economic, financial and health problems, of the League of Nations and its Permanent Court of International Justice, of passports and customs, of international production and transportation, of the achievements and failures of diplomacy, of social and colonial problems, of armaments and of the traffic in munitions of war, of demilitarized zones, and particularly of the all-important efforts to restate, amend, reconcile, and promote the principles of international law, without which there can be no peace of justice between the

nations of the world. The only agency regularly and permanently organized for parliamentarians collectively to promote that intercourse essential to these high matters is the Interparliamentary Union.

In no small sense, therefore, the interests of all peoples are affected by our aims, as set forth in our constitution, "to unite in common action the members of all parliaments . . . to secure the co-operation of our respective States in the firm establishment and the democratic development of the work of international peace and co-operation between nations . . . to study all questions of an international character suitable for settlement by parliamentary action."

Through all these purposes runs a golden thread, a thread of reason, strengthened by an abiding faith that out of our honesty of discussion and better understanding nations may enjoy increasingly that peace which inevitably reigns where justice prevails under law.

Because of Its Challenge

Thus the future of our Interparliamentary Union is a challenge to every parliament of the world. Our work has just begun. We are a non-partisan body concerned with the international problems of today in the light of a better tomorrow. It is not unreasonable to expect that we shall become more and more, albeit unofficially, a "parliament of parliaments."

With all the differences between us—differences in language, in religion, in politics, in local conditions—we know that there are problems common to us all by virtue of the fact that we are upon the same earth, deriving our motives from the same great springs of action, sensing our goal with certain purposes and interests, similar and enduring.

We of the Interparliamentary Union, especially we who have been with it through the many years, owe to it a great debt of gratitude. Without it certain deeply cherished friendships could not have been possible. Because of it, its studies, its discussions, its acquaintanceships, we have been able to serve our own constituencies, we hope, with a richer intelligence. In any event, because of it we are challenged to advance the cause of

international righteousness with a firmer purpose and a finer nobility.

Since we believe in the Interparliamentary Union because of its history, which is secure; because of its purposes, which are clear; and because of its future, standing as a challenge to every parliament in the world, we welcome you all, friends of many lands, to this the Twenty-third Conference of the Interparliamentary Union.

THE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW*

By ELIHU ROOT, Rapporteur

CODIFICATION, so called, of international law has a special importance at this time, because it is necessary in order to enlarge the service rendered by the Permanent Court of International Justice as one of a group of related institutions which, taken together, promise to facilitate the preservation of peace to a degree never before attained.

These institutions are in their early stages and there is unmistakable indication, both by the expression and action of many of the most powerful governments, and in the speech and writing of the most competent and experienced students of international affairs, and in the exhibition of general public interest, that the civilized world is turning its hopes for the future towards their development. These institutions are three.

(1) An automatic system providing for immediate general conference whenever serious irritation arises between nations, whether it be upon conflicts of policy or misunderstanding or resentment.

(2) An established system providing for the determination, by a permanent and competent court, of questions of legal right arising between nations.

(3) An established system to facilitate and regulate arbitration, which will bring the opinion of impartial arbitrators, selected by the parties, to bear upon controverted questions not strictly or wholly justiciable in their nature.

The first of these is supplied within the

* Read by Hon. Theodore E. Burton at the session of the Interparliamentary Union, Saturday, October 3, 1925.

limits of its membership by the League of Nations. The second is supplied for the benefit of the whole world by the Permanent Court of International Justice. The third is supplied for the whole world by the continuing organization of the original Hague Court of Arbitration established by the first Hague Conference, in 1899. It will be observed that the first of these institutions affords opportunity for conciliation, for the friendly expression of outside opinion, for the cooling effect of deliberation, for a realization of other points of view, and for reflection upon the results of braving the public opinion of the world. All three of the institutions afford opportunity for dispelling misunderstanding and suspicion by the ascertainment and determination of facts through such commissions or investigations as may be adapted to the particular requirements of the several institutions. It is also to be observed that the existence of the League of Nations, with its essential feature of ever-ready conference, is a distinct advantage, not only to its members, but to nations which are not members of the League. Whenever a question arises which, for example, affects the United States or Germany, the fact that fifty nations have in operation the machinery through which they are able to thrash out among themselves their views and possible differences upon the subject makes the prompt and satisfactory solution of the question between all nations, including the United States and Germany, comparatively simple.

These three institutions are not antagonistic or mutually exclusive. Each contributes its part towards the application of a practical theory of the way to prevent war, which the world is now engaged in trying to put into effect. That theory proceeds upon the following considerations.

War results from a state of mind; and in these modern times that has to be the state of mind of a people. Governments may promote or governments may allay such a state of mind, but we have reached a point where war cannot be successfully carried on unless it gratifies the feelings of the great body of the people of the country.

Controversies and quarrels between nations are certain to come. There will be

conflicting interests, disputes, differing understanding of facts, differing opinions of what is right and just, irritation and resentment over what the people of each country deem to be the refusal of justice by the people of the other. There will be by each country suspicion and apprehension as to the purposes of the other. Mere agreements not to have these things happen are futile. They result from the nature of man and they cannot be controlled at will.

The time for the useful application of whatever force, moral or physical, we may rely upon to prevent war is when that state of mind has arisen. No previous agreements or declarations against war, made at a time when there was nothing to fight about, have any substantial effect when the quarrel comes. Practically all modern wars have been made in the face of solemn agreements for perpetual peace.

Previous agreements by other nations to exercise compulsion to prevent war are not much better. If carried out, they would themselves be war and the only effect would be upon the alignment of nations engaged in the war. But the world has learned that in modern war the victors suffer about as much as the vanquished, and few nations can be depended upon to subject themselves voluntarily to the disaster of going to war because of a previous general agreement for the purpose of preventing some other country from going to war with somebody else. No country can carry on a war unless its people at that very time want war. No government can constrain its own people to go to war in the future when they do not wish to go, and no generation can effectively bind a future generation to fight against its will. The motive is not sufficiently compelling to create and hold together an alliance for purposes of compulsion. A single great power might compel peace, but a *Pax Romanum* implies a Roman imperium.

The great difficulty in settling international quarrels has ordinarily arisen from the fact that the only alternative has been war or a surrender which would mean humiliation. This difficulty is increased by the continually advancing democratic control over foreign affairs; because the people of each country are apt to see only one side of the controversy; to assume that their own country is completely

right; and to regard any concession whatever by their government as a betrayal. It is popular in every country for the Press to stress chiefly the arguments in that country's favor. Accordingly the public in every country is always misinformed by a part of the Press. To dispose of such an international controversy without war it seems necessary to find a way which will avoid humiliation and correct public misjudgment.

The conclusion is that the most effective method of dealing with the state of mind which leads to war is not by any mere negative but by a counter affirmative, consisting of a substitute for decision by war in the form of decision by proof and reason.

The three institutions above enumerated afford this substitute and they afford it in such varied forms as to be adaptable apparently to every conceivable situation. This mode of treating the subject has not been evolved by any individual mind. It is not anybody's theory.

Considering the discussions in The Hague Conference of 1899 and in its committees, in which was wrought out the organization of the Court of Arbitration at the Hague:

Considering the discussion in the second Hague Conference in 1907 and its committees, in which were produced the frame-work of a Permanent Court of International Justice, and complete provision for an International Prize Court:

Considering the multitude of negotiations between Foreign Offices before and after these conferences, the multitude of arbitration treaties signed and discussed in national legislatures, and rejected or confirmed, and the many draft treaties for the Permanent Court framed and discussed by Foreign Offices:

Considering the discussion in the Peace Conference of Paris at the close of the great war, in which was adopted the definition of justiciable questions and in which it was made the duty of the Council of the League of Nations to take up the task of finding a plan for a Permanent Court which could be agreed upon by the nations:

Considering the discussions in the Commission convened at The Hague from many countries by the Council of the

League, and which produced the plan for the Permanent Court:

Considering the discussions upon that plan and the amendments to it in the Council and Assembly of the League:

Considering the discussions of the plan by the great majority of all the nations of the earth who became parties to the treaty accepting it:

Considering the extensive use of these three institutions in the disposal of international controversies under the troubled and excited conditions of Europe during the past five years and the beneficent results which have been accomplished:

It is apparent that these institutions are an evolution from the practical necessities of international life worked out by the continuous effort of many most competent and experienced men, approaching the subject from the points of view of all nations and finally coming to agreement upon what is at once practicable and useful for the prevention of war.

In considering the utility of a Permanent Court of International Justice, there is a common tendency on the part of those who have not studied the subject thoroughly, to underestimate the importance among the causes of war of controversies about legal rights. Such controversies are important in three different ways: First, as being the real thing about which nations go to war; second, as being the origins from which arise irritation and resentment and the kind of popular misrepresentation and abuse and insult which make other peoples ready to fight because they are angry; and third, as being pretexts by which governments and war parties in governments may secure popular support for war which they really seek to wage for entirely different reasons. There is danger also of forgetting that the value of a court is not to be measured solely by the cases it decides, but also by the vastly greater number of cases which are settled because the court is there to decide. There is frequently a failure to appreciate one essential distinction between the work of a conference and the work of a court. Immediate conference is the only mode of dealing with flagrant cases of conflicting policies in which war is imminent, but the method of conference is the method of negotiation. Time out of mind the world has been negotiating for the prevention of

war, and each negotiation, successful or unsuccessful, begins just where all the others have begun. Every case in court, however, begins not where the last case began, but where the last case ended. The judgment of the Court may be binding only upon the parties, but the general acceptance of the Court's decision will be continually building up a body of agreement which narrows the field of controversy between nations and prevents future controversies. The conference deals only with particular situations. The Court is an instrument of international progress toward the government of the world by law. Most serious, in considering this subject, is the mistake of those who expect human institutions to be born full grown, who condemn the Hague Court of Arbitration, and the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the League of Nations within its own membership, and all the international conferences of the post-war period, because they have not already stopped all wars. These people would have the clock begin by striking twelve. Immediately after planting an acorn they would dig it up and throw it away because it is not already an oak. They fail to understand that all international progress is the result never of compulsion but always of a process, and that the process has to go on in the minds and feelings of many widely different nations, and therefore it must be slow. Although you cannot change human nature, you can change standards of conduct, but always gradually, never violently. If you see clearly and rightly the path of international progress, the first important question is not what is the complete and perfect system which should be attained. The first important question is how many steps along that path can all these nations, differing in interests and circumstances and traditions, and modes of thought and feeling, be brought to agree upon now. That is the first thing to ascertain, and when it is ascertained, although it may be possible to get immediate agreement upon only one step, the part of wisdom is to get that step agreed upon and put it into effect. Get your institution out of the realm of theory into that of fact, and then if you are right your fact will immediately begin to change the way in which men think. These three institutions, for con-

ference, for judicial decision, and for arbitration, are still in their infancy, but they have made extraordinary development in the last thirty years, and the simple fact of their existence is already changing the way in which mankind thinks and feels about the disposition of international controversy without war.

Article 36 of the statute establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice limits the jurisdiction of the Court, unless extended by agreement of the parties, to questions arising under treaties and under international law, and the court is therefore excluded from the decision of the great number and variety of questions not now covered by international law. The limitation was necessary because upon so many subjects the nations had long been unable to agree upon what the law ought to be. These disagreements had arisen from the differing characteristics and conditions of the different nations. Sometimes they came from different modes of thought and feeling; sometimes they came from conflicting interests; and upon such subjects every rule proposed has always found some nation which conceived that it would be injured and its rivals would be benefited by the adoption of such a rule. We can all agree upon the principles of international law, but it has been exceedingly difficult to secure agreement upon the rules which will adequately and properly apply those principles. To authorize a Court not merely to apply the rules of international law but to make those rules and then apply them, would be to authorize the Court to overrule the nations themselves in their contention as to what the law ought to be, to establish rules to which the nations have not consented, and thus to deprive international law of one of its essential characteristics as a body of accepted rules.

The difficulty of giving to an International Court jurisdiction without limit was encountered when the International Prize Court Treaty was framed in the second Hague Conference of 1907. That Treaty provided that if there were a treaty between the parties the treaty provisions should govern, but that "in the absence of such provisions the Court shall apply the rules of international law. If no generally recognized rule exists, the Court shall give judgment in accordance with the gen-

eral principles of justice and equity." When the Treaty came up for ratification, it was met by the objection that there were so many different views in so many different nations about what constituted justice and equity, that under this authority no one could tell what law was to be applied to conduct and no one could know by what law to regulate his conduct. Accordingly, a new conference of maritime nations was called, and it met in London in 1908. There for months the representatives of Germany, the United States, Austria-Hungary, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Russia discussed unsettled questions as to what the law ought to be within the field appropriate to a Prize Court, and they adopted a declaration containing seventy-one articles concerning blockade in time of war, contraband, unneutral service, destruction of neutral prizes, transfer of a neutral flag, enemy character, convoy, resistance to search, and compensation. The operative clause of the provision was in these words: "The Signatory Powers are agreed that the rules contained in the following chapters correspond in substance with the generally recognized principles of international law." Some questions relating to naval war remained still unsettled.

To illustrate the nature of all such proceedings, I quote from the official report presented to the Conference by that admired and beloved master of international law, M. Louis Renault. The report says:

"The questions of the program are all settled except two, concerning which explanations will be given later. The solutions have been deduced from the various views or different practices and correspond to what may be called the *media sententia*. They do not always harmonize absolutely with the views peculiar to each country, but they do not shock the essential ideas of any. They should not be examined separately, but as a whole, otherwise one runs the risk of the most serious misunderstandings. In fact, if one considers one or more isolated rules, either from the belligerent or the neutral point of view, he may find the interests with which he is especially concerned have been disregarded by the adoption of these rules; but the rules have their other side. The work is one of compromise and a mutual concession. Is it, as a whole, a good work?

"We confidently hope that those who study it seriously will answer affirmatively. The Declaration substitutes uniformity and certainty for the diversity and the obscurity from which international relations have too long suffered. The Conference has tried to reconcile in an equitable and practical way the rights of belligerents and those of neutral commerce; it is made up of Powers placed in very unlike conditions, from the political, economic, and geographical points of view. There is, on this account, reason to suppose that the rules on which these Powers are in accord take sufficient account of the different interests involved, and hence may be accepted without disadvantage by all the others."

It needs no argument to show that the appropriate and necessary way to reach conclusions as to what the law ought to be is the way followed in the Conference of London and described by M. Renault; the way of consideration, discussion, reconciliation of conflicting views on the part of the direct representatives of the nations, and not by the arguments of counsel in a particular case before a Court created not to make law but to apply it.

Upon such considerations the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court was limited to the application of law, and if we would broaden the usefulness of the Court we must broaden the field of law which the Court is competent to apply to controversies between nations.

The admirable conduct of the Court during these few early years of its existence, its conformity to the highest ideals of judicial dignity and propriety, the universal confidence which it has inspired, the unquestioning respect which has been paid to its decisions, the long series of questions which it has removed from the field of irritating dispute, have already made the Court an established fact which enters into the consideration of every nation in the treatment of every international controversy. It has already made the rules of international law more substantial and valuable, because now they cannot be finally thrust aside by the mere denial or neglect of an interested party. Already the world is becoming familiar with the idea of judicial decision upon international questions, and already the world is beginning to think that way. Already in many countries sensible people

are coming to realize that here is a reasonable alternative to the proposals of the demagogue and the follies of hysteria. Plainly it is important now to enlarge the scope of the Court's jurisdiction by enlarging the law which the Court is authorized to apply.

All this is covered when we now use the term codification of international law. The process is not properly codification in the sense in which the term is used to apply to municipal law. What is called for now, and what we mean when we speak of codification of international law, is the making of law, and the necessary process is described in the report of Louis Renault, which I have quoted. The ordinary codifier has to deal with existing law created by the dictum of superior power. He has to systematize, classify, arrange, and state clearly what he finds to be already the law, and if there be doubt it is to be resolved by appeal to the same superior power. The task now before the civilized world is to make law where law has not yet existed, because of a lack of agreement upon what it ought to be. The process is necessarily a process of agreement quite different in its character from the process of codification and declaration by superior authority. Codification, properly so-called, is, however, a necessary incident in this law-making process, because to extend the law without duplication or confusion we must know definitely what the law already is; and so far as the law-making process reaches conclusions the statement of those conclusions may be called codification, although the process by which the conclusions are reached must necessarily be entirely different from the process of codification.

We have gradually come into a method of making international law quite different from the slow general acceptance of the rules adopted in particular concrete cases, by which the law was originally created. The changes in the conditions of civilized life during the past century have been so extensive and so much more rapid than the growth of international law in the old way, that the law has been falling behind and becoming continually less adequate to cover the field of international contacts. The declaration of Paris upon the close of the Crimean War

in 1856 was a new departure in the making of international law by a conventional statement of rules and an appeal to the nations generally for an official acceptance of the rules thus stated. The three neutrality rules of the Treaty of Washington of 1871 were an attempt to determine by convention what should be the law to guide the tribunal in the Geneva Arbitration upon the Alabama case. The Geneva Conventions, the Hague Conventions, contain numerous provisions established between the parties by conventional agreement in reliance upon general acceptance to give them the quality of law as distinct from mere agreement. To that conventional method we must now look for the extension of international law.

Several things should be said about this undertaking.

It is necessarily a slow and difficult process. It will require patience and good temper, and learning, and distinguished ability and leadership. The differences of opinion and of interests among the nations which have long prevented the establishment of further rules of international law cannot be disposed of in a day. There is, however, ground for hope that the changes of conditions may have changed the attitude of many nations upon many questions, so that progress may be made now where progress never could be made before.

The work must ultimately be accomplished by official representatives of the nations acting under the instructions of their several governments. It is only results attained in that way which can secure consideration and ratification. The work, however, cannot be done *ab initio* by official representatives. Their work must be preceded by and based upon the painstaking preparation wrought out by individuals and unofficial organizations: the work of such men as Field and Bluntschli and Fiore; such work as the codification of the laws of peace prepared by the American Institute of International Law and submitted to the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union on the 2nd of March, 1925; such work as that of the Institut de droit international, which made the achievements of the first Hague Conference possible. Such work must be done in preparation. Without it official

conferences will be helpless; partly because they have not the time; partly because a large number of their membership will naturally be composed of men of affairs who have not the learning and the aptitude for scientific research necessary to laying the foundation for agreement; and partly because the freedom and frankness of discussion and mutual concession necessary for the reconciliation of views are difficult to secure among official delegates acting under instructions and obliged to get governmental authority for every position they state.

Because the process must be a slow one, because official action must be preceded by long and laborious preparation on the part of private individuals and organizations, no time ought to be lost in getting to work systematically. It is now eighteen years since the second Hague Conference in its final act recommended the calling of a third conference, and declared it to be "very desirable that some two years before the probable date of the meeting a Preparatory Committee should be charged by the governments with the task of collecting the various proposals to be submitted to the conference; of ascertaining what subjects are ripe for embodiment in an international regulation, and to prepare a program which the governments should decide upon in sufficient time to enable it to be carefully examined by the countries interested."

It is now five years since the Advisory Committee of Jurists, which met at The Hague in 1920, on the invitation of the League of Nations, and worked out the plan for the Permanent Court of International Justice, made to the League the following recommendation:

"I. That a new conference of the nations in continuation of the first two conferences at The Hague be held as soon as practicable for the following purposes:

"1. To restate the established rules of international law, especially, and in the first instance, in the field affected by the events of the recent war.

"2. To formulate and agree upon the amendments and additions, if any, to the rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful by the events of the war and the changes in the conditions of international life and intercourse which have followed the war.

"3. To endeavor to reconcile divergent views and secure general agreement upon the rules which have been in dispute heretofore.

"4. To consider the subjects not now adequately regulated by international law, but as to which the interests of international justice require that rules of law shall be declared and accepted.

"II. That the Institute of International Law, the American Institute of International Law, the Union juridique internationale, the International Law Association, and the Iberian Institute of Comparative Law be invited to prepare, with such conference or collaboration *inter sese* as they may deem useful, projects for the work of the conference, to be submitted beforehand to the several Governments and laid before the conference for its consideration and such action as it may find suitable.

"III. That the conference be named Conference for the Advancement of International Law.

"IV. That this conference be followed by further successive conferences at stated intervals, to continue the work left unfinished."

It will be perceived that these recommendations describe the law-making process by agreement preceded by extensive unofficial preparation.

After a delay, which has illustrated the general truth that no proposal for international action can prevail suddenly, the work of preparation has been begun in ways which show that the time is ripe for effective action.

On the 26th of April, 1923, the fifth International Conference of American States, held at Santiago, Chili, provided for a Commission of Jurists to meet for the codification of international law at Rio Janeiro during the year 1925 at a date to be fixed by the Pan-American Union upon consultation with the government at Brazil.

On the 2nd of January, 1924, the Pan-American Union, by resolution, requested the American Institute of International Law to prepare a codification of the international law of peace for the consideration of the Commission which was to meet at Rio. On the 2nd of March, 1925, a codification of the international laws of peace, prepared by the American Insti-

tute, was laid before the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, by Secretary Hughes, and was ordered by that Board to be transferred to all the American governments, with a view to its submission to the Commission of Jurists at Rio Janeiro.

In September, 1924, the League of Nations adopted a resolution providing for the appointment of a Committee of Jurists for a progressive codification of international law. This Committee included eminent jurists from Argentina, Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, and the United States of America. The Committee met at Geneva on the 1st of April, 1925, and appointed sub-committees among which were distributed eleven topics selected by the General Committee for preliminary examination, with a view to a report to the Council as to which questions appear to be sufficiently ripe for action, and what procedure should be followed in preparation for conferences for their solution. The International Law Association, the Institut de droit international, the Société de législation comparée, the Institut Ibérique de droit comparé, the American Institute of International Law, the Union juridique internationale, the American Society of International Law, and the Comité maritime international were invited to collaborate with the Committee.

These two independent proceedings are not exclusive or competitive. They are contributory to a common end. They exhibit a general sense that the time has come when there should be no further delay in the necessary preparation for a general international conference, which shall make more definite and certain and comprehensive the body of law by which international conduct is to be ruled.

As a declaration of war brings to the soldier the opportunity for which his life has been a preparation, so this call from both sides of the Atlantic presents the occasion for which all these societies, learned in international law, exist. It is for such an opportunity as this that they have been preparing, some of them for seventy years

past. Now is their time to justify. Of course, they will justify with ardor and devotion, and there will be no more avoidable delay, no more hesitation.

REMARKS ON CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Meeting of Interparliamentary Union,
Saturday, October 3, 1925, Following
the Reading of the Article
by Mr. Root

By THEODORE E. BURTON

IT would be superfluous for me to add any extended remarks to Mr. Root's admirable paper, to which we have all listened with interest and profit. The statement is made with all the authority and force which he possesses, that the time has come for the codification of international law.

He specifies conference, judicial settlement, and arbitration, with all three of which we are fortunately familiar as the effective means of settling controversies between nations without a resort to arms. He devotes his chief attention to judicial settlement, and speaks of the Permanent Court of International Justice, established and in successful operation at The Hague, as "an instrument of international progress towards the government of the world by law."

In the strict technical, and therefore narrow, sense, codification would only include a statement in the form of a code of existing principles of the law of nations. In the broad sense, it means not merely the statement of existing rules in the form of law, but the formulation of other rules from the principles generally recognized. Upon such additions we should all agree. In this connection it may be said that unbalanced attention has been given to international agreements relating to the conduct of war as compared with those for the prevention of war. It has been very generally maintained that national policies which involve the right to declare war and kindred questions are not proper subjects for control by interna-

tional law, but propositions are now pending and may be considered at this conference for the outlawry of war, and unquestionably it is most desirable that the scope of international agreements should be so broadened as to minimize the possibility of warfare.

Is codification desirable and is it possible? Codification is desirable because it would promote peace and international co-operation: would make possible a readier adjustment of controversies between nations as to their respective rights; would render that which is now vague and only partially accepted definite, clear, and binding.

The great changes which we generalize under the term "progress of the world," the painful lessons of the great war, and the rapid development of new problems all alike demand codification. It is a most praiseworthy aspiration to establish international law which may govern the conduct of nations in the same manner in which municipal law seeks to govern the conduct of individuals.

The burning question for the future is, Shall there be a reign of law or a reign of force? Civilization demands it and if civilization is to survive there must be a reign of law.

Is codification possible? This is an era of closer contact between nations. In the last thirty years there have been, numerous gatherings and negotiations have been conducted in which most salutary results have been achieved. Among the most notable of these are The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, the League of Nations, the Washington Conference of 1921 and 1922, the periodical meetings under the auspices of the Pan-American Union, to which reference was made by Mr. Root, and last, but not least, the assembling now, for the twenty-third time, of this Interparliamentary Union.

The disposition to abate claims of individual nations for the larger benefits of universal welfare has been very plainly manifested and has made a profound impression. There is a deep-seated and most influential conviction that such a cataclysm as that through which the world has recently passed must be avoided by the strength of all the intellectual and moral forces which the world can muster.

How can codification be accomplished? A great American statesman, speaking on the resumption of specie payments, which had been suspended during the Civil War, said: "The way to resumption is to resume." I would like to paraphrase his dictum, which contains a wholesome moral: "The way to codification is to codify."

What is the rational method to pursue? It is universally agreed that there should be preliminary meetings of jurists and experts, who shall give elaborate study to the problems involved. Their conclusions may be presented either to a conference representing the largest possible number of nations, or perhaps be directly transmitted to the respective governments. In any event, their work must be reviewed and approved by the political authorities of the nations which they represent. It is essential that established organizations for the consideration of these subjects, such as the various institutes of international and comparative law, should collaborate. This Union by a committee or committees, can perform a most important part. Periodical meetings should follow.

The work is already well begun. Allow me to call attention to that which has been accomplished by the Pan-American Union, composed of the diplomatic representatives of the twenty-one American republics and holding regular meetings in Washington, under the presidency of the Secretary of State of the United States. The Union has arranged for conferences of all these republics at several capitals in the New World.

Codification has been recommended at conferences at Mexico City in 1902 and at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, but definite action was taken in accordance with a resolution of April 26, 1923, of the Fifth Pan-American meeting at Santiago. In accordance with this resolution, the American Institute of International Law was requested to codify the law of nations, and that the results of its deliberations might be submitted to a forthcoming conference of jurists, composed of two members from each of the American republics, to meet at Rio de Janeiro for the purpose

of codification. This meeting is to occur next year, and its conclusions will be reported to the next general conference of the Pan-American Union, at Havana, in 1927. The American Institute, by its president, Dr. James Brown Scott, submitted its report on the second of March last, and the document has been transmitted to the governments of the twenty-one American republics. It contains thirty articles.

As an illustration of what this conference will seek to accomplish, there may be quoted the following notable declaration, which is part of a proposed codification:

We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guarantee of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

It is not expected that this will be a final step in the promotion of a rule of international law. It is realized that, while the New World is separate geographically and in a way has separate interests, the whole world must be included in any final agreement relating to international law. To this splendid conception the members of this Interparliamentary Union should devote their best efforts.

"It was the boast of Augustus," said Lord Brougham, "that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble." Continuing, he says: "But how much nobler will be the sovereign's boast when he shall have it to say that he found law dear and left it cheap; found it a sealed book, left

it a living letter; found it the patrimony of the rich, left it the inheritance of the poor; found it the two-edged sword of craft and oppression, left it the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence." And in that broader field, which pertains not merely to individuals, but to nations, small and great, how much nobler still will be the boast in that era in which shall be attained the establishment of international law, widespread and universal in its application, to which the whole world may subject itself for the furtherance of the cause of peace and the uplifting of humanity.

FAREWELL ADDRESSES

Niagara Falls, New York, October 11, 1925

THE following addresses reflect the spirit of the delegates, following the Conference and entertainment in the United States. They were given at a luncheon at which the delegates were turned over to the representatives of the Canadian Parliament. Senator William B. McKinley, President of the American Group, presided.—The Editor.

(Stenographic Report) Senator McKinley's Address

My friends and fellow lawmakers of forty countries: For the time being, but we hope not for long, you are leaving the confines of the United States. We trust you have enjoyed yourselves. (Loud applause.) We hope you will soon be back. (Applause.)

We of the United States modestly admit we have a great country. Let me tell you what I understand to be a true story:

In the Southern States is the State of Georgia. In Georgia are located two large and thriving cities—Savannah, a city perhaps two hundred years old, on the Atlantic Ocean, and Atlanta, a city in the interior that has sprung to prominence within the last few years. It is admitted that the city of Atlanta is well satisfied with itself. Not long since, the Commercial Club of Atlanta gave a dinner. To that dinner some men from Savannah were invited. The speakers from Atlanta admitted that they had a

very wonderful city, and some of them said that if Atlanta had been located on the ocean, there would have been a city perhaps as large as New York. When the time came for the Savannah man to speak he said: "Gentlemen of Atlanta, I have listened with interest to your talk. I have noted your statement that if your city were on the ocean, as is Savannah, you would have a most wonderful city. Gentlemen, if you will lay a pipe line from Atlanta to the sea and suck as hard as you can blow, you certainly will have the most wonderful of all cities." (Laughter.)

Several hundred years ago strong men from England, and Holland, and France, and Spain, and Italy, and other countries came to America, liked this fair land—and took it away from the North American Indians.

Dr. Lange, from Norway, corrects me and says that it was 1,000 years ago America was discovered by his people.

Be that as it may, we now have 115,000,000 of inhabitants. Should I seem to be boasting, I hasten to admit that these inhabitants or their forbears came from some of the forty countries represented here today. With apologies to the delegates from Ireland, I make bold to confess that my grandfather came from Ireland, from the county of Donegal,

From the county of Donegal,

Where they eat potatoes, skins and all—and are glad to get them.

This has been a wonderful two weeks you have spent with us, and I know that the getting together of so many law-makers from so many countries, all for a common purpose, will have much to do toward bringing peace and good will to this troubled world.

For your last three days of entertainment in New York you are indebted to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University and head of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. There is no little work connected with the arrangements for the entertainment of four hundred people for two weeks. We of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union fully appreciate that we are indebted to many for their fine co-operation, particularly to the

Mayor and various societies of the city of New York, to the Mayor and many persons of the city of Philadelphia, to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, to the Pan-American Union, to the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio, and the New York Central railroads, to the Mayflower Hotel of Washington, the Waldorf-Astoria, the Hotel Pennsylvania, and the McAlpin Hotel of New York, and last, but not least, to the Niagara Hotel, in which we are. They have all been so hearty in their co-operation that it has appeared to be a pleasure to them to help and to honor us.

But, ladies and gentlemen, there is always a master mind controlling, and if your visit has been made pleasant the credit should largely go to Mr. Arthur Deerin Call. (Loud and prolonged applause.) He began his labors a year and a half ago. For eight months he has labored daily to make our conference a success. (Hear! Hear!) Mr. Call is the Secretary of the American Peace Society and Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. His work as Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union is a labor of love for the cause, given, as we say, in this country, "free, gratis, for nothing, without any charge." In a moment I am going to ask him how he does it.

Before doing that, however, permit me to add that we are about to turn you over to the representatives of the Canadian Government, our neighbor on a border of 3,000 miles and with whom we have been at peace for over 100 years. But perhaps I should make this reservation; I have heard of some "bootlegger wars" having broken out recently along the border. (Laughter.)

I have told you the United States contains 115,000,000 people. In closing I want to tell you a story that is old in America, of the summer hotel that was close to a lake or pond where the bullfrogs made a great deal of noise. An inhabitant of the locality came to the hotel and said: "I want to sell you 100 dozen frogs' legs." The proprietor said: "We cannot use 100 dozen frogs' legs, but we could use perhaps 10 dozen. You bring them in tomorrow." The next day he came with ten frogs' legs. The proprietor said:

"Why, I told you I wanted 10 dozen frogs' legs." "Well," he said, "you see, it is this way: I thought, from the noise they made, that there were easily 100 dozen frogs out there." (Laughter.) Now, the Canadian Dominion has perhaps ten millions of people, but from their ability to carry out and carry through projects, I am sure you will think they have at least 115 millions.

I am now going to ask Mr. Arthur Deerin Call how he does it. (Applause.)

Remarks by Mr. Arthur Deerin Call, Director of the Conference

Mr. Chairman, officers of the Interparliamentary Union, ladies and gentlemen, the train leaves at 2.35. (Laughter.) It is important that you should have your baggage somewhere in sight, so that the porter of this hotel will get it. After this luncheon we shall adjourn and go immediately to the front of the hotel, where we shall have a group picture taken. We hope, therefore, you will all go immediately after the luncheon to the sidewalk and look your prettiest, because we want a group picture of you all.

Now, that is the way I do it. I do not know any other way to do it. (Laughter.)

You know that when your friends are going away it is always difficult to realize it. When they are with you their presence seems very real and quite permanent. It is difficult for us to realize that you are soon to leave us.

I think it ought to be made perfectly clear, here and now, that the success of this Conference has not been due to any one person. It has been due first to the Interparliamentary Union itself. Without it we could, of course, have had no Conference at all. Without it, and its President, and its Secretary General, and its Executive Committee, and its Council, we should have got nowhere. Without the United States Congress, we could not have begun. Without the President of the United States, we could not have advanced. Without Senator McKinley (applause) we could have done nothing of this sort. Without the vast army of helpers, people laboring unseen and unsung, Capitol employees, secretaries, stenographers, an army of people who have done this work for the love of the work—we

could have done nothing of what has been done. Last but not least, we could have done nothing of this kind had it not been for you.

To work with you has been a joy. Many have come to me and said "Aren't you tired? Won't you be glad to get rid of us? Oh, I am so sorry for you!" They are quite mistaken. The only feeling that I have had during this entire performance is first a sense of regret that the work has not been done better; and, secondly, a feeling of profound, unforgettable pleasure that I have been permitted to be with you through these wonderful days. (Loud applause.)

SENATOR MCKINLEY: Ladies and gentlemen, it is my great pleasure now to present to you Baron Adelswaerd, your President.

Remarks by Baron Adelswaerd, President of the Council, Interparliamentary Union

Ladies and gentlemen, we have now arrived at the sad moment of parting, and this is, I am sorry to say, the last time I am to address myself to our dear President, Mr. McKinley. We have had many speeches during these weeks, and I myself have been rather occupied with those; so I will not say many words this time. We have already been told that we have to be ready very soon. To tell you the feelings we have in parting with you is not easy. I cannot easily find just the right words in which to express these feelings of great gratitude and to tell you how sad we are to part with you. We are so thankful for all you have done for us during these weeks! Let us hope that the work that has been done in this conference may be as good as all the banquets and all the receptions we have been given here. If it is, then I think we ought to be well satisfied. I simply express on behalf of the members of the Interparliamentary Union who have taken part in this conference our hearty thanks to our American friends, and ask that our eminent Secretary General, Dr. Christian Lange (applause), will say a few words. I am sure he will express what we are feeling much better than I am able to do. In fact, he represents the Interparliamentary Union from many points of view as much as I do and perhaps more.

SENATOR MCKINLEY: Dr. Lange.

Address by Dr. Chr. L. Lange, Secretary General

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, you will easily understand that I rise on this occasion with a certain hesitation and some diffidence. I remember that some twenty years ago, when I was present at an international congress in my own country, I met there an old and worthy citizen of Boston, an eminent lawyer, I was told. At one of the great banquets we had on that occasion he partook very freely of what was offered, both solid and fluid, and at last he became so elated that he rose to speak and made a very jolly and entertaining speech. He seemed very happy still when my wife and I met him at the cloak room, and at a certain moment he turned round to us and asked, "Do you think this is my coat?"

The next morning he was in a different mood and he took me by the arm and said to me: "There are three things which I thoroughly hate, and those are eating, drinking, and making speeches."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have thoroughly enjoyed the eating today. The American nation, in its wisdom, has seen to it that I shall not have to regret any drinking (laughter); but as to making a speech, that is really on this occasion a rather difficult task. I shall consider myself simply as being one of those pieces of luggage which will now be handed from the hospitable hands of the American Group to the hospitable hands of the Canadian Group.

On looking back now on those fourteen days we have passed in the United States, I think I have in the first place a relatively easy task in expressing—indeed, it has been already admirably expressed by our President—our gratitude for the reception we have had here. We are profoundly grateful to the representatives of the American Group who have taken this matter in hand. (Applause.) In the first place, to President McKinley, always genial, always calm, never disturbed, and always full of common sense; always able to find the right word in every situation. I do not know whether you realize that Mr. McKinley finds himself at the present moment in the middle of a political cam-

paign, in which he has to go round a country, the State of Illinois, of some—is it, Senator, nine or thirteen million inhabitants?

SENATOR MCKINLEY: Seven millions.

MR. LANGE: Well, you see my European ignorance. Seven million—that is the population of Belgium; it is the population of the Netherlands. And he has to address the whole of that population. Nevertheless, he has found the time not only to come to our meetings, not only to take part in the functions, but also to watch behind the scenes to see that everything should go so smoothly and so well as he was intent on having it go.

Alongside of him was Mr. Call, whose enormous task nobody can realize who has not had the task of organizing a conference. I think that sufficient has been said about his labors, but let us just for one moment realize what it means for the organizer to have at a particular moment the representatives of forty nations rolling towards him in mighty waves, and then to try to lead those nations into peaceful channels and find rooms and beds and seats at the table for each and all of them. Of necessity, ladies and gentlemen, in any large organization as this, there has to be a scapegoat, on whose head the sins of everybody can be visited. I am rather accustomed to be the scapegoat in another sphere, in the matter of preparing and organizing the work of our Conference, and I am glad now to find a brother scapegoat in Mr. Call. I trust that when on our wanderings in the desert, where the scapegoats are to be sent out, when we meet there we shall both be glad to be in a place where "the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

Ladies and gentlemen, it is impossible to name all those who have been behind us and helping us, but may I single out just two names, because the bearers of them are present. Congressman McSwain (Hear! Hear! and applause) has been from the first day of our arrival in New York a leading star. His tall figure and his kind face have always been in evidence and he has always been ready to help and to advise. Then among those active behind the scenes was Senator Bur-

ton's secretary, Mr. Fenton, who has been an efficient and devoted worker in all the organizing work of the Conference.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I come to the second part of my task, and here my difficulty comes in. For a fortnight, perhaps the most crowded fortnight in my life, I have been talking shop, I have been writing shop, I have been organizing shop, and if I were given to dreams at all I should certainly have been dreaming shop. Today, during a quiet morning walk along the rapids of the Niagara, I have tried to get to a higher standpoint, just to have an outside look at that shop inside which I have been working. I must say it did not look from above just a nice little, dainty shop; it looked rather like a large, bustling affair, in which different interests, different points of view, and different convictions were expressed. And I think that is just the thing which is the characteristic, and should be the characteristic, of our Interparliamentary conferences. Every opinion honestly stated, every opinion courteously expressed, should have a hearing in these meetings. Mind, ladies and gentlemen, our conferences are not only international, but if I may coin a word—I doubt whether it exists in the English language—they are also, and should be, "interopinional." Within every nation there may be different points of view. Not only do we see here the meeting and the contrast of continents and of nations—of America and Europe and Asia and Australia, of the British Empire and the German Empire, of France and Italy and Belgium and all the different States—but also within each group we have, and we should have—we must have—different points of view on the questions which are put under discussion; not only the points of view of the political parties—Socialist, Radical, Liberal, Conservative—but also points of view from principles which have nothing or little to do with party politics, properly speaking—the Free Trade point of view, the Protectionist point of view, the Prohibitionist point of view, and the Anti-Prohibitionist, the majority point of view, the minority point of view.

I think it is a very great service indeed rendered to the cause of our Union that the American Group helped us to organ-

ize this Conference and to give it a world-wide echo by the fact that it met in a world capital, and that it therefore found a hearing which we had not always been able to obtain at former sittings of our Union. I am not going to consider the weight of each of these different points of view. Personally I am fond of citing the words of the wise old French philosopher Montaigne: "Je m'avance vers celui qui me contredit"—"I advance towards him who contradicts me." There is something to learn, there is something to realize, from the viewpoints, from the interests of other people. To help us to do that is really one of the great missions of this Union.

And what are the impressions gathered from all these different declarations and speeches which we have heard?

Certainly the first and the strongest impression is one of "confusion, wild and stirring"; but I think that if we realize that the world is in travail, that problems are raised which are difficult of solution and which demand devoted work for their solution, we should be able to enlist as co-workers women and men of widely divergent points of view, because we may be able to teach them how to move forward, nevertheless, towards a common aim. The French saying goes: "La vie est bien triste. Soyons gais"—"Life is sorely sad. Let us be of good cheer." Let the good cheer be one of our contributions towards the improvement of human relations.

There is another saying which I met for the first time in my youth, now some thirty-five years ago, in a poem of the great American poet, James Russell Lowell, which seems to me appropriate on this occasion. He says somewhere:

For humanity sweeps onward. Where
today the martyr stands,
On the morrow crouches Judas, with
the silver in his hands.
Far in front the Cross stands ready;
and the crackling fagots burn,
While the hooting mob of yesterday in
silent awe return
To glean up the shattered ashes into
History's golden urn.

Mind, ladies and gentlemen, humanity sweeps onward. But it will not sweep

onward if we do not *push* it on. We want the enthusiasm of the martyrs, we want the work of rebels and reformers, in order to lift the world up and out of the present chaos of the strife of opinions; we also want the steadying effort of sober-minded, cool-headed men and women. I think that the greatest service, after all, which has been rendered by the American Group in uniting us at their Capitol in Washington is that we have been enabled to send out a message of hope to the world. After all, there is a will to improvement, there is a will for better conditions. If I should sum up in one word the message we have been enabled by our American friends to send out, it would be found in the closing words of the greatest poem of modern times, Goethe's Faust: "Wir heissen Euch hoffen"—"We bid you hope." (Loud applause.)

SENATOR MCKINLEY: I always leave out an important part of my talk. We were met last night at the railroad station by the representatives of the city government of Niagara and the representatives of the business men's association here, and we have been entertained by them royally up to this hour, and we thank them. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I now turn this meeting over to the very distinguished representative of the Canadian Government, Senator Belcourt.

Address of Senator N. A. Belcourt, of Canada

Senator McKinley, it is not altogether with unmixed feelings that I accept from you the guardianship of the distinguished wards coming from so many nations, whom you have during the last ten days so well and royally entertained. The pleasure which has been mainly yours, and which is to be mine from now until the end of the Conference, is somewhat mitigated by the danger which I see facing me, that the task may be beyond my power. Everyone will admit that it was an audacious program which we Canadians set ourselves to accomplish in bringing 400 delegates through five of the cities of eastern Canada in five days. I am afraid that our desires have been, perhaps, in excess of our means. In the name of the Canadian delegates, I take

this renewed opportunity of expressing the profound gratitude which we shall always entertain for the magnificent hospitality which it has been our privilege and honor to share with your guests from all parts of the world.

Notwithstanding a frontier marked only by an imaginary line, without the slightest evidence of force for more than 3,000 miles, we have lived side by side for more than a century in perfect peace (applause); we have solved, to the satisfaction of both, all international difficulties, and we have given to the world the magnificent example of peace never for one instant interrupted. We are all Americans. We all have American duties, and the greatest of them all is the common duty and purpose, which we must pursue with constant courage and hope, the establishment of the reign of perfect democracy, because democracy is the essential base upon which depends the future of your State as well as of our own, and because this continent offers democracy the best, perhaps the last, opportunity for its real success.

The economic and social interests of the United States and Canada in each other have always been great. They have largely increased during recent years, and in the near future they will become greater still. The economic boundary limitations between the two countries are growing less, while the political boundaries remain in effect. The permanence of the latter is, on both sides of the border, generally accepted as desirable and definite. An extension of American economic and social unity seems as desirable as it is inevitable.

You Americans and we Canadians both admit that we have also on this continent a common destiny and a common mission, which in many respects imposes upon both of us national as well as international duties and obligations. In the larger field of world internationalism there is a growing rapprochement between the British Empire and your great Republic, and there is developing on both sides of the line a deeper sense of your solidarity and ours in all matters of world concern. We Canadians, because of our double origin and double culture, because

of the qualities and genius which we have inherited from our respective mother countries, England and France, can be, as we wish to be, interpreters—a real *trait d'union* between these two great civilized powers and your own powerful country, and we can thereby contribute in no small degree to the sacred causes of world peace. (Loud applause.)

MR. CALL: Now, ladies and gentlemen, do not forget the picture, immediately following this, in front of the hotel. The train will not go until we get to it, but we shall have to be there pretty soon.

SENATOR MCKINLEY: In good Irish form, "Good-bye, and God bless us all." (Applause.)

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Resolutions Adopted by the Conference of the Inter-parliamentary Union, Washington, D. C. October 1-7, 1925

FIRST COMMISSION

The Development of International Law

Resolutions Presented on Behalf of the Permanent Committee for the Study of Juridical Questions.

I

The Codification of International Law

Rapporteur: Hon. Senator Elihu Root, former Secretary of State (United States of America)

The XXIIIrd Interparliamentary Conference,

While greeting with satisfaction the labors undertaken by the Committee of Experts called together by the League of Nations to indicate the questions of International Law suitable for progressive codification, and also expressing its satisfaction because of the work already accomplished, as well as that in prospect by the Pan American Union and all other organizations engaged in the same laudable work,

Nevertheless considers that the best method to follow would consist in establishing a general and constructive plan for such codification, based on the progress made during recent years, with a view to defining the fundamental conditions of the regime of peace to be instituted between the nations, to providing for the judicial settlement of disputes

which constitute a threat to that regime and to the application, if necessary, of methods of execution and of sanction.

And invites the Committee for the Study of Juridical Questions to present proposals for this purpose to a forthcoming Conference of the Union.

These proposals would eventually be submitted to an international conference of nations called for the purpose of effectuating the codification of International Law.

II

Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations

Rapporteur: M. H. La Fontaine, Vice-President of the Belgian Senate, President of the Belgian Group.

The XXIIIrd Interparliamentary Conference, considering, on the one hand,

That a declaration of the rights and duties of nations, regarded as members of the international community, would prove a powerful factor in promoting amongst them the sense of order, of international justice and of responsibility,

And that, on the other hand, the insertion of such a declaration in a future code of international law would help to establish the fundamental principles of that law,

Requests the Committee for the Study of Juridical Questions to prepare a draft

an ensuing conference of nations. In addition to political and juridical conditions, it would also be desirable to take into account economic conditions guaranteeing the right of nations to existence.

III

The Criminality of Wars of Aggression and the Organization of International Repressive Measures

Rapporteur: M. V. V. Pella, Professor at the University of Bucharest, Member of the Rumanian Parliament.

The XXIIIrd Interparliamentary Conference,

Having heard the report of M. V. V. Pella,

Realizing the possibility of a collective criminality of States and believing that that criminality should be studied from a scientific standpoint in order to determine the natural laws governing it and to decide upon methods for its prevention and suppression,

Resolves,

To institute a permanent subcommittee within the Committee for the Study of Juridical Questions

a. To undertake the study of all the social, political, economic and moral causes of wars of aggression and to find practical solutions for the prevention of that crime;

b. To draw up a preliminary draft of an International Legal Code.

For this purpose the Conference calls the attention of the subcommittee to the principles laid down by M. V. V. Pella in his report and summarized in the annex to the present resolution.

This annex follows:

1. The International Legal Code must apply to all nations.

2. Measures of repression should apply not only to the act of declaring a war of aggression, but also to all acts on the part of individuals or of bodies of persons with a view to the preparation or the setting in motion of a war of aggression.

3. The principle should be recognized that individuals, independently of the responsibility of States, are answerable for offenses against public international order and the law of nations.

4. The offenses committed by States or by individuals should be laid down and penalties provided for in advance in enactments drawn in precise terms. International repression should be founded on the principle *nulla poena sine lege*.

5. It would be desirable to indicate clearly in the general part of the preliminary draft of the International Legal Code the material, moral and unjust elements in an international offense, and in that way to determine the conditions of constraint, necessity and lawful defense in the sphere of international law.

6. Causes which may aggravate or diminish the responsibility of States must similarly be determined with special reference to the case of provocation, reparation of injury, repetition of the offense, and premeditation.

7. In the event of there being two or more criminal States, special provision should be made for repressive measures in the case of complicity or partnership in a criminal design revealed by the conclusion of offensive alliances.

8. The sanctions imposed should be of two kinds:

A. Sanctions applicable to States:

(a) Diplomatic sanctions: warning that diplomatic relations will be broken off; revocation of the exequatur granted to the consuls of the guilty State; withdrawal of the right to benefit by international agreements.

(b) Legal sanctions: sequestration of property belonging to nationals of the guilty State in the territory of the other States; withdrawal from these nationals of the rights of industrial, literary, artistic, scientific, and other property; prohibition to appear as a party in the Courts of the associated States; deprivation of civil rights.

(c) Economic sanctions: application to the guilty State of measures depriving it of the advantages resulting from the economic solidarity of the nations and severing it from the economic life of the world by means of blockade, boycott, embargo, refusal to furnish foodstuffs or raw material, increased customs, duties on products coming from the guilty State, refusal to grant loans, refusal to allow the securities of the delinquent State to be

quoted on the Stock Exchange, prohibition to use means of communication.

(d) Resort to armed force.

B. Sanctions applicable to individuals:

(a) Warning.

(b) Fine.

(c) Admonition.

(d) Prohibition of residence.

(e) Incapacity in the future to hold diplomatic functions abroad.

(f) Imprisonment.

(g) Exile.

9. Provision must be made in the special part of the preliminary draft of the International Legal Code for all positive or negative acts which are regarded as prejudicial to international public order.

Penalties will thus have to be provided for the following offenses:

A. Offenses committed by States:

(a) The international crime of aggressive war.

(b) Violation of demilitarized zones.

(c) Non-fulfillment of the obligation to submit serious disputes to the Permanent Court of International Justice in cases in which that Court has compulsory jurisdiction.

(d) Military, naval, air, industrial and economic mobilization in the event of a dispute arising.

(e) Preparing or permitting to be prepared on its territory attacks directed against the internal security of another State, or aiding or abetting bands of evil-doers making raids on the territories of other States.

(f) Interference by one State in the internal political struggles of another by supplying grants of money or giving support of any kind to political parties.

(g) The mere unjustified threat of a war of aggression, a procedure which in the past took the form of an ultimatum.

(h) Raising effectives or arming beyond the limits laid down in conventions or treaties;

(i) Maneuvers or mobilizations carried out for purposes of military demonstration or preparation for war.

(j) Violation of the diplomatic immunity of foreign representatives.

(k) Counterfeiting of money and bank notes and any other disloyal acts com-

mitted or connived at by one State for the purpose of injuring the financial credit of another State.

B. Offenses committed by individuals:

(a) Declaration by a sovereign of a war of aggression.

(b) Abuse of his privileges by a diplomatic agent for the purpose of committing acts which are in flagrant contradiction to the fundamental principles of international public order, or which constitute acts preparatory to a war of aggression.

(c) International military offenses and all other acts performed in time of war which are contrary to the rules and customs of international law.

(d) Ordinary common law offenses committed by foreign armies in occupied territories (massacre, pillage, rape, theft, etc.).

(e) Dissemination of false news liable to endanger peace.

10. The Permanent Court of International Justice must have power to adjudicate upon all international crimes and offenses.

11. With a view to the proper working of the International Legal Code, provision should be made at the Permanent Court for an International Public Prosecutor's Department and a Chamber before which offenders can be arraigned.

12. The preliminary investigations and the preparation of the evidence should be entrusted to *ad hoc* commissions of inquiry set up to discharge legal police duties.

13. Offenses committed by States shall be heard and determined by the Chambers of the Permanent Court in combined session.

14. Cases in which individuals are the responsible parties should be dealt with in a special criminal Chamber set up in accordance with article 26 of the Statute of the Court. This Chamber would have jurisdiction over all international offenses committed by individuals and all offenses which by their nature would not come within the jurisdiction of the national Courts.

15. The Court shall pronounce judgment both on the public accusation and on the claims for compensation filed by the

injured States prejudiced by the international offense.

16. In the case of violent aggression, the Council of the League of Nations will take urgent counter police measures.

The Council of the League of Nations shall also have jurisdiction in regard to the execution of the decisions of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

It will indicate the methods by which these decisions are to be executed.

17. In order to reconcile the idea of general security with the special needs of individual States, all States Members of the League of Nations should be declared to be under a *virtual obligation* to take part in carrying out sanctions.

This obligation would become operative in the case of each State only from the moment that the Council of the League of Nations called upon it to take part in repressive measures, and indicated to it the sanctions which it was bound to apply.

The part which each State will take in the carrying out of sanctions will be decided by the Council, which will have regard to the geographical, political, and economic position of each State. The Council will decide, by reference to the nature of the dispute, which States are to intervene immediately. Should the necessity arise, other States would also be called upon to apply the sanctions.

18. States which have been called upon by the Council of the League of Nations to apply sanctions and which have refused to participate or do not participate loyally in putting the sanctions into effect shall also be liable under the International Legal Code.

SECOND COMMISSION

European Customs Understanding

Resolutions Presented on Behalf of the Permanent Committee for the Study of Economic and Financial Questions.

Rapporteur: Herr Adolf Braun (of Franken), member of the German Reichstag.

After discussing the feasibility of a "European Customs Union," Mr. Procopé, of Finland, submitted a substitute resolution, afterwards passed by the Conference, as follows:

Considering that it would be of the greatest importance for good relations between European States, and thus contribute to guarantee the peace of the world, if the economic barriers at present dividing these States would, as far as possible, be abolished;

Considering, further, that such measures probably, in any case in the long run, would contribute to create a steady and more extensive market for the products of European agriculture and industry, and therefore also to decrease the cost of production and the unemployment in Europe;

Considering, on the other hand, that the question if and how such measures could be realized ought to be subject to a very close study, with due regard to the different economic conditions in different countries.

The Conference requests the Committee for Economic and Financial Questions to appoint a special subcommittee, whose duty it will be, after hearing of the national groups, to study the question as to what could be done to abolish or diminish the economic barriers existing between European States, and to present a report on this matter to a subsequent conference.

THIRD COMMISSION

National Minorities*

Resolutions Presented by the Permanent Committee for the Study of Ethnic and Colonial Questions.

Rapporteur: Dr. Paul Usteri, former Conseiller aux Etats (Switzerland).
Substitute: Baron E. B. F. F. Wittert van Hoogland, Member of the First Chamber of the Dutch Parliament.

I

Seeing that there exist in most European States mixed populations comprising majorities and minorities of race, language or religion;

Seeing that these conditions are liable at times to create difficult and intricate problems which it is essential to solve as far as possible by direct agreement between the majority and the minority;

* Discussed and adopted, Britain and the United States not voting, at the session in Ottawa, October 13, 1925.

Seeing that the resolution of the XXIst Conference recommending the institution of *Paritative Commissions* for the solution of minority problems has not received the desired consideration,

The XXIIIrd Interparliamentary Conference, in the interest of European peace and of good understanding between majorities and minorities in States having a mixed population,

Again calls the attention of the Groups to the services which might be rendered in countries with minority problems by Paritative commissions composed of an equal number of representatives of the majority and of one or other of the minorities and adapted to the conditions and to the various needs of the country, with the task of suggesting just solutions of the questions under dispute with a view to appeasing conflicts.

In the opinion of the Conference paritative commissions might with advantage pursue their work either within local divisions, or in conjunction with the central institutions of the State, according to the nature of the question to be treated.

II

Seeing that the International Court of Justice at The Hague, founded in 1921, enjoys general confidence and esteem,

Seeing that the Council of the League of Nations has already applied to that Court for the solution of contestations relating to the situation of minorities, by soliciting its advice on disputed points; seeing that the treaties now in force provide for the reference of contested questions relating to the interpretation or the application of existing minority treaties to the International Court of Justice, at the request of one of the States represented on the Council of the League of Nations,

The XXIIIrd Interparliamentary Conference expresses its desire that all contested questions suitable for such reference, and particularly those relating to the interpretation and the application of minority treaties, should be referred by the Council to the International Court of Justice, whether for its advice on litigious points or for a definite solution.

FIFTH COMMISSION*

The Reduction of Armaments

Resolutions Presented on Behalf of the Permanent Committee for the Reduction of Armaments.

I

Demilitarized Zones

Rapporteur: Brig.-General E. L. Spearman, C. B., C. B. E., M. C. (Great Britain)

A

The XXIIIrd Interparliamentary Conference, recalling the beneficial results achieved for the cause of peace of the establishment of demilitarized zones, and particularly the treaty of 1817 between the United States and the British Empire;

Seeing that every measure calculated to avoid immediate contact between opposed military forces would avert the danger of frontier incidents and help to create a greater sense of security on either side, thus making a considerable reduction of armaments possible,

Calls attention to the very special importance which the creation of demilitarized zones on exposed frontiers, under the auspices of the League of Nations, would have,

And recommends for the consideration of the Groups of the Union the declaration and statement of principles annexed to the present resolution, which might serve as a basis for the drafting of special conventions providing for the establishment of particular zones.

The Interparliamentary Bureau is requested to transmit the present resolution with its annexes to the Groups and to the governments of the countries represented within the Union.

B

The Interparliamentary Committee for the Reduction of Armaments is empowered to place itself at the disposal of Governments desirous of entering upon reciprocal negotiations, with a view to the conclusion of treaties providing for the establishment of demilitarized zones along their frontiers.

* The Fourth Commission's report on Dangerous Drugs was not discussed or adopted upon by the Conference.

II

Plans and Method for the Reduction of Armaments

Rapporteur: Dr. P. Munch, former Minister of Defense (Denmark).

The XXIIIrd Interparliamentary Conference,

Recalling the resolutions of preceding Conferences and insisting strongly upon the urgency of a reduction of armaments for all nations;

Noticing with the greatest regret that of late years the military expenditure of most countries shows a serious increase;

Realizing, on the other hand, the necessity of giving to the nations a feeling of security,

Asks the Groups of the Union to consider every practical means of creating such a mutual feeling of security between the nations.

The Conference believes that one of those means—and one of the most important—would be a general reduction of armaments. It therefore insist on the urgency of a thorough examination of methods for the reduction of armaments and begs the Permanent Committee for the study of these questions to appoint a subcommittee among its members to draft a technical scheme for a general reduction of armaments.

This subcommittee shall examine the two schemes presented to the preceding Conference, and any other suggestions brought forward in the course of the present Conference. It may call in experts.

DOCUMENTS ANNEXED TO RESOLUTION II
ON DEMILITARIZED ZONES .

I

DECLARATION

The Interparliamentary Union calls the attention of the Governments to the institution of demilitarized zones. It also recommends to the careful study of its Groups the report presented by its Committee for this question.

The conclusions of that report are:

That the vital problem now facing Europe is that of security;

That so long as that problem has not been solved, disarmament cannot be obtained.

Europe will not disarm so long as distrust of neighbors and fear of the future subsist, for those feelings inevitably drive the nations, desirous though they be of peace, to remain armed. The crushing burden of armaments forms an obstacle not only to economic recovery, but also—and this is more serious—carries the nations imperceptibly but with certainty towards new conflicts and fresh disasters.

The Interparliamentary Union sees in the institution of Demilitarized Zones the possibility of creating in many cases that sense of security essential to the peace of nations. The creation of such zones is compatible with any individual plan for peace and for security, and can also, in the absence of such arrangements, constitute a basis for more extensive agreements.

The existence of the League of Nations makes possible conceptions hitherto unattainable; it would be culpable not to seek to explore all the possibilities of peace created by that new and great outcome of human thought.

Thus, a new conception of the frontier can be entertained. In the past certain frontiers were a source of constant danger; frontier incidents were always to be feared, and the origin of an act of provocation or even of aggression was difficult to ascertain.

The League of Nations can intervene between the peoples and can declare that whosoever violates a zone established between them commits an international crime to which the entire world may be witness.

In no country does the common law allow the individual to take his own vengeance, no matter what may be his provocation. Similarly, no provocation should justify a nation in taking the law into its own hand and violating an international agreement, as for instance a convention establishing a demilitarized zone. That nation must appeal to arbitration as the individual appeals to the judge.

It is unavoidable that the creation of a zone should entail mutual concessions, but these concessions will be limited by the fact that every zone will be freely agreed upon and that no zone will be established entirely to the cost of one country. The countries concerned must not forget that

they gain the greatest of all benefits—that of peace.

The Interparliamentary Union has examined the most difficult cases and has arrived at the conclusion that if the parties concerned show good-will and are firmly resolved to succeed, there is no case impossible of solution.

It is not proposed to thrust any measure on any party. Suggestions have been made; agreement must rest with those concerned.

We wish, however, to utter a solemn warning to those who may neglect this great possibility for peace. War is now a disaster which affects the whole of mankind. He who, by neglecting any means proffered to him, allows mankind once again to be overtaken by that catastrophe, would run the risk of finding himself the object of the world's censure.

II

DEMILITARIZED ZONES

Proposed General Regulations Prepared by the Committee for the Reduction of Armaments.

General Provisions

1. In demilitarized zones.

(a) No fortifications may be retained or constructed;

(b) No armed forces, whether permanent or temporary, may be maintained or assembled, nor may any military maneuvers of any sort be executed;

(c) No contrivance of any kind to facilitate mobilization may be retained or constructed;

Military and naval aircraft, without distinction of nationality, are forbidden to cross a zone.

2. Demilitarized zones shall be policed exclusively by a police force which must not be militarily organized and which shall be subordinate to the civil authorities of the country only.

3. The numerical strength of the police and their arms shall form the subject of special agreements. The members of that police force shall have only the personal weapons necessary for police work. It should be a recognized principle that the police force must be large enough to be able to suppress even serious disturbances without having recourse to reinforcements

from without the zone. Should there be a difference of opinion, the General Commission provided for in Art. 5 shall be the judge.

The Control of Demilitarization

5. The League of Nations is requested to nominate a General Commission, having its seat in Switzerland, for demilitarized zones. The Commission shall be competent for all questions relating to the application and the interpretation of treaties concerning demilitarized zones. It shall order investigations with regard to the different zones and shall make the necessary decisions based on the results of those investigations.

6. The General Commission shall have power to nominate a commission of control for each zone. The Commission shall be able, if it considers it necessary, to transfer the seat of the Commission of control within the zone, either as a permanent or as a temporary measure.

7. Each Commission of control is to be composed of a president and two assessors. Each member must belong to a different nationality. They must not be nationals of the countries immediately concerned (zone states) or be engaged in their service. In order to insure a constant quorum, a deputy and a vice-deputy shall be appointed for every member of the Commission.

8. The members of each Commission of control shall be nominated from lists of candidates presented, in the case of the President and of his substitutes, by the Permanent Court of International Justice; and in the case of the assessors and of their substitutes, by the Government of each of the zone states. Three candidates shall be proposed for each post.

9. The members of the General Commission and of the commissions of control shall enjoy the privileges and immunities of diplomatic representatives in the performance of their duties.

10. The General Commission may appoint, either permanently or temporarily, experts and other assistants.

11. Immediately on receiving a complaint, the General Commission may, by a simple majority, order an investigation on the spot. Such an investigation must

take place if one of the zone states so requests.

12. The Governments of the two demilitarized zones are each entitled to send, at their own expense, delegates to every investigation.

13. The control commissions shall submit a report to the General Commission. The latter shall call upon the governments of the zones concerned to express their views on the report within a reasonable lapse of time. On the expiration of this period the General Commission shall give its decision. The Government of the zone to which the decision relates may appeal to a court of arbitration.

14. In urgent cases the control commissions may order the immediate redress of the grievance. In this case the decision must be unanimous. The government of the zone concerned shall, however, have the right to appeal to the General Commission and in the second instance to a court of arbitration.

15. In urgent cases, if a zone state finds that the police forces at its disposal within the demilitarized zone of its territory are insufficient to maintain public order, and considers it necessary to call in supplemental police forces, it shall be obliged to lodge a formal notification of this measure with the General Commission, in the exceptional event of its not having been able to do so in advance. The supplementary force is not, however, to exceed a maximum number equal to one-third of the regular police force, without the preliminary consent of the General Commission.

Should the General Commission not approve of the use of the supplementary police forces notified, the zone government concerned shall be entitled to submit the matter to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, which Court may, by means of a provisional injunction, request a restriction of the forces concerned, or the withdrawal of the measures adopted.

16. Should a zone state believe itself unable to maintain order with police forces and consider it necessary to send troops into the demilitarized zone of its territory, it must obtain the previous consent of the General Commission. For this purpose

it shall accurately indicate the number, composition and equipment of the troops to be employed. The Commission may approve the measure, if necessary after certain modifications, or it may refuse its consent.

In the event of modifications being asked for, or of the Commission refusing its consent, the states concerned may submit the matter to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

17. The procedure provided for in the foregoing paragraphs shall not prevent the zone state concerned from coming to an agreement with the General Commission as to the extent and duration of the measure proposed, even after an appeal has been lodged with the Permanent Court of Justice.

18. Without losing sight of the general principles laid down in Arts. 15-17, special provisions may be made with regard to particular zones, on the basis of an agreement between the zone states.

19. If the Government of a zone state raises objections to an order or a decision of the General Commission in cases other than those covered by Articles 15-17, it may appeal to the verdict of a court of arbitration. This court shall be composed of four members, two of whom shall be appointed by the plaintiff government and two by the General Commission, and of a chairman appointed by the President of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

20. The zone states shall consult together as to supplementary measures to be taken by one or other of them to create a sense of security on both sides of the zone, specially with regard to the application of the principles laid down in Article I.

SIXTH COMMISSION

The Parliamentary System—The Present Crisis In That System and Its Remedies

Resolution Presented by M. H. Micheli,
Conseiller National (Switzerland).

The XXIIIrd Interparliamentary Conference,

Having examined the report of M. Horace Micheli, Conseiller national (Switzerland);

Considering the crisis through which the parliamentary system is now passing in almost every country, the criticism and even the attacks to which it is subjected from the most diverse quarters,

Considering, on the other hand, that the Interparliamentary Union is the international institution best qualified to discuss that criticism and, in so far as it may prove justified, to find remedies, and also to refute the attacks directed against the very existence of the parliamentary system as the protector of public liberty,

Requests the Committee for the Study of Political and Organization questions, after having instituted an inquiry among the national Groups, to study the parliamentary system in the different countries and to present a report to a subsequent Conference.

MUTUAL GUARANTEE PACT

(The following is the unofficial translation issued by the British Foreign Office of the treaty of mutual guarantee among Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium:)

Treaty of Mutual Guarantee Initialed at Locarno, October 16, 1925

The President of the German Reich, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the Republic of France, His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India; His Majesty the King of Italy, anxious to satisfy the desire for security and protection which animates the peoples upon whom fell the scourge of the war of 1914-18; taking note of the abrogation of the treaties for the neutralization of Belgium, and conscious of the necessity of insuring peace in the area which has so frequently been the scene of European conflicts; animated also with the sincere desire of giving to all the signatory powers concerned supplementary guarantees within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the treaties in force between them, have determined to conclude a treaty with these objects and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries [the plenipotentiaries with their titles are named here], who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I. The high contracting parties collectively and severally guarantee, in the manner provided in the following articles, the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* resulting from the frontiers between Germany and Belgium and between Germany and France and the inviolability of the said frontiers as fixed by or in pursuance of the treaty of peace signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, and also the observance of the stipulations of Articles 42 or 43 of the said treaty concerning the demilitarized zone.

ARTICLE II. Germany and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other. This stipulation shall not, however, apply in the case of: (1) The exercise of the right of legitimate defense; that is to say, resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the previous paragraph or to a flagrant breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the said Treaty of Versailles, if such breach constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression and by reason of the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarized zone immediate action is necessary. (2) Action in pursuance of Article XVI of the Covenant of the League of Nations. (3) Action as the result of a decision taken by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations or in pursuance of Article XV, paragraph 7, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, provided that in this last event the action is directed against a State which was the first to attack.

ARTICLE III. In view of the undertakings entered into in Article II of the present treaty, Germany and Belgium and Germany and France undertake to settle by peaceful means and in the manner laid down herein, all questions of every kind which may arise between them and which it may not be possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy: any question with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights shall be submitted to judicial decision, and the parties undertake to comply with such decision. All other questions shall be submitted to a conciliation commission. If the proposals of this commission are not accepted by the two parties, the question shall be brought before the Council of the League of Nations, which will deal with it in accordance with Article XV of the Covenant of the League. The detailed

arrangements for effecting such peaceful settlements are the subject of special agreements signed this day.

ARTICLE IV. (1) If one of the high contracting parties alleges that a violation of Article II of the present treaty or a breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles has been or is being committed, it shall bring the question at once before the Council of the League of Nations. (2) As soon as the Council of the League of Nations is satisfied that such violation or breach has been committed, it will notify its finding without delay to the powers signatory of the present treaty, who severally agree that in such case they will each of them come immediately to the assistance of the power against whom the act complained of is directed. (3) In case of a flagrant violation of Article II of the present treaty or of a flagrant breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles by one of the high contracting parties, each of the other contracting parties hereby undertakes immediately to come to the help of the party against whom such a violation or breach has been directed as soon as the said power has been able to satisfy itself that this violation constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression and that by reason either of the crossing of the frontier or of the outbreak of hostilities or of the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarized zone immediate action is necessary. Nevertheless the Council of the League of Nations, which will be seized of the question in accordance with the first paragraph of this article, will issue its findings, and the high contracting parties undertake to act in accordance with the recommendations of the Council, provided that they are concurred in by all the members other than the representatives of the parties which have engaged in hostilities.

ARTICLE V. The provisions of Article III of the present treaty are placed under the guarantee of the high contracting parties as provided by the following stipulations: If one of the powers referred to in Article III refuses to submit a dispute to peaceful settlement or to comply with an arbitral or judicial decision and commits a violation of Article II of the present treaty or a breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles the provisions of Article IV shall apply. Where one of the powers referred to in Article III without committing a violation

of Article II of the present treaty or a breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles, refuses to submit a dispute to peaceful settlement or to comply with an arbitral or judicial decision, the other party shall bring the matter before the Council of the League of Nations, and the Council shall propose what steps shall be taken, the high contracting parties shall comply with these proposals.

ARTICLE VI. The provisions of the present treaty do not affect the rights and obligations of the high contracting parties under the Treaty of Versailles or under arrangements supplementary thereto, including the agreements signed in London on August 30, 1924.

ARTICLE VII. The present treaty, which is designed to ensure the maintenance of peace and is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

ARTICLE VIII. The present treaty shall be registered at the League of Nations in accordance with the Covenant of the League. It shall remain in force until the Council, acting on a request of one or other of the high contracting parties notified to the other signatory powers three months in advance, and voting at least by a two-thirds majority, decides that the League of Nations ensures sufficient protection to the high contracting parties. The treaty shall cease to have effect on the expiration of a period of one year from such decision.

ARTICLE IX. The present treaty shall impose no obligation upon any of the British dominions, or upon India, unless the government of such dominion, or of India, signifies its acceptance thereof.

ARTICLE X. The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be deposited at Geneva, in the archives of the League of Nations, as soon as possible. It shall enter into force as soon as all the ratifications have been deposited and Germany has become a member of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, done in a single copy, will be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, and the Secretary General will be requested to transmit certified copies to each of the high contracting parties.

In faith whereof the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at Locarno, the sixteenth of October, 1925.

LUTHER.
STRESEMANN.
EMILE VANDERVELDE.
A. BRIAND.
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.
BENITO MUSSOLINI.

Note to Germany

(Following is the text of the note addressed to Germany in regard to Article XVI of the League Covenant:)

The German delegation has requested certain explanations in regard to Article XVI of the Covenant of the League of Nations. We are not in a position to speak in the name of the League, but in view of the discussions which have already taken place in the Assembly and in the commissions of the League of Nations, and after the explanations which have been exchanged between ourselves, we do not hesitate to inform you of the interpretation which, in so far as we are concerned, we place upon Article XVI. In accordance with that interpretation the obligations resulting from the said article on the members of the League must be understood to mean that each State member of the League is bound to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account.

News in Brief

SEVERAL RESOLUTIONS LOOKING TOWARD INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING were adopted by the World Federation of Education Associations in Edinburgh on July 25, 1925. The most general of these is number 16, which reads as follows: "This conference of the W. F. E. A. is of opinion that it is the function of teachers to help their pupils to realize that the world is a unity, that nations and

peoples are interdependent, economically and otherwise, and that true nationalism is not inconsistent with true internationalism."

THE STUDENTS' INTERNATIONAL CLUB at Geneva celebrated on September 9, this year, its first anniversary, at the club rooms, 10 rue St. Leger.

A PROPOSAL WHICH THE AMERICAN DELEGATION PRESENTED to the Opium Conference last winter was adopted by the Humanitarian Commission of the League of Nations in September. This proposal provides for a committee of inquiry to be sent to Persia to ascertain if the poppy-growing areas cannot be planted to other crops. It is hoped that by such means a curb may be put on the illicit traffic in drugs. The amount appropriated for the inquiry, 200,000 Swiss francs, is exactly the amount spent by Canada annually to combat illicit drug traffic.

SOVIET DELEGATES HAVE BEEN PRESENT at a number of international scientific congresses recently, among them the Railway Congress, the Radiology Congress, the Deaf and Dumb Congress, in London; the World Educational Congress in Edinburgh, and the Fourteenth International Congress of Geologists, in Spain. The Third International Congress of Applied Limnology was held in Moscow in August. Arrangements have also been made by the Institute of International Education in New York for the annual exchange of Russian and American scientific workers.

THE GERMAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS, which met in Breslau in September, adopted a resolution making it compulsory upon affiliated unions, in the event of an outbreak of war, to do all in their power to prevent the manufacture of arms and munitions and the transport through Germany of troops and armaments.

THE COMMONWEALTH LABOR COUNCIL has invited the workers of China, Japan, Canada, the Philippines, Hawaii, Singapore, India, South Africa, and the United States to send representatives to a Pan-Pacific conference to be held in Sydney, on May 1, 1926, to discuss the danger of war in the Pacific.

DR. NANSEN'S REPORT TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS on Armenian refugees stated that it was perfectly possible to settle 15,000 Armenians in Erivan, provided that a loan of about £900,000 could be raised.

"PEACE OR WAR IN THE PACIFIC?" was the general topic of the conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, held at Swarthmore, September 10-13.

THE MIXED COMMISSION to establish the new frontier between Turkey and the Union of Soviet Republics has successfully concluded its work, according to the *Investia*. The commission has been working since last March.

DURING THE FIRST ANNUITY PERIOD under the Dawes Plan (September 1, 1924, to August 31, 1925), Germany exactly fulfilled her obligation and paid 1,000,457,572.45 gold marks. The total share received by France for that period is 428,929,043 gold marks, representing, at the present rate of exchange, about 2,185,000,000 francs.

THE WORLD COURT RESOLUTION is due to come up before the U. S. Senate for discussion and decision on December 17, 1925.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES has, within the last three years and a half, conducted studies on the following subjects of social significance: Wage Question, February, 1922; Coal Controversy, May, 1922; Twelve-hour Day in the Steel Industry, June, 1923; Social Aspects of Farmers' Co-operative Marketing, April, 1925; Prohibition Situation, September, 1925. A sixth research report, on Contract Labor in Prisons, now under way, is expected to appear in a few months.

A NEW CHURCH FEAST to hasten the attainment of universal peace is to be proclaimed by the Pope at a mass *te Deum* at St. Peter's closing Holy Year, on New Year's Eve.

THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY to investigate extraterritoriality questions in China has been requested to meet on December 18 in Peking. The powers signatory to the Washington Conference, under which the inquiry is to be held, are, in addition to the United States, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Portugal, and China. It is proposed that a study of Chinese judicial matters shall be initiated for the purpose of recommending steps for the reform of practice in China in order to pave the way for the ultimate surrender of special treaty rights enjoyed by foreigners in that country.

INVITATIONS HAVE BEEN SENT OUT by the

United States Government to forty-two nations to participate in a radio-telegraph conference to be held at Washington in the spring of 1926.

FOUR IMPORTANT PACTS WERE SIGNED on September 3, in La Paz, Bolivia, and in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, which clear up all the various diplomatic differences between the two republics. Some of these points arose from the demarkation of boundary lines under the treaty of 1867; others are the result of questions arising from the treaty of 1903. The new pacts provide for the payment by Brazil of an indemnity of £2,000,000, which will enable Bolivia to carry out one of the chief provisions of the treaty of 1903, the construction of a railway from the Paraguay River to the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in Bolivia. This will complete an all-rail route from Santos, on the Atlantic, to Arica, on the Pacific. The pacts are hailed as a long step toward unclouded relations between the two countries and the general peace of South America. There is, too, enormous material advantage in paving the way for the two countries to complete, in co-operation, their great plans for railway development, which will be a benefit to the entire continent.

PRESIDENT ALESSANDRI, OF CHILE, has presented his resignation because of differences with Col. Carlos Ibáñez, Minister of War, who is a candidate for the Presidency in the new elections of October 24. The Chilean law provides that no member of the cabinet may at the same time be a candidate for the Presidency. President Alessandri asked for the resignation of Minister Ibáñez, but was refused. Upon this the rest of the cabinet resigned, in order to leave the President free to form a new ministry. The President, who is not a candidate for re-election, appointed Luis Barros Borgoño Minister of the Interior, which office carries with it the Vice-Presidency, and immediately resigned as President. Barros Borgoño is a member of the Conservative Party and Alessandri of the more radical Progressive Party.

THE ANNUAL ELECTION by the League of Nations Assembly of the six non-permanent members of the League Council September 26 resulted in no change in the composition of that body. Belgium, Brazil, Spain, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and Uruguay continue as the non-permanent members.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NEW BARBARIANS. By *Wilbur C. Abbott*. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1925. Pp. 247. Price, \$2.50.

The subject of American nationalism is calling forth an important series of books, of which this is the first. Professor Abbott, of Harvard University, is well qualified by long and thorough historical study to evaluate present-day America. Familiar with the beginnings and growth of our institutions, he now measures them by the standards of the new day. And it is a new day, with a vague new spirit abroad in the land. The Allies, he says, "having fought to defend the world they knew and loved, came back to find it gone." The "Great Fear" is past, and now comes the "Great Hunger," the "Great Unrest."

He discusses the various panaceas for the weaknesses and abuses which he admits are to be seen in the world, but he does not find that Capitalism is altogether at fault, or that Socialism is the way out. Revolution will not turn the trick. "There is no such thing as proletarian dominance," he says. "It is always the dictatorship of the few who seize the rule in the name of the many." Though there must be reforms, they must not be by violence. "Let us 'hold fast to that which is good.'"

In the declaration of economic independence today we can see a parallel to the declarations of political independence in the last century. And again we have the struggle between the principle of Liberty and that of Equality. They must again be harmonized. It was done once in this country and must be done again.

But we have here the tremendous problem of the immigrants, some of them not more than one generation from serfdom, a belated product of the Middle Ages. These are crying for equality. How shall we also maintain that liberty which has been wrung from long experiment?

Surely no other nation has ever tried so hard to elevate her masses as the United States of America.

By constant agitation, continual education on the principle of improvement by practical experiment and not by revolution, must America save her institutions from the restless horde of unsatisfied folk who pour over her boundaries. The long, slow process has begun, thinks Professor Abbott, but it will be difficult and long-sustained. For America is beginning again. She is beginning in the hope that the new America will be better, as well as stronger, than the old.

THE INDESTRUCTIBLE UNION. By *William McDougall*. Pp. 249. Little, Brown & Co., 1925. Price, \$2.50.

Professor McDougall, an Englishman, teacher of psychology at Harvard University, contributes the second volume to the series on American national life. He understands and likes America, and writes with sympathy, but at times, also, with sharp candor. It is of the nationhood of the United States that he speaks—its nature, value, and promise.

The place of pacifism in our national life is, it seems to this reviewer, quite justly summarized. A chapter on that internationalism which depends on real nationalism is, on the whole, sound, though rather more stress than necessary seems to be laid upon force "in the background." Professor McDougall, at all events, objects to that internationalism which means anti-nationalism.

He finds the United States a scarcely mature nation, which has only recently attained its own unity. Like all adolescents we feel too sure as to what is due ourselves, too little our responsibility toward the rest of the human family. He says bluntly, "It is this moral obtuseness that goes with the childlike naivety of America in world affairs, combined with her enormous financial and economic and potential military power, which, in spite of the recognized moral fervor and elevation of the mass of her citizens, renders her an object of profound distrust to other nations. Only further experience in international affairs can educate the nation out of this naivety, can complete the process of growing up into a responsible adult, fair-minded, self-critical, tolerant towards the defects and sympathetic toward the difficulties of other nations."

This may not seem to us quite fair, since we in this hemisphere have instituted and are guarding new theories which, in turn,

the Old World does not appear to comprehend. Nevertheless, it is always useful to hear what our neighbors think of us. In this case, though the author has an unmistakably British cast of thought, he is friendly, fair-minded, frank, and, like all Englishmen of letters, he writes with inviting clarity.

PROJECTS IN WORLD FRIENDSHIP. By *John Leslie Lobingier*. University of Chicago Press, 1925. Pp. 171. Price, \$1.25.

This is a handy pocket-sized volume designed especially for aid to church educational departments. Mr. Lobingier is educational pastor of the United Church at Oberlin, Ohio. His method is suggestive and without dogmatism. A large part of the book is an illustrated record of what he calls "friendship enterprises," graded to suit children of all ages.

A sentence from the preface is well worth quoting here. "When young people," he says, "approach maturity with a reasonable degree of knowledge as to the mode of life and customs and culture and needs of other social or racial groups, and with a feeling of friendliness toward them, they have made their best contribution toward the achievement of world peace."

MARIE ANTIONETTE. By Hillaire Belloc. G. P. Putnam Sons, 1924. Pp. 559.

The period covered by the lifetime of Marie Antoinette, that just before and during the French Revolution, has been exhaustively studied and by many authors. Among the most interesting books dealing with those years are several by Lenotre, a Frenchman. These have been translated into English. They are fascinating studies, based upon correspondence and other documents, some of them little known. Two of these volumes deal with Marie Antoinette, and they are quite unique in treatment and charm.

In one respect, however, Hillaire Belloc does, in his *Marie Antoinette*, what no other author we know succeeds so well in doing. He portrays the psychology, national and individual, which accomplished the Queen's tragic destiny. This is the more remarkable in a field where the very abundance of preserved records makes a clear narrative difficult.

The American reader needs always to

remember Mr. Belloc's slightly superior attitude toward America, as well as his strong Roman Catholic sympathies. This done, the biography may be followed with unalloyed interest. Belloc has the artist's flair for accent in every picture; therefore we never fail to note the recurrence of "fatal" dates, the contrasts in characters and events, and the symbolic accompaniments of the French Queen's career.

Born in Austria, the daughter of Maria Theresa enters an already turbulent world. A great earthquake accompanies her birth. The first seven years of her life are those of the Seven Years' War. Then—fatal mistake—she is allowed to run wild, almost uneducated, until the time of her transplanting to France, at the age of fourteen.

The continual pressure of Maria Theresa, through her daughter, upon French affairs, and the French attitude toward England, Prussia, and Spain are never lost to sight.

Then, as if the complexity of French domestic affairs were not enough to compress into any one book, Mr. Belloc takes up a consideration of the British campaign of 1777 in America. With infinite condescension, alluding to the American army as "a herd of irregulars," he finds the slowness of Burgoyne's attempted march from the St. Lawrence to the sea quite inexplicable. One wonders if there were no volume of John Fiske at hand while Mr. Belloc was writing; or perhaps he really cannot appreciate the tremendous power of the spirit of those men of America, who were, of necessity "irregulars."

However, for the purposes of the book, he does what he is trying to do: He shows the effect of the British reverses in America upon European politics. They decided France on a policy of assistance to the American colonies. This assistance was, he thinks, to check British ambitions rather than a wholehearted sympathy with America. Whatever the purpose underlying the grants of money to America, those grants were part of the overwhelming debt which finally precipitated the French Revolution against a court which was considered profligate.

Mr. Belloc's treatment of the rare and delicate devotion of Count Ferson to the ill-starred Queen constitutes one of the most beautiful episodes in all romance.

All through the book the psychology of

Marie Antoinette is carefully traced, as she develops. The result is a biography at once brilliant and accurate. Here one can read the soul of this woman, who was one of the world's most tragic characters. At the same time the background of world events is clearly sketched, with the parts in proper relation to each other.

NINETEENTH CENTURY EVOLUTION AND AFTER.

By *Reverend Marshall Dawson*. Macmillan, 1923. Pp. 145. Price, \$1.50.

Since Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, many other books have been written applying the evolutionary theory to the religious life of man.

Mr. Dawson has done more in this book than make new applications of the same ideas. He analyzes the easy optimism of the nineteenth century evolutionary theory in the light of the war crisis in the early twentieth century. The nineteenth century rested upon the assumption that evolution implies inevitable upward development, says Mr. Dawson. The present century, however, has discovered that degeneration is just as possible, in the evolutionary process, as improvement. Without new motivating, the human race today, may easily be unable to make any further advance. Indeed, present indications are that decay is the next move on the part of Mother Nature, unless some power connected with the mentality of man takes control.

The World War and attendant disasters swept upon us unawares. It was a shock wholly disastrous unless it shakes us into a new checking up on our previous theories by a consideration of sober fact. By studying our present trend toward retrogression, we may be able to check it. This, he thinks, is our next frontier of effort.

The mind of man has now come to a stage in development where such advance must be made consciously. Nature will no longer automatically work toward the development of man. Further advance, Mr. Dawson believes, can only come through the motivating which religion has power to give. Without a fresh hold on religious life, civilization can-

not survive longer, but will inevitably compass its own destruction.

The book is in no sense an attack on Fundamentalism, but it preaches an evolution in which God belongs.

THE SUPREME COURT AND SOVEREIGN STATES.

By *Charles Warren*. Princeton University Press, 1924. Pp. 159. Price, \$2.00.

Mr. Warren, former Assistant Attorney General, has already produced a three-volume work on the "Supreme Court in United States History." This newer book is not only a briefer, but a more chattily written, presentation of the court in one aspect of its work.

Beginning with a plea for the study of history as a means of understanding both the present and the future, Mr. Warren quotes James Howell as follows: "We should measure that which has been done by that which it makes us do."

The story of the establishment of the Supreme Court by the makers of the Constitution is told with much human emphasis. It is enriched with quotations from many contemporary letters and papers. This Supreme Court of ours is, he says, unique, with no real predecessor nearer than the British Privy Council; yet the clause that gave jurisdiction to the Supreme Court over controversies between States of the new Union received not a breath of opposition.

A very interesting chapter deals with the enforcement of decrees. Here, with the memory of the war-time burden of neutrality which rested on the United States at the beginning of the European war, our former Assistant Attorney General makes an interesting suggestion. Instead of assuming an obligation to act against an offender nation, he proposes that a neutral nation be relieved from existing obligations toward such an offender. That, he thinks, might be a better deterrent than our present usage in the case of an attack of one nation upon another.

The book will prove interesting, not only to general students of United States history, but also to those who are studying the new World Court and its relation to the nations.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

Edited by ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

1815-1828

Suite 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

(Cable address, "Ampax, Washington.")

PUBLISHED MONTHLY EXCEPT SEPTEMBER

Sent free to all members of the American Peace Society. Separate subscription price, \$2.00 a year. Single copies, 20 cents each.

Entered as second-class matter, June 1, 1911, at the Post-Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917; authorized August 10, 1918.

It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

CONTENTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR A GOVERNED WORLD..... 635

EDITORIALS

Our Imperials in Santo Domingo—In Haiti—In Salvador and Nicaragua—Common Sense and the World Court—Locarno Psychology—Debt Funding and New Loans—Editorial Notes..... 637-650

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

Latin America at a Glance—The French Crisis—Locarno, and After—Three Years of Fascism—The League and the Greco-Bulgarian Incident—The Shelling of Damascus—Turkey under Kemal—Persia under an American—The World's Wheat—International Dates 650-668

GENERAL ARTICLES

Acceptance of Monument to San Martin..... 669
By President Coolidge
The Presentation Address..... 673
By Ambassador Pueyrredon
The Pan American Union..... 676
By Senator Swanson
Developing a Sentiment for Peace in Japan..... 681
By Setsuzo Sawada

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

The Locarno Treaties
The Final Protocol..... 685
German-Belgian Treaty..... 686
German-Czech Treaty..... 688
French Treaties with Poland and Czechoslovakia..... 691

NEWS IN BRIEF..... 692

BOOK REVIEWS..... 693

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

It is the first of its kind in the United States. It will be one hundred years old in 1928. It has helped to make the fundamental principles of any desirable peace known the world around.

Its purpose is to prevent the injustices of war by extending the methods of law and order among the nations, and to educate the peoples everywhere in what an ancient Roman law-giver once called "the constant and unchanging will to give to every one his due."

It is built on justice, fair play, and law. If men and nations were just, this Society would never have been started.

It has spent its men and its money in arousing the thoughts and the consciences of statesmen to the ways which are better than war, and of men and women everywhere to the gifts which America can bring to the altar of a Governed World.

Its claim upon you is that of an organization which has been one of the greatest forces for right thinking in the United States for nearly a century; which is today the defender of the principles of law, of judicial settlement, of arbitration, of international conferences, of right-mindedness, and of understanding among the Powers. It publishes ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the first in point of time and the widest circulated peace magazine in the world.

It is supported entirely by the free and generous gifts, large and small, of those who are interested in its work. It has never received a dollar from State, city, or nation.

It is the American Peace Society, with its headquarters in Boston for three-quarters of a century, but since 1911 in Washington, D. C. It has been incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts since 1848.

FEES

The minimum fees for membership:

Annual Membership is two dollars;

Sustaining Membership, five dollars;

Contributing Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Institutional Membership, twenty-five dollars;

Life Membership is one hundred dollars.

All memberships include a free subscription to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, President American Peace Society, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Secretary American Peace Society and Editor of ADVOCATE OF PEACE, Washington, D. C.

Hon. P. P. CLAXTON, Ex-United States Commissioner of Education, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN, Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Senator from Illinois, Washington, D. C.

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE, Member of Congress from Virginia, Washington, D. C.

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN, 1841 Irving Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, Esq., Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

HENRY C. MORRIS, Esq., 1155 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

Prof. ARTHUR RAMSAY, Ex-President Fairmont Seminary, Southern Pines, N. C.

THEODORE STANFIELD, 126 W. 74th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D., Upper Montclair, N. J.

Hon. HENRY TEMPLE, Representative from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Dr. THOMAS E. GREEN

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY

Hon. ANDREW J. MONTAGUE

Rev. WALTER A. MORGAN

GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS

HENRY C. MORRIS

THEODORE STANFIELD

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D.

Hon. HENRY W. TEMPLE

Dr. GEORGE W. WHITE

OFFICERS

President:

Hon. THEODORE E. BURTON, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

GEORGE W. WHITE, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY, Washington, D. C.

Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON, Palo Alto, Calif.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

JANE ADDAMS, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

A. T. BELL, Esq., Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.

GILBERT BOWLES, Esq., Richmond, Ind.

Dean CHARLES R. BROWN, New Haven, Conn.

Pres. E. D. BROWN, New York University, New York.

GEORGE BURNHAM, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston, Mass.

Rt. Rev. Bishop J. DARLINGTON, Harrisburg, Pa.

Dr. W. H. P. FAUNCE, Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.

GEORGE A. FINCH, Washington, D. C.

EVERETT O. FISK, Esq., Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM P. GEST, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hon. CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Washington, D. C.

CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D. D., New York, N. Y.

Dr. DAVID STARR JORDAN, Stanford University, Calif.

GEO. H. JUDD, Washington, D. C.

Bishop WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Mass.

JOSEPH LEE, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM H. LUDEN, Reading, Pa.

L. H. PILLSBURY, Derry, N. H.

Judge HENRY WADE ROGERS, New York, N. Y.

Hon. ELIHU ROOT, New York, N. Y.

Mrs. FREDERIC SCHOFF, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. RUTH H. SPRAY, Denver, Colo.

Senator THOMAS STERLING, Washington, D. C.

EDWARD STEVENS, Columbia, Mo.

*Pres. M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

*Pres. C. F. THWING, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pres. MARY E. WOOLLEY, South Hadley, Mass.

* Emeritus.

Suggestions for a Governed World

(Adopted by the American Peace Society, May 27, 1921)

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, mindful of the precepts of its founders—precepts which have been confirmed by the experience of the past hundred years—recurs, in these days of storm and stress at home and of confusion and discord abroad, to these precepts and its own traditions, and, confessing anew its faith in their feasibility and necessity, restates and resubmits to a hesitant, a suffering, and a war-torn world:

That the voluntary Union of States and their helpful co-operation for the attainment of their common ideals can only be effective if, and only so far as, "The rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations";

That the rules of conduct governing individual relations, and which must needs be expressed in terms of international law, relate to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety"; and

That these concepts, which are the very life and breath of reason and justice, upon which the Law of Nations is founded, must be a chief concern of nations, inasmuch as "justice," and its administration, "is the great interest of man on earth."

Therefore, realizing the conditions which confront the world at the termination of its greatest of wars; conscious that permanent relief can only come through standards of morality and principles of justice expressed in rules of law, to the end that the conduct of nations shall be a regulated conduct, and that the government of the Union of States, as well as the government of each member thereof, shall be a government of laws and not of men; and desiring to contribute to the extent of its capacity, the American Peace Society ventures, at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in the city of Washington, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to suggest, as calculated to incorporate these principles in the practice of nations, an international agreement:

I. To institute Conferences of Nations, to meet at stated intervals, in continuation of the first two conferences of The Hague; and

To facilitate the labors of such conferences; to invite accredited institutions devoted to the study of international law, to prepare projects for the consideration of governments, in advance of submission to the conferences; in order

To restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law, which are indispensable to the permanent establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations.

II. To convoke, as soon as practicable, a conference for the advancement of international law; to provide for its organization outside of the domination of any one nation or any limited group of nations; to which conference every nation recognizing, accepting, and applying international law in its relations with other nations shall be invited and in which all shall participate upon a footing of equality.

III. To establish an Administrative Council to be composed of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference

for the advancement of international law convenes; which representatives shall, in addition to their ordinary functions as diplomatic agents, represent the common interests of the nations during the interval between successive conferences; and to provide that

The president of the Administrative Council shall, according to diplomatic usage, be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in which the conference convenes;

An advisory committee shall be appointed by the Administrative Council from among its members, which shall meet at short, regular, and stated periods;

The chairman of the advisory committee shall be elected by its members;

The advisory committee shall report the result of its labors to the Administrative Council;

The members of the Administrative Council, having considered the report of the advisory committee, shall transmit their findings or recommendations to their respective governments, together with their collective or individual opinions, and that they shall act thereafter upon such findings and recommendations only in accordance with instructions from the governments which they represent.

IV. To authorize the Administrative Council to appoint, outside its own members, an executive committee or secretary's office to perform such duties as the conference for the advancement of international law, or the nations shall from time to time prescribe; and to provide that

The executive committee or secretary's office shall be under the supervision of the Administrative Council;

The executive committee or secretary's office shall report to the Administrative Council at stated periods.

V. To empower the Administrative Council to appoint other committees for the performance of such duties as the nations in their wisdom or discretion shall find it desirable to impose.

VI. To furnish technical advisers to assist the Administrative Council, the advisory committee, or other committees appointed by the council in the performance of their respective duties whenever the appointment of such technical advisers may be necessary or desirable, with the understanding that the request for the appointment of such experts may be made by the conference for the advancement of international law or by the Administrative Council.

VII. To employ good offices, mediation and friendly composition wherever feasible and practicable, in their own disputes, and to urge their employment whenever feasible and practicable, in disputes between other nations.

VIII. To organize a Commission of Inquiry of limited membership, which may be enlarged by the nations in dispute, to which commission they may refer, for investigation and report, their differences of an international character, unless they are otherwise bound to submit them to arbitration or to other form of peaceful settlement; and

To pledge their good faith to abstain from any act of force against one another pending the investigation of the commission and the receipt of its report; and

To reserve the right to act on the report as their respective interests may seem to them to demand; and

To provide that the Commission of Inquiry shall submit its report to the nations in controversy for their action, and to the Administrative Council for its information.

IX. To create a Council of Conciliation of limited membership, with power on behalf of the nations in dispute to add to its members, to consider and to report upon such questions of a non-justiciable character, the settlement whereof is not otherwise prescribed, which shall from time to time be submitted to the Council

of Conciliation, either by the powers in dispute or by the Administrative Council; and to provide that.

The Council of Conciliation shall transmit its proposals to the nations in dispute, for such action as they may deem advisable, and to the Council of Administration for its information.

X. To arbitrate differences of an international character not otherwise provided for and, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, to submit them to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, in order that they may be adjusted upon a basis of respect for law, with the understanding that disputes of a justiciable nature may likewise be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration when the parties in controversy prefer to have their differences settled by judges of their own choice, appointed for the occasion.

XI. To set up an international court of justice with obligatory jurisdiction, to which, upon the failure of diplomacy to adjust their disputes of a justiciable nature, all States shall have direct access—a court whose decisions shall bind the litigating States, and, eventually, all parties to its creation, and to which the States in controversy may submit, by special agreement, disputes beyond the scope of obligatory jurisdiction.

XII. To enlarge from time to time the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice by framing rules of law in the conferences for the advancement of international law, to be applied by the court for the decision of questions which fall either beyond its present obligatory jurisdiction or which nations have not hitherto submitted to judicial decision.

XIII. To apply inwardly international law as a rule of law for the decision of all questions involving its principles, and outwardly to apply international law to all questions arising between and among all nations, so far as they involve the Law of Nations.

XIV. To furnish their citizens or subjects adequate instructions in their international obligations and duties, as well as in their rights and prerogatives:

To take all necessary steps to render such instruction effective; and thus

To create that "international mind" and enlightened public opinion which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals, bringing in their train law and order, through which, and through which alone, peace between nations may become practicable, attainable, and desirable.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
87

DECEMBER, 1925

NUMBER
12

OUR "IMPERIALISM" IN SANTO DOMINGO

INTERNATIONAL peace is not promoted by unjust criticisms of other countries. It is not promoted by caustic, one-sided, or unfair charges against one's own country. In the July number of this magazine we attempted to show that the charge of imperialism against our United States in the Caribbean is unjustified. We have been criticized for this position. Perhaps the best informed of our critics is Mr. Lewis S. Gannett, acting editor of the *Nation*. With Mr. Gannett's consent, we print from his letter the essential paragraphs criticizing parts of our editorial as "misleading."

With reference to our views upon the activities of the United States in Santo Domingo, Mr. Gannett writes:

"The Treaty of 1907 was violated and the public debt was increased without the consent of the United States.' This the Dominican governments have always denied. There was an increase of the floating debt—current expenses, salaries, etc.—but no increase in the bonded debt, which is usually meant by the term 'public debt.' The Henriquez Government offered to arbitrate, but we refused. In any case, the treaty gave us no right to land troops. For the American Peace Society to support a statement: 'The United States felt itself compelled to land troops to prevent a continuance of bloodshed and to protect foreign life and property,' as if that were the most natural and proper course in the world, seems to me frankly shocking. To present as a summary of 'really salient facts' a mere statement of disaster in

Santo Domingo leading to 'a temporary military government,' and then jump to the withdrawal, seems to me again a shocking neglect of the record. There is nothing in the article about the manner in which that military government was set up, its violent seizure of revenues, stoppage of salaries, censorship of the press, and so on and so on. Do you really maintain, on second thought, that you can find nothing 'in the record' to warrant the charge that we have pursued a policy of imperialism in that country?"

We still answer this inquiry in the affirmative.

There is a considerable literature upon our relations with Santo Domingo. The story is a long one. Santo Domingo was the first of the Caribbean countries to be occupied by American military forces. President Grant had proposed the annexation of this republic. In the early nineties Santo Domingo was in a sad way financially. France and Italy were threatening to collect their debts from her by force of arms. During the term of John Hay as Secretary of State the President of Santo Domingo requested the United States to take over its customs houses. This request was granted by the personal edict of President Roosevelt, which edict was substantially ratified later by the Senate in terms of a treaty still in force, the Treaty of 1907. Political disturbances increased during the administration of President Taft, and became acute during the terms of President Wilson. Insurrections became so serious that the United States landed forces May 4, 1916, at a

time when the internal indebtedness was increasing by millions. Then Admiral Harry Knapp landed in Santo Domingo, November 22, 1916, and a week later issued a proclamation of occupation, providing for strict censorship, control of the entire government, and surrender of all arms.

These acts were roundly condemned. Many found it difficult to understand how they could have been approved by President Wilson, who spoke so often of the rights of small nations. Since military occupation, except in the case of legation guards or upon request, is an act of war, our occupation of Santo Domingo was technically an act of war, and that without the authorization by Congress. This all looks like an act of imperialism. Is the charge of imperialism just? Emilio Roig, in a thoughtful address before the Cuban Institute of International Law, was inclined to the view that the occupation took place upon erroneous advice by persons unknown; that it was due to a lack of time, because of the war, for any proper attention to small matters at home. Professor Kelsey, who carefully studied the whole matter for the American Academy of Political and Social Science, finds no explanation except Captain Knapp's proclamation, in which it is said that the intervention was to help establish a stable government in order that treaty obligations might be kept. It has been claimed by prominent persons that Washington knew of German plans to use the island as a naval base. It has been hinted that European countries urged our government to intervene. In any event, the unhappy procedure cannot be called an imperialistic movement on the part of the United States unless it can be shown that by its actions our country was clearly bent on extending its empire in Santo Domingo.

Mr. Gannett states that the Dominican Republic denies that the Treaty of 1907 was violated; that there was no increase

in the bonded debt; only an increase of "the floating debt." It is difficult to see why a floating debt is not a public debt. Certainly the Treaty of 1907 provided in Article 3 that its public debt should not be increased until the Dominican Republic had paid the whole amount of its bonded indebtedness. It was not intended, by no possible construction of the treaty could it be assumed, that the Dominican Government should embark upon a career of internal extravagance which would make it impossible for the bonds ever to be paid off. The Treaty of 1907 aimed primarily to provide for the payment of the outstanding debt of \$70,000,000. It planned to do this by a new issue of bonds, to be secured in part by a more orderly management of Dominican finances. And yet, in spite of this fact, the Dominican Government had by 1916 increased its internal obligations by over ten million dollars. Surely Mr. Gannett would not justify this increase because of "current expenses, salaries, etc." As a matter of fact, this increase included money borrowed to combat revolutions, cost of supplies to the government, government promissory notes to private individuals, and the like. Of course, the "bonded debt" had not been increased. Nobody at that time would have been willing to advance money to increase the bonded debt of the Dominican Republic in the face of the Treaty of 1907 and of the chaos that reigned in the Republic. But the debts had multiplied just the same.

There were negotiations between our Minister, Mr. Russell, and the provisional President of Santo Domingo during the months of August, September, and October, but there is no record that the Henriquez Government offered to arbitrate the disputes and that we refused. The position of Washington was that the course for the Dominican Republic to take was to live up to the terms and spirit of the Treaty of 1907, which it had signally

failed to do. Washington saw no reason to expect any improvement in the immediate future.

In any case, says Mr. Gannett, the treaty gave us no right to land troops. The fact here is that Article 2 of the treaty provides: "The Government of the United States will give to the general receiver (of customs) and his assistants such protection as it may find to be requisite for the performance of their duties." If this means anything, it means a right to land troops if necessary. There was no other "protection" possible if the lives of these men were endangered, as they actually were. Verbal remonstrances had been tried and found unavailing. No treaty clause is necessary to authorize a government to make diplomatic representations for the protection of its citizens. Article 2 of the treaty was clearly intended to mean that the United States was authorized to land troops if necessary. This was so understood by all parties. No other interpretation is possible.

As we have said, the customs officials were often in real peril. At least this was the firm belief of our government, based upon an intimate knowledge of the situation. The United States made repeated but unavailing efforts to bring about a peaceable and orderly settlement of the difficulties. The landing of troops in 1916 was a last resort, absolutely necessary to protect foreign life and property and to put an end to bloodshed and anarchy. We have no doubt these were the views of President Wilson. The alternative was to let the Dominican Republic repudiate its foreign debt, abandon itself to revolution and anarchy, with the certainty that some other nation, possibly Germany, would step in and insist upon its right to accord to its citizens the protection which the United States refused itself to undertake. Our government felt that such a

policy of weakness and cowardice could not be adopted.

Mr. Gannett criticizes our military men in Santo Domingo, but that is not a just criticism of the foreign policy of the United States. Our naval and military authorities are never above criticism. Military officials sent to the Dominican Republic may not have been as capable or as efficient as might have been hoped. Some of them were court-martialed. Men, military men included, are not always what they should be, even within our own borders. In Santo Domingo they were faced with a new and difficult situation. It is a fair presumption that these men in general did their best to represent the United States worthily.

After all, a comparison of conditions in the Dominican Republic in 1916 with conditions today is the best answer to critics such as Mr. Gannett. Our belief is that our United States Government has not pursued a policy of imperialism in Santo Domingo. An imperialistic policy is a policy of extending one's dominion or power. The simple fact that we withdrew our forces from Santo Domingo voluntarily, in 1924, should be evidence enough that our government has not pursued a policy of imperialism in that land.

AS TO HAITI

WHEN it comes to our relations to Haiti, Mr. Gannett, referred to in the previous editorial, is still more emphatic. He writes:

"I have never before seen in cold print the statement that Haitian finances 'had reached the point where a complete default was obviously inevitable' prior to American occupation. Certainly that is a large guess. The fact is, Haiti never defaulted in her foreign debt until Americans had assumed control. It is not true that the country was left without any government after Guillaume. There was a revolutionary situation, but there was also

a revolutionary government. The statement that 'under the protection of these marines, it was possible for the Congress, in accordance with the constitution, to assemble and elect a President' seems to me worse than a misstatement of fact. Have you looked at all at a record of the Senate Hearings? Do you know how that President was elected in accordance with the constitution? Have you read Admiral Caperton's dispatches frankly confessing that he forced the election upon an unwilling legislature, after he had agreed if elected to comply to any terms the United States might wish?

"Do you know the story behind your statement, 'a treaty was subsequently entered into with this new Haitian Government'? Do you recall the instructions sent from Washington to the Haitian Government, 'The Haitian Congress will be pleased to pass forthwith a resolution authorizing the President-elect to conclude without modification the treaty submitted by you'?

"It is not true that the rebellion was put down by Haiti's police force. It was put down by the U. S. marines. In the course of proceedings, American airplanes bombarded defenseless Haitian villages and American forces killed, roughly, 3,000 Haitians.

"No election has been held since Smedley Butler, at the point of a pistol, dissolved the government in 1916. The present government is an unconstitutional government, maintained in power by American forces. Of course, the Borno Government does not and cannot object to anything.

"I simply cannot understand your statement that there is no case against the United States in its record of Haiti. I have often disagreed with you in the past, but I have never met anything which seemed to me such blindness to facts as this. I have always assumed that you were earnestly interested in a peace based upon mutual adjustment, not a *Pax Roma* imposed by a marine corps."

Here again the question is, Has the United States pursued a policy of imperialism in Haiti?

Haiti has been a republic since 1804, when she won her independence from France. It is acknowledged by critics of our United States that the three million inhabitants of Haiti have lived under primitive economic conditions, subject to frequent political disturbances often rising to revolutionary outbreak, throughout her history. As early as 1847 we were considering the advisability of a naval base on the northwest coast of Haiti. In 1891 we sent ships to Port au Prince, capital of Haiti, to discuss the possibility of obtaining such a naval base at Mole St. Nicholas. The Haitian Government refused to discuss the matter, and our ships were recalled. French banking interests continued in control of the Haitian finances with little competition until 1911, when American bankers entered the field. Six years later the French banking interests were purchased by the National City Bank of New York. The financial situation in Haiti, therefore, became a matter of interest to American investors and to the American Government. This simple fact is in itself not an evidence of imperialistic policy. As Mr. Gannett points out, our statement that Haitian finances had reached the point where a complete default was obviously inevitable prior to our occupation is, of course, "a guess"; but it is a guess based upon a mass of evidence. We believe it to be a fact. Indeed, this fact is corroborated by outstanding Haitian authorities. Mr. Gannett says that Haiti had never defaulted on her foreign debt. But, careful observer that he is, he knows that Haiti's expenditures were constantly exceeding her revenues, and that amortization of her foreign loans was by 1915 many years in arrears. The successive revolutions and continued maladministration of her internal revenues were increasing her obligations far beyond her capacity to pay. Many of these obligations were held by American investors. The government issued paper money in

violation of its contract with the national bank. Every one agreed that the Republic was headed for national bankruptcy. Then came the barbarous murder of President Guillaume Sam.

It is true that there was a revolutionary government following this climax in a series of disasters. There were two, if not three, with every prospect of more to follow. In Port au Prince there was a "committee of public safety," which proved itself to be utterly incapable of furnishing safety either for the Haitians or for the foreigners. The recurring revolutions were stopped by the United States marines. In our judgment, this was a good thing for Haiti. Be that as it may, it is certain that if we had not considered it our duty to restore order in Haiti, some other power would certainly have insisted upon its right to do so. We intervened in Haiti. Nobody welcomed the intervention. Our Department of State did not welcome it. It was a thankless task. It was an unpleasant business. But it certainly was not considered by our Department of State as an imperialistic adventure. Subsequent events have proved it to be a beneficent work.

The reforms in Haiti have been remarkable. These reforms have been possible because of the presence of American armed forces. If the Haitian people had been able to run their affairs and to abide by their contracts, there would have been no need for American participation. The new constitution was adopted by the legislature of Haiti, and the treaty of 1915 was voted paragraph by paragraph by that body. The new constitution and the treaty have been to the best interests of Haiti. There is nothing in either document which gives to the United States or to its citizens any special privileges or any permanent rights in Haiti. Thus the charge of imperialism and of a greed for sordid gain, for which this country has bartered its soul, is, we believe, unjust.

Haiti was in the throes of a rebellion inspired by brigands murdering and pillaging the people of Haiti without reason or compassion. Our marines helped to put down that rebellion and to stop those outrages. American blood was shed in defense of the people of Haiti. This blood was shed in fulfillment of the duties we undertook in the processes of restoring and maintaining order in that country. Our forces were aided by the people of Port au Prince. To have left these people to be massacred by the "cocos" would not have been approved by the conscience of a humanitarian people.

It is true that no popular election has been held in Haiti since 1916. The people of Haiti have never been able to hold free, fair, popular elections. They need time and training before they will be able to conduct such elections. Next January, however, municipal elections will be held. Later, there will be popular congressional elections. One familiar with the actual conditions in Haiti will agree that this is as hopeful a political fact as can be expected at this time.

Every one familiar with our work in Haiti during the last decade agrees that it has been of the greatest benefit to the Haitian population. No one favors a foreign domination for Haiti. The most thoughtful writers agree that our representatives there have wrought marked improvements in the means of transportation, roads, machinery, agriculture, and particularly in the means of education. This work cannot be left half finished. To do so would be a great misfortune. No one in our State Department desires that we remain in Haiti one day longer than is necessary. It is fair that we should not withdraw until the conditions which led up to our intervention are forever removed. The probabilities are that we shall soon be out of Haiti. When we

withdraw, the charge of "imperialism"—wholly unfounded, we believe—will be finally and definitely exploded.

Mr. Gannett's statement that the Borno Government "does not and cannot object to anything" is a surprising misstatement of the situation. The Borno Government does object to many proposals of the treaty officials. The government not only objects to measures proposed by our officials, it frequently vetoes such proposals.

Again, since imperialism means a will to extend empire, there is nothing in our behavior in Haiti that warrants the charge of imperialism.

SALVADOR AND NICARAGUA

MR. GANNETT'S letter, referred to in the previous editorials, takes exception to our references to the policies of our government in Salvador and Nicaragua in the following language:

"As to Salvador your statement, while technically correct, fails to note that the bankers, after prolonged consultations with the State Department, obviously felt themselves justified in informing the public in their published loan circular that: 'It is simply not thinkable that, after a Federal judge has decided any question or dispute between the bondholders and the Salvador Government, the United States Government should not take the necessary steps to sustain such decision. There is a precedent in a dispute between Costa Rica and Panama, in which a warship was sent to carry out the verdict of the arbiters.'

"On Nicaragua, too, you are most grossly misinformed. The government dispatches (Foreign Relations) show that 'The Nicaraguan Government' which 'requested the United States' to send marines to Nicaragua was a discredited government, which had been driven out of every city in the country except the capital, and which but for the arrival of the American marines would have yielded to another. As a matter of fact, marines were not sent at once upon that government's request, but only after the local representative of

Brown Brothers had cabled to the New York office and they had got in touch with the State Department. You will find the record in the Secret Hearings of the Congressional Committee on Nicaragua of 1914. A constitutional government was not imperiled. There was no constitutional government at that time. We had earlier overthrown Zelaya, and it was only our intervention which maintained the consequent revolutionary group in power.

"I hope you will take the trouble to look into the record. I certainly hope never to see such a justification of imperialism in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. I think it profoundly discouraging."

We have acted upon Mr. Gannett's suggestion and looked "into the record." As we have already tried to indicate, we are not trying to justify imperialism; we are trying to be fair to the United States.

It is comforting that Mr. Gannett finds our reference to Salvador "technically correct." We regret to be obliged to say that his insinuation that the State Department gave assurance to the bankers is neither "technically" nor substantially correct. As a matter of fact, no such assurance was ever given or even tacitly implied. The quotation from the "published loan circular" was published by Mr. Lisman entirely on his own responsibility, as an expression of his own individual opinion, calculated, it would appear, to stimulate the sale of the bonds.

We regret that Mr. Gannett considers us "most grossly misinformed" about Nicaragua. He will bear with us, however, if we strive to acquaint him with certain matters which he seems to have overlooked.

After the resignation of Zelaya a new government was formed, headed by Estraba. Then our government assisted the new President to readjust the finances of the government. This exerted no little influence in stabilizing the political conditions. The new government, however, was

not united. Intrigues led to Estraba's resignation, and to the election of Adolfo Diaz as President. Thereupon the Minister of War, General Mena, started a revolution, and the Diaz Government requested assistance from the United States. The United States acceded to this request for the purpose of preventing a return to the Zelaya system and for the purpose of upholding the constituted authorities of the Republic. The question whether or not the Nicaraguan Government, which requested the United States to send marines, was a discredited government is open to dispute. In any case, its overthrow would not have solved the political problem in Nicaragua. It would, rather, have added to the hopelessness of the situation.

The marines, moreover, were not sent at once, notwithstanding the request. One would naturally expect this fact to meet with the approval of Mr. Gannett. On the contrary, he seems to see in this delay a proof that our government was awaiting orders from bankers in New York. The truth of the matter is that the delay was due to the fact that our government was giving the carefulest deliberation to the question whether or not it should embark upon such an important and consequential step. The decision to send marines to Nicaragua followed upon the request of the President of that Republic, supported from many quarters. Probably the bankers were in favor of it. If so, the charge of imperialism against the United States cannot be based upon these facts. Furthermore, there has been a most remarkable economic progress in Nicaragua during the last twelve years. Order has prevailed. Prominent citizens of Nicaragua attribute this to the fact that we have maintained there a legation guard, which, however, has never used force or coercion in any form throughout its stay. But, and this again is our main contention, the guard has been withdrawn, with the result

that we have not extended empire in Nicaragua. We have not extended our empire in Salvador. So once again those who attribute imperialistic motives to our government are, we believe, utterly mistaken.

And thus we return to our belief that peace between nations is not promoted by scolding. Of course a government in a democracy expects to be watched and criticized. But to be effective the criticism should be closely related to the facts and just. The charge that our government is pursuing a policy of imperialism in the Caribbean does not seem to us just.

Here appears an intruding conclusion. The trouble with us reformers, and we reformers have our troubles, is not that we are overlovely in our views or conduct. Indeed, the least beautiful of atmospheres frequently charges the arguments of reformers. Those particular groups of reformers known as "internationalists" frequently appear to be specially charged with pleasure-giving animosities against some country or other. Disquieting fact, many of them in our own country seem to enjoy hating or baiting our United States of America.

Mr. G. K. Chesterton, speaking recently at the inaugural dinner of the International Theater Society in London, remarked: "I am not an internationalist because all through a long, wasted, and wicked life I have observed that internationalists were people engaged in violently hating some particular country." If one wishes to despair of promoting international understanding, one needs but to dwell upon the temper, the sentimentalism, the irritability and intolerance of certain international reformers. Perhaps it is unreasonable to expect reformers to talk or to behave beautifully. *Rien n'est beau que le vrai*. And yet in this attempt to be just to our own country, we have tried to remember that nothing is beautiful save the truth.

A SANE APPROACH TO THE WORLD COURT

NOW is an appropriate time for study, meditation, conference, and dispassionate judgment, for we of America are about to make a major decision. The question before us involves not a few of our future relations with the other governments of the world. Our reply to this question may affect problems of primary importance, issues of war or peace. The question is, Shall the United States of America adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice set up by the League of Nations and sitting at The Hague? We of the United States ought to be able to answer this inquiry with wisdom, and to act accordingly.

The American Peace Society, first to espouse an international court of justice separate from an international law-making congress of nations, is naturally greatly encouraged by the fact that there is in existence at last a Permanent Court of International Justice, and by the further fact that practically all of the nations of the world are in favor of such a court, including our own United States. In any discussion of the question whether or not our United States should adhere to this particular court, it is well to observe at the outset that we of the United States are substantially in accord upon the principle that there should be an international court of justice. The issue with us is whether or not we should adhere to the existing court. We believe that we should.

There are many among us who apparently have no doubts about the matter. They are quite positive that we should adhere. The most active of these are the League of Nations enthusiasts, banded "to cultivate and organize public opinion favorable to the World Court and the League of Nations." There are among us absolutists, not yet favorable to our joining the League of Nations, who find in the

existing court a great satisfaction, the strength and poignancy of "the real thing," which is the temper of absolutism. Many favor our adhering to the court because President Harding in 1923 and later President Coolidge have recommended it. Republicans, therefore, influenced also by Mr. Hughes, have accepted the recommendation that we adhere, albeit with a number of reservations. Many Democrats, following in the path of Mr. Wilson, have done the same. The widespread belief, now quite apparent, that we should by all means adhere to the existing court reminds one of the enthusiastic and all but unanimous support in this country of the covenant of the League of Nations immediately following the Treaty of Versailles, in 1919.

But it is apparent that there is a determined opposition, not to our being parties to an international court of justice, but to our having anything to do with this existing court. This opposition comes from a few who feel that by adhering to this court of the League of Nations we would do violence to our American policy of keeping out of European politics. Since the court was organized by the League of Nations, since the members of this court are elected by the Assembly and by the Council of the League, since vacancies are filled by the same bodies, since the salaries of the judges are determined by the Assembly of the League of Nations upon the proposal of the Council, since the Assembly of the League, upon the proposal of the Council, lays down the regulations under which retiring pensions may be given to the personnel of the court, since the expenses of the court are borne by the League of Nations, it is argued that therefore the court is an agent of the League. As an agent of the League, it is a League court and not a court of law. For this reason the United States should have no part in it.

It is further objected that the existing court passes upon political disputes for the League of Nations, and that we should therefore have nothing to do with it unless we have decided to change our well-known policy of keeping out of European politics. Furthermore, the court is based upon the covenant of the League of Nations, with which we have nothing to do. This covenant is the law of the League, and the court has no option except to operate under this covenant. If we were to adhere to the court "with reservations," it would simply mean that we had decided to mingle in European politics "with reservations." It is pointed out that it would be better for the United States to join the League outright as a principal than to join the court as a "hanger-on." Opponents to the existing court argue further, since it may, with the consent of the parties, decide a case *ex æquo et bono*, that it would, if we were a member of the court, open the way to serious embarrassment. If, for example, Japan and Mexico were to find themselves in difficulty over the question whether or not Japan should establish a naval base in Mexico, these two countries might agree to submit the question to the court; whereupon the court would be in position to decide the case contrary, perhaps, to the welfare of the American people. Similarly, if Great Britain and Venezuela were to be confronted again with a boundary dispute, they might refer the case to the court with the prospect of the decision being inimical to the interests of the United States.

As for President Harding's recommendation, set forth in his speech at St. Louis, shortly before his death, opponents of our joining the court have been quick to point out Mr. Harding's qualifying sentences. In that speech Mr. Harding said: "Two conditions may be considered indispensable: First, that the tribunal be so constituted as to appear and to be, in

theory and practice, in form and in substance, beyond the shadow of a doubt, a world court and not a League court; second, that the United States shall occupy a place of perfect equality with every other power." These "indispensable" conditions cannot be met by any plan for joining the existing court, even with reservations.

The very suggestion that we can only join the court with reservations implies that there are objections to the court. If there were no such objections, we would not halt before the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction. The reservation that we shall not be involved in any legal relation to the League of Nations would indicate that we look upon the court as legally related to the League. The reservation that we shall not in any way be bound by any advisory opinion of the court is a clear indication that we are opposed to that aspect of the court. Evidently there are a number of things about the court in which we do not believe.

The major objection, of which all of these objections are but phases, is that the existing court is founded upon wrong principles. It is based upon the covenant of the League of Nations, in which we do not believe. By its very nature it is obliged to accept the Treaty of Versailles, which we have refused to ratify. For us to accept its jurisdiction would mean to accept a court empowered with the right to interpret our Monroe Doctrine, which we have rather persistently insisted upon interpreting for ourselves. What is needed is a code of international law, mutually agreed upon, acceptable to the United States, a statement of principles wrought out by delegates from all of the nations and ratified by the various governments, as a basis for competence of the court.

Here in substance is the issue about to divide the people of the United States, including the Senate.

We admit that the case against our adherence to the existing court is a strong one. We accept substantially every argument of its opponents. We wish that the existing court were more conformable to our American views. If we had our way about it, the court would be entirely separated from the League of Nations, when we could enter it with our heads up, with no reservations of any kind. Perhaps it is our duty to stay out until the court can be universally accepted as a court of justice. We are entirely willing to leave this matter to the United States Senate.

But that the United States, as a member of the sisterhood of nations, are to be one with the other nations of the world, members of an international court of justice, is certain. Fifteen years ago Mr. Elihu Root said: "The next step by which the system of peaceable settlement of international disputes can be advanced, the pathway along which it can be pressed forward to universal acceptance and use, is to substitute for the kind of arbitration we have now, in which the arbitrators proceed according to their ideas of diplomatic obligation, real courts, where judges, acting under the sanctity of the judicial oath, pass upon the rights of countries, as judges pass upon the rights of individuals, in accordance with the facts as found and the law as established." No one at all familiar with American history can doubt the validity of this prophecy.

But now, as we said in the beginning, it is our duty to study and to render a dispassionate judgment. We can afford to wait rather than to act unwisely in this most important matter.

We, the editorial "we," have our opinions about the step now to take. We believe it best to adhere to the existing court with any reservations necessary to win the approval of the Senate. The processes of perfecting the court would not be impeded by such an act on our part. We believe they would be accelerated.

There are some things we just have to leave to other, and later, and possibly, very possibly, abler hands.

THE LOCARNO PSYCHOLOGY

THE work at Locarno, ending October 16, is producing a new attitude of mind in Europe. This is the hope and the promise of that work.

This change in temper was the great need. The war left the world with a Germany sullen and revengeful, and with a France surcharged with fears. The two problems facing the Allies were to obtain from Germany reparations for her devastations, and to set up agencies which would assure them that there would be no further attacks upon them. The former was dealt with in the Dawes plan, the latter has passed through many phases.

The evolution of the sense of security, particularly for Belgium and France, constitutes one of the most important contributions to the history of world politics. It begins with the French demands for buffer States, for an interallied police, for a military alliance with Great Britain and the United States, for a league of force, all of which matters were seriously to the fore in the Paris Conference of 1918-1919. As a result, there developed the Treaty of Versailles, with its articles 42 and 43, establishing demilitarized zones along the Rhine; with its articles 159 to 213, disarming Germany. Then came the Treaty of St. Germain, disarming Austria; the Treaty of Trianon, disarming Hungary; the Treaty of Neuilly, disarming Bulgaria. Then we have France making military alliances with Belgium in 1920, with Poland in 1921, with Czechoslovakia in 1924. Because of the common funk, there sprang into being the Little Entente. Then followed various conferences, not the least of which were the various assemblies of the League of Nations. In 1920 this assembly favored mutual de-

defensive guaranties. In 1923 this body was sympathetic toward a draft treaty of mutual assistance, with special defensive alliances. In 1924 it unanimously adopted a protocol designed to bring about disarmament, to establish arbitration, and to guarantee security.

Finally, upon Germany's initiative, forecast in the Cuno proposals of 1922, following the failure at Cannes and the occupation of the Ruhr by the French, the whole matter appeared in a new light February 9, 1925, for on that day Germany sent another proposal looking toward the mutual security of European States. Then followed the French reply under date of June 16, the German objections to any unilateral program under date of July 20, and a conference of jurists in London during September. October 5 the security conference met at Locarno. There is a most important history behind these facts.

All of the difficulties facing Europe have not disappeared. Germany will continue to object to the *status quo* insisted upon in the findings at Locarno, for she cannot forget her lost colonies, the Danzig Corridor and Silesia. Under the very terms of the agreements, armaments are still essential. Germany's acceptance is in a sense a repetition of her acceptance at the peace table in Versailles. Article 10 of the covenant of the League of Nations has been reaffirmed. The defensive alliances between France and Poland and between France and Czechoslovakia are not especially complimentary to the other treaties of Locarno. Russia remains a continuous and not altogether hopeful factor in the new equation.

And yet it is clear that this first real European conference since the end of the first Balkan war has wrought a marked change in the spirit and outlook of Europe. As a result of Locarno, we seem to have a new concert of Europe, a system of peace, certainly a new kind of talk.

There has already been a marked reduction of armament in the realm of purpose, which is the only realm of importance. If America and Russia are outside, the co-operation between France and Germany is real.

The results, therefore, are already tangible. England, chief sponsor for the treaties, is evidently determined to face the music. The House of Commons has already passed the treaties. The London *Times* feels that there is "peace at last." This semi-official mouthpiece of the British Government takes the view that a very great and liberating event has happened at Locarno; that the light of a new dawn is at last breaking upon the world. Mr. Austen Chamberlain calls the Locarno Conference "the real peace congress of Europe." Great Britain is proud of her part in the work. She looks upon herself as engaged in the alleviation of the intolerable conditions on the continent. She seems to feel relieved that France is released at last from the necessity of perpetually guarding against a possible new attack by Germany. There is a widespread feeling in England that Locarno marks a milestone in the recovery of Great Britain, in the restoration of British prestige. There is no doubt that Great Britain played a major rôle and on a great stage. As a result, Germany is on a plane of equality again with the other nations of Europe under a bilateral treaty, takes a place with the council of ambassadors, and already begins to see the retirement of allied soldiery from Cologne, Coblenz, and Mayence. No wonder, on November 17, the treaty was accepted by the German cabinet. The anxiety "to satisfy the desire for security and protection which animates the peoples upon whom fell the scourge of the war of 1914-1918" has ended, evidently, in a European temper newer, saner, and far more hopeful for the peace of Europe than any "plan" heretofore proposed.

DEBT FUNDING AND NEW LOANS

THERE seems to be a definite connection between the process of funding war debts in Washington and the extension in New York of new loans to European countries. France failed in reaching a settlement with our Debt Funding Commission, and her request for a loan in New York was promptly refused. Italy accepted and signed an arrangement, and almost immediately one hundred million dollars were placed at her disposal. Czechoslovakia funded her debt, and the negotiations for a four-million-dollar loan to be floated by the municipality of Brno are favorably under way.

The settlement with Italy was a very happy consummation. The mission, headed by Count Volpi, the Italian Minister of Finance, came to Washington with instructions to reach some sort of agreement, if the terms offered were at all acceptable. The first Italian proposal was rejected by our delegation, which countered it with the terms finally accepted. In acceding to these terms, Count Volpi stated that they are higher than those which Italy had expected, but that they are acceptable, nevertheless.

And yet the terms offered Italy are very light indeed. A debt of over two billion dollars is to be extinguished in the course of sixty-two years; but for the first five years the inclusive annual payments on this huge sum amount to only five million dollars. It is only after 1930 that the amounts begin to increase appreciably, and not until 1940 do the annual payments reach the sum of twenty millions. The annuities are so adjusted that the bulk of the payments applies to the principal of the debt. Interest is purely nominal.

Compared with the terms offered to the French, our arrangement with Italy is most generous. Italy has a balanced budget. Her foreign trade situation, in-

cluding all her international financial operations, is fairly satisfactory. It will be interesting to see if the same elements that were so vociferous during the French negotiations against liberality toward France will now raise objections to so eminently fair a treatment on our part of our Italian creditor.

The terms on which settlement was made with Czechoslovakia are also very liberal. Her debt to our Treasury, amounting to 155 million dollars, is likewise to be extinguished in sixty-two years, the payments during the first five years amounting altogether to but three millions of dollars.

In the case of both of these settlements there are two outstanding features. Interest charges are so low that we actually have what amounts to a partial cancellation or scaling down of the total debt. In each case the payments during the first five years are so small as to amount to a virtual moratorium. Both of these points are highly significant.

It is an open secret that the Italian Mission agreed so readily to a settlement because of their conviction that whatever arrangements are now made are not likely to be permanent. It is rather expected—and not in the Italian circles alone—that during the next five years there will be a general reconsideration of the whole problem of international indebtedness, including the reparation question; and if that should happen, the precedent of partial cancellation established now may be invoked for a very considerable extension.

However that may be, new loans to those countries which have funded their war debts seem to be the order of the day; and that is a development worthy of most serious thought.

Within a few days of protesting that five million dollars a year constitute a heavy burden for Italy, that country undertook to meet additional payments of no less

than eight million dollars a year as interest and amortization charges on the new Morgan loan. Apparently this first loan is merely a precursor of other loans to follow in the near future. It is quite worth while to envisage the situation in which payments to our Treasury would be met out of proceeds of loans floated in New York. The check for \$5,199,000, so spectacularly presented by Count Volpi to Secretary Mellon on the day following the debt settlement, was drawn against the proceeds of a fifty-million-dollar loan extended to Italy by the Morgan House some months ago. There seems little doubt that future payments will be met in a similar fashion.

Nor should we forget that the amount of money now being loaned to Germany is so enormous that there is no exaggeration in saying that reparation payments under the Dawes plan are met out of American loans. The situation with regard to the flood of loans to Germany is so serious, in fact, that the Department of State found it necessary recently to warn our big bankers against too great a facileness in placing German securities on the American market.

The situation in which money is indiscriminately loaned to Europe is not devoid of danger. It may prove decidedly embarrassing to the Treasury when payments under the funding arrangements increase to really appreciable sums. It may prove even more embarrassing to those investors who buy European securities drawn by the glamor of their strong position, when in reality this apparent strength of position merely comes from the fact that new money is borrowed to pay interest on old loans.

THE new hope in Europe is working tangibly. The "allied powers," rulers of Europe since the World War, are planning to retire from business. The gen-

tleman at the head of the table, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, has suggested the wisdom of such a step in the light of the treaties of Locarno. If Germany is to be accepted again as an equal partner with England, Belgium, France, and Italy, the reason for any "allied powers" has disappeared. The council of ambassadors is now to include a representative from Germany. That looks like wholesome business. But, furthermore, the erstwhile "allied powers" have notified Germany that they are to begin the evacuation of Cologne on December 1. Not only that, they are going to withdraw their civil administration from Coblenz and Mayence. Considering the difficulties yet to be overcome, especially because of the German Nationalists, this is politics of a new and higher order than the caterwauling policies we have had to endure since the Treaty of Paris.

THE Chilean political situation has been difficult to follow. Our impression is that she is to be congratulated upon the prospects for greater stability and progress. Aemiliano Figuero, coalition candidate for the presidency, was elected October 24 by a large majority. This election of a man who has been president before seems to be an expression of a will in Chile to solve her problems of finance and to carry on her peaceful policies of political evolution. No doubt Chile has been traveling amid abnormal conditions. No doubt Señor Alessandri's voluntary resignation as president of the republic will be recorded in Chilean history as a patriotic act of a statesman and patriot. Señor Figuero's return to the office, after several years of retirement from political life, augurs well for the future because, as he himself has pointed out, he had not aspired to the office, and had done nothing to gain it. There is every reason for be-

lieving that he has reassumed this heavy responsibility because of his desire to promote the genuine interests of his country.

AFFAIRS in Nicaragua are disturbed again. The situation is not encouraging, especially for the real friends of Nicaragua, anxious to see her upstanding and self-governing. The president is at the mercy of a minority. The coalition cabinet is ended and a small group of conservatives are in full power. From the meager dispatches, it appears that the Charmorro faction, the small group of the conservative party, was overwhelmingly defeated at the last elections. The coalition of the other conservatives with the liberals assured the victory of President Solorzano. That the Charmorro faction is again in the saddle gives rise to the impression that lawful processes have been

subordinated again to physical force. Indeed, it would appear that President Solorzano is in fact a prisoner of the Charmorristas. If these be the facts, Nicaragua is faced with a moral and a political outrage. *La Prensa* (New York), reviewing the situation, calls attention to the fact that Nicaragua has just emerged from a sorrowful experience with foreign intervention. It would seem, says the writer, that the patriotism of her statesmen would have been sufficient to lead them to the conclusion, on the day that foreigners had disappeared from her soil, that, in order to avoid the horrors of intervention, all the personal sacrifices they could make, all the ambitions they had to renounce, and all the partisan feeling they could give up, would be little enough to offer. That, in all reason, seems to be the simple truth.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

LATIN AMERICA AT A GLANCE

THE United States Department of Commerce reports as follows the condition of various Latin-American countries as of November 15:

Argentina.—The first official crop estimate indicates a large yield of cereals, but less than the trade expected. The export movement continues quiet, due to lower prices. Buying interest in hides and skins, wool, and quebracho is increasing. The end of season depression is affecting local business and credits are restricted. The extra session of Congress convenes on November 23 to consider several urgent matters, including the budget debt consolidation, State railway and petroleum laws, and Argentine participation in the Philadelphia Exposition.

Brazil.—The money situation is worse. Banks are paying 11 per cent. Exchange is still firm, although it weakened slightly

at the end of the week. Official figures show exports for the first six months of 1925 to have amounted to 42,509,000 pounds sterling and imports to 43,709,000 pounds sterling.

Peru.—Trade in Peru has shown slight improvement during the week, with exchange steady at \$3.96 to the Peruvian pound. The total value of imports into Peru for August was 1,449,087 Peruvian pounds, of which the United States furnished 559,195, Great Britain 281,930, and Germany 141,313 pounds.

Uruguay.—The elections for National Deputies, to be held on November 29, is claiming public attention. An improvement in business is likely thereafter.

Porto Rico.—Business in general is dull. Tobacco and early coffee shipments are relieving the situation somewhat. Fruit exports are declining. Public-work projects, beginning about January, should

increase employment and put more money in circulation.

Trinidad.—Trade is dull, with no improvement expected before the late cacao crop moves. January cacao prospects are good, but the sugar outlook is bad. Petroleum exports are gaining and an initial shipment of nearly two million gallons of gasoline has been made to New York. Government finances have shown an increasing surplus.

THE FRENCH CRISIS

JOSEPH CAILLAUX'S tenure of office has proved to be rather short. His absence from France during the weeks of the unsuccessful debt-funding negotiations in Washington gave his enemies at home ample opportunity to prepare his downfall. His difficulties began with the Congress of the Radical and Socialist Radical parties at Nice, and after that events developed rapidly, leading to the resignation of the Painlevé Cabinet and its almost immediate reconstitution, with the notable omission of Caillaux.

Radical Party Congress

The twenty-second Congress of the Radical and the Socialist Radical Parties opened at Nice on October 15. It was practically dominated by the former Premier, M. Herriot, who is the President of the Executive Committee.

Trouble, as far as Caillaux was concerned, developed during the second day of the Congress, when a report was presented on the financial problems confronting France. The author of the report, Deputy Nogaro, advocated the introduction of a capital levy, and Caillaux took the floor to oppose this proposal.

In the course of the debate, M. Herriot appealed to M. Caillaux to co-operate in finding a formula which would express the opinion of the Radical Party. He begged him, if his other plans were not sufficient, to consider a capital levy. M. Caillaux replied that he was ready to embark on the study which M. Herriot proposed, but these were measures which, while good in times of prosperity, could not be applied in bad times. He said:

"If I thought that a capital levy could send

up the value of government securities, I would accept it straight away."

Then M. Caillaux, approaching M. Herriot on the platform, exclaimed:

"I too, my dear Herriot, desire to save my country. For her I would give my life, for our lives and property are but small things in comparison with the sacrifice of those who sleep on the field of battle and to whom I address in your name and in that of the government the supreme greeting."

After debate which lasted several days, the Congress finally passed the following resolution:

The Radical and Socialist-Radical Party, taking note of the fact that the serious financial situation which it has to meet is due to the policy of weakness and illusion pursued by the Bloc National, and recalling the fact that it has incessantly condemned these proceedings, confirms its previous resolutions in favor of a rigorous policy of balancing the budget and stabilizing the franc, which is the indispensable condition of any lasting financial restoration, notes the necessity of proceeding to a progressive consolidation of the short-term and floating debt, and expresses its desire to achieve the fiscal effort required for the realization of its program in conformity with its principles by improving the yield of the income tax, both by an energetic repression of fraud and by the improvement of its scope. The Congress of the Radical and Socialist-Radical Party leaves to the government the task of securing on its own responsibility the balance of the budget for 1926, the needs of the treasury, and the redemption of the debt, and declares that the fiscal policy of the Radical and Socialist-Radical Party is founded upon three essential principles: (1) The predominance of direct taxation over indirect taxation, which is a heavy burden on the consumer; (2) progressive taxation; (3) the necessity for the financial restoration of the country of a special contribution levied upon all forms of wealth and capital.

The resolution, however, really did not settle the matter, since in the course of debate Caillaux had declared that, whatever resolution the Congress might pass, he, as a member of the government, reserved his entire freedom of action.

Caillaux Refuses to Resign

During the few days which followed the Congress the position of Caillaux rapidly became more and more precarious. The franc continued to slide, and it became known that the gold conversion loan upon which he had counted so much was practically a failure. The actual subscription to the loan yielded but six billion francs instead of fifteen billions, which Caillaux had expected. On October 25 Caillaux delivered a speech in which he reiterated his position as presented to the Radical Congress, and on the next day the storm burst.

A cabinet council was held on October 26. Before the council there was a meeting at the Ministry of War between M. Painlevé, M. Caillaux, and M. Briand, at which M. Laval, Minister of Public Works, was also present. M. Painlevé is reported to have told M. Caillaux that, in view of his speech of the day before, it was difficult to reconcile his line of action with that decided upon by the Nice Congress, and that he had better resign. M. Caillaux flatly refused, on the ground that his financial policy had never varied, and that he did not see that he alone should be a victim. He attributed the present crisis to intrigues conducted against him by certain bankers, and said that, if obliged to resign now, he would immediately, in his capacity as Senator, interpellate the government on the activities of the speculators.

Whether or not such a meeting really took place—Premier Painlevé officially denied the report—the position of the Painlevé-Caillaux Cabinet became obviously untenable. The cabinet resigned on October 27.

On that day the cabinet met at 10 o'clock. It was originally summoned for 9.30 a. m., but was postponed at the last moment in order to enable M. Painlevé to have a conversation with M. Herriot, who had arrived from Lyons at 8.20 a. m. It is reported that M. Painlevé suggested to M. Herriot that the latter should take office, and that M. Herriot declined. After three-quarters of an hour, M. Painlevé returned and the council met. At 10.50 M. Briand came out on his way to preside at the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations. The Council rose a quarter of

an hour later, and a *communiqué* was issued which stated, significantly enough, that "the cabinet had examined, not only the financial problem, but the general political situation."

As a matter of fact, the collective resignation of the government had been decided upon. At 2 o'clock M. Painlevé proceeded to the Elysée and the following *communiqué* was issued:

The Cabinet Council, which at its previous meeting had favorably examined the scheme drawn up by the Minister of Finance, interrupted this morning this discussion, which had revealed no vital division between the members of the government, in order to devote itself to the political and parliamentary situation as revealed by recent party manifestations. Convinced that the effort urgently required for the recovery of the situation cannot be pursued without the previous certainty of the support of a stable majority, the government has unanimously decided to place its resignation in the hands of the President of the Republic.

The *communiqué* stated that its publication had been postponed until after the conclusion of the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations. It would indeed have been awkward if M. Briand had ceased to be Minister for Foreign Affairs in the middle of the meeting.

The New Painlevé Government

President Doumergue, after accepting M. Painlevé's resignation, immediately asked him to form a new cabinet, and on October 29 the list of this new cabinet was presented to the President. This new cabinet—the seventieth since the establishment of the Third Republic—is made up as follows:

M. Painlevé, Prime Minister and Minister of Finance; M. Georges Bonnet, Minister for the Budget; M. Briand, Foreign Affairs; M. Chautemps, Justice; M. Daladier, War; M. Borel, Marine; M. Schrameck, Interior; M. Delbos, Public Instruction; M. Léon Perrier, Colonies; M. Antériou, Pensions; M. de Monzie, Public Works; M. Durafour, Labor; M. Jean Durand, Agriculture; M. Daniel-Vincent, Commerce.

Undersecretaries of State: M. Berthod, Prime Minister's Office; M. Ossola, War; M.

Jammy-Schmidt, Liberated Regions; M. Laurent-Eynac, Aeronautics; M. Bénazet, Technical Education and Fine Arts; M. Daniélou, Mercantile Marine.

It will be seen that, apart from the omission of M. Caillaux, the new cabinet differs very little from the last; the only other ministers who have gone are M. Chaumet, from the Ministry of Commerce; M. Laval, Public Works; and M. Hesse, Colonies; the two last are personal friends of M. Caillaux. M. Chaumet was included in the last cabinet in order to secure for it the support of a certain body of moderate opinion in the Senate. That link with the Opposition has now been sacrificed.

Four members of the cabinet are Senators: MM. Schrameck, de Monzie, Jean Durand, and Léon Perrier. All the rest, with the six undersecretaries of state, are deputies. The four Senators belong to the group of the Democratic Left, which corresponds to the Socialist-Radicals in the Chamber. Of the ten deputies, three, MM. Painlevé, Briand, and Antériou, are Socialist-Republicans; six, MM. Chautemps, Durafour, Georges Bonnet, Borel, Delbos, and Daladier, are Socialist-Radicals, and one, M. Daniel-Vincent, is a member of the Radical Left.

Most of the newcomers in the cabinet are former members of the Herriot Government. M. Chautemps was M. Herriot's Minister of the Interior, and M. Daladier, who now becomes Minister of War, was Minister for the Colonies. The new Minister for the Colonies, M. Léon Perrier, was apparently included primarily in order to strengthen the cabinet with another Senator. M. Daniel-Vincent, who becomes Minister of Commerce, is a member of M. Loucheur's group. He is a man of moderate views, less of a politician than a man of business. The new Undersecretary in the Prime Minister's Office, M. Berthod, is a professor of philosophy from the Jura and a Socialist-Radical. M. Loucheur was invited to join the cabinet by M. Painlevé, but declined.

The only vital change is at the Ministry of Finance. M. Painlevé has decided after all to take this task upon himself. He will be assisted by M. Georges Bonnet in the newly invented capacity of Minister

for the Budget, and will have control of the technical services. As Undersecretary in the Prime Minister's Office, M. Bonnet has been a success. His duties in that post involved taking charge of an enormous mass of detail and so arranging it that the cabinet could deal with it with the greatest possible ease. He has a very well-trained mind and a great capacity for organization.

The new cabinet represents a swing back to the principles of the Cartel des Gauches, which M. Painlevé deliberately avoided during his last ministry in order to save himself from the fate of M. Herriot. M. Chautemps and M. Daladier are both stout supporters of the Cartel. It is, in fact, the Herriot Cabinet with M. Painlevé instead of M. Herriot. That may increase its chance of life a little, but not much.

New Government's Policy

On November 3 the new Painlevé Government's policy was presented to the Parliament. M. Painlevé's declaration began as follows:

The government which presents itself before you must do its work without the slightest delay. The proposals which it will make to you forthwith, based as they are upon the democratic ideal which inspires all its members, will put in the first place of all the general interest of the country, which needs a vigorous and swift effort to right the situation. It is in order to have the driving force, courage, and unity of resolve which are indispensable for the success of this effort that we have formed a government which is unanimously convinced of the necessity of bold measures and fully in agreement as to the methods to be pursued.

Among the great problems which beset us, there is one which at the present time is more serious for France than all the others. It is the vital problem of finance. That is why, in the new government, the Prime Minister has taken in hand the direction of the national finances. The point of danger is the right place for the leader of the government.

M. Painlevé hastened to add that the seriousness of the situation must not be exaggerated. France might have confidence in her future. Her prosperity de-

pended on herself. It was a question of will and courage, and these the government would ask of the country, even though it might thereby risk unpopularity. But, in finance, no measures would be effective unless they were supported by the reasoned consent of the people. The sacrifice of money required for the defense of the public finances, like the sacrifice of flesh and blood demanded by the defense of the country, must, on the one hand, be compulsory in order that no one should be able to escape it and, on the other hand, be acquiesced in or it would meet resistance which it would be almost impossible to overcome.

M. Painlevé continued:

First of all, we intend that the whole of the permanent public expenditure, of whatever nature it may be and however justified it might appear to be to keep it out of the budget, shall be covered by certain and permanent receipts. Not a centime of this expenditure should be obtained from inflation, or from borrowing, or from any other resources of taxation.

But, he said, good financial administration was not enough. In order to prevent the treasury from getting into difficulties when bonds fell due for repayment, the amount of the debt must be reduced without delay by an energetic process of extinction.

The necessary resources must be provided by a national sacrifice, an exceptional sacrifice, and one fixed forthwith, and, as it is a question of extinguishing the capital of the debt, a sacrifice in which all forms of wealth will share. This sacrifice will be accepted with courage if the country is certain that its contribution will not merely be thrown into the bottomless pit of an unbalanced budget, but will be exclusively employed in lightening the burden of the debt. This certainty will be given to it by the creation of a sinking fund which we intend to be not only autonomous and independent of the State, but in full control of its own resources, as these will have been conferred upon it once for all by law. By the energetic setting on foot of this program the government means to insure a monetary stabilization without which the most courageous measures would be vain.

But, however great the internal effort might be, the franc would not be safe, M. Painlevé continued, until an agreement had been reached for the settlement of war debts. The negotiations begun in London and Washington by the previous government would therefore be pursued with the desire to arrive at an equitable solution. The best guarantee of the success of these negotiations would be the effort made by the country to save itself. In a few days, when it had brought in its financial proposals, the government would call upon parliament for an exceptional effort to push on the debates. The year 1926 must mark a decisive date for the restoration of French finances.

After a reference to social insurance and to the "single school," which should insure in a reasonable manner the education of the rising generation, should direct each child according to his powers, and should pick out the "really best," and other domestic subjects, M. Painlevé referred to military reform, which, he said, would be undertaken without delay. The new organization would enable the period of military service to be reduced to one year. Parliament would be called upon shortly to pronounce on electoral reform, and the government would, like its two predecessors, be in favor of a return to *scrutin d'arrondissement*.

Morocco and Syria

Turning to external questions, M. Painlevé said that the danger which had existed in Morocco for several months was now completely disposed of. Marshal Pétain would leave for France tomorrow. Twenty-one battalions, including the 11 belonging to the French Regular Army, which had been sent out as reinforcements since February, would return home, and the men who had been called up would be released at the legal date. All that the government wanted was peace, but it must be a real peace. It was for the Rifi and Jabala tribes to show whether they, too, wanted a loyal peace and one of co-operation in an autonomy in conformity with the treaties.

Then he continued:

Syria has been the scene of painful events, but it would be unjust not to recognize that they are the result of the same wave of

agitation which is breaking from China to Morocco and with which we have been faced to the north of Fez. Passions of all kinds, intrigues against foreigners, and false news from Pan-Islamic and revolutionary sources have aroused, in quarters which are particularly sensitive, an unrest which the government can only allay by itself keeping calm and by calling upon public opinion to do the same. Into the facts themselves an inquiry is going on and the government has called for precise explanations. It will thereafter give Parliament full information, and will assume the whole of its responsibility with no other feeling than that of absolute impartiality and with no other desire, in choosing a civilian representative of France, than to prepare and hasten, in conformity with our mandate, the moment when the peoples of Syria, peoples of old civilization, shall be capable of governing themselves.

As for Locarno, said M. Painlevé, France, still bleeding and not yet out of danger, had taken the lead of the nations in the search for security. "The atmosphere of our old continent is thereby, as it were, purified. It is not that the era of difficulties between peoples is closed, but they see at length a way out. The paths of peace are open. You can have confidence in the statesman who has achieved the Locarno Pact, to derive from it all the advantages which it contains."

LOCARNO—AND AFTER

THE treaties of Locarno have had varying reception in the countries of Europe which are affected by them. Only in Great Britain were they received with almost unanimous support, as is witnessed by the promptness with which the British Parliament has ratified them. In France and Germany there has been decidedly less unanimity.

German Crisis Over Locarno

The signing of the Locarno treaties has precipitated an acute political crisis in Berlin. Just before the treaties were actually initialed, the German Foreign Minister, Herr Stresemann, received a telegram from Berlin in which he was warned by the leaders of the Nationalist

parties that they would oppose the treaties. He agreed to the treaties in spite of that; but when he and the Chancellor returned to Berlin from Locarno the storm burst forth.

The Nationalist press began a violent campaign against the treaties, and the cabinet passed through a number of stormy sessions, the result of which was the resignation of the three Nationalist members of the cabinet. Their resignation was accepted by President Hindenburg on October 26, and it was decided not to fill, for the time being, the posts thus made vacant.

In spite of the defection and the opposition of the Nationalists, the government hopes to carry the treaties through the Reichstag with the aid of the Socialist votes, or, failing that, to dissolve the Reichstag and order new elections.

Reaction of the French Press

In France the Poincarist press has generally taken the point of view that no one German signature is better than any other, and that by surrendering the Rhineland France has given up the only guarantee against another attack by Germany.

There is also in France a certain amount of mistrust of M. Briand's expansive temperament and a fear that he may not have pledged France's generosity too far. This feeling of reserve is strengthened by the objections raised to the pact by the Nationalists in Germany. Hence we find the *Temps* arguing that the promises made by M. Briand in his speech at the final session at Locarno are not to be taken too literally, but "as a proof of France's sincere wish to facilitate a policy of *rapprochement* rather than an actual engagement as to the settlement of definite questions."

Both the *Echo de Paris* and the *Journal des Débats* have criticized the treaties on the general ground that Germany is not to be trusted.

Attitude in Poland

The Polish press has been rather reserved in its attitude to the Locarno treaties. The papers have published prominently the statements issued by Foreign Minister Count Skrzynski and Prime Minister Grabski, in which both ministers express themselves as highly satisfied, and

both argue that the alliance with France has been strengthened, a point which the press has vigorously contested recently.

Count Skrzynsky declared that the Franco-Polish alliance had now taken on a form which could be approved by the Left Government of France, and had received the moral approval of all States participating in the conference. M. Grabski added that this alliance was formerly one existing only between the two countries concerned, but that today it enjoyed the entire approval of Great Britain, whose moral support had been given to the treaty. Count Skrzynsky said that Polish relations with Great Britain had become closer. As far as Germany was concerned, all territorial questions had been entirely excluded from the new Polish-German Arbitration Treaty. The interests of Poland and of Czechoslovakia had been proved to be identical.

There has been some criticism of the treaties, however, and a distinguished publicist, Professor Stronsky, has published a violent attack on the treaties on the ground that Germany has won and Poland has lost at Locarno.

Depression in Moscow

The successful issue of the Locarno Conference has made a great impression in Moscow, where, both on the platform and in the press, until the last moment, it was continuously affirmed that various obstacles would surely wreck the negotiations.

The Bolshevik leaders assume the attitude that "Germany's defection from the spirit of Rapallo" is not yet complete, and they assert that a possibility still exists of "saving Germany from herself," since ratification requires a two-thirds majority of the Reichstag. Apparently they count not only on the Communist elements in the Reichstag, but also on the extreme Nationalists, and there is evidence that they intend to promote an agitation among the extremists of both sides.

Meanwhile the stream of vituperation of Mr. Austen Chamberlain as the promoter of the Locarno conspiracy against the Soviet republics goes on. During the past few days Sir William Joynson-Hicks and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald have been subjected to abuse in connection with the

arrest of Communists, which the Bolsheviks call the first fruits of Liverpool and Locarno. The *Pravda* says that the Labor Party conference at Liverpool gave Sir William Joynson-Hicks a clear mandate, which he is now joyfully executing. It declares that, although repression may destroy the work of many years, the British Communist party, as a branch of the Communist International, has taken firm root in Great Britain and will emerge strengthened, to resume the fray. These words belie the Soviet Government's real mood, which has been one of depression during the past fortnight.

THREE YEARS OF FASCISM

ON October 28 the Fascisti celebrated the third anniversary of their march on Rome. The principal celebration took place in Milan, where Prime Minister Mussolini, wearing the uniform of general of the militia, reviewed 20,000 Black Shirts. In the afternoon of that day there was a great Fascist gathering at La Scala Theater, in the course of which the Syndic of Milan presented Signor Mussolini with a gold medal, the gift of the city.

Mussolini's Review of His Régime

In reply to the Syndic of Milan, Mussolini reviewed the work of the Fascist Government in its three years of power. He said that during this period no fewer than 3,000 measures of an administrative, political, and legislative character had been passed. "You understand that if we had submitted every one of these measures for discussion and approval by a parliamentary assembly composed of 535 respectable gentlemen, we should not have been able to conclude anything." The rigid discipline which he had imposed on the nation was necessary for many reasons. Italy, in his opinion, must always be ready to defend her "sacred frontiers." "There are parties abroad which have not resigned themselves to the *fait accompli* of our frontiers. Now if these frontiers tomorrow should be questioned I would beg His Majesty to unsheathe the sword again."

Speaking of the political ideas of Fascism, Signor Mussolini said that Liberal-

ism was no longer a force because the conditions have changed. Socialism was reduced to a heap of rubbish. "Our formula," he added, "is this: All in the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State." In his opinion, Parliament used to be overpowerful, and the remedy of Fascismo was to reduce all the powers of Parliament. The executive must be at the top, among all the powers of the State. The Fascist régime, he said, could be overthrown only by force. As to the future, "this century must be the century of our power, just as the last was the century of our independence." But, in order that Italy should become powerful, the people must be absolutely disciplined.

After the speech at La Scala, Signor Mussolini addressed an overflow meeting from the balcony of the theater. In the few words that he spoke he extolled Greater Italy.

Internal Fascist Discipline

Several days before the anniversary celebration, Signor Farinacci, the Secretary General of the Fascist Party, delivered an address before the National Fascist Congress, in which he deprecated acts of lawlessness in which members of the party often indulge and read out the following decalogue of commands which the Fascist provincial leaders must strictly observe:

(1) It is the duty of the Fascist provincial secretaries to see that the party is strictly disciplined; the intransigence of the local party leaders must be not only political, but moral in character.

(2) No further recruits to be admitted in the Fascist Party.

(3) All the Fascist associations whose members disturb public order or work are to be disbanded.

(4) All Fascist squads to be disbanded.

(5) A full inquiry to be opened immediately on the activity and morality of all the members of the Fascist Party; the Fascist membership ticket for 1926 will not be given to those who are morally or politically unworthy to have it.

(6) All Fascists must have an occupation; unemployed and those who are unable to give a precise account of their way of living to be expelled.

(7) The wearing of the black shirt on occasions other than those specified by the party leaders is strictly prohibited.

(8) The carrying of arms and big sticks during Fascist processions and demonstrations is strictly forbidden.

(9) All the members of the dissolved squads are invited to join the national militia.

(10) All those who break discipline or commit unjustifiable acts of violence to be severely punished.

The council adopted unanimously a resolution expressing confidence in Signor Farinacci and his policy.

THE LEAGUE AND THE GRECO-BULGARIAN INCIDENT

THE recent conflict between Greece and Bulgaria over frontier difficulties has provided the League of Nations with an opportunity for testing some of its machinery for the first time since the creation of the League. The trouble between the two countries had been brewing for some time past. On October 22 it culminated in an invasion of Bulgaria by troops of the Greek Third Army Corps. Bulgaria immediately appealed to the Council of the League for protection under Article X of the League Covenant, since both Greece and Bulgaria are members of the League. The rapidity with which the League officials acted in the matter has been perfectly astounding. Six hours after the Bulgarian appeal was received by the Secretary General of the League, an extraordinary meeting of the League Council was decided upon by the President of the Council, Briand, and invitations to the members were immediately dispatched.

Meeting of the Council

The Council of the League met on October 26. In the meantime M. Briand, as President of the Council, sent urgent recommendation to the two governments for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of their respective troops.

Practically every member of the Council was present, and some of them had to

drop urgent business of their own countries to attend the meeting. British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, came from London; M. Hymans came from Brussels; Signor Scialoja from Rome; M. Unden arrived by aeroplane from Stockholm. Dr. Benesh (Czechoslovakia) was the only regular member of the Council who was not able to attend, and he was represented by M. Veverka. Other members, apart from M. Briand, were Viscount Ishii (Japan), Señor Quiñones de Leon, Marquis de Alchedo (Spain), Senhor Mello Franco (Brazil), and Señor Guani (Uruguay).

Representatives of both governments concerned were asked to present their respective points of view. M. Morfoff, speaking in the name of his government, declared that Bulgarian troops had never occupied Greek territory. M. Karapanos, replying on behalf of Greece, said that the Greek troops would be withdrawn from Bulgaria as soon as Bulgarian troops had evacuated Greek territory.

In face of the complete contradiction between these two statements, M. Briand invited the Council to confer in private on the matter for about half an hour. The deliberations actually lasted about an hour. When the members returned to the Council room, M. Briand asked Mr. Chamberlain, as reporter of the meeting, to read the resolution on which the Council had decided.

In this resolution the Council requested both governments to inform it within 24 hours that unconditional orders had been issued to their troops to retire within their frontiers, and within 60 hours—that is to say, at the sitting to be held on Thursday—that the troops had actually been withdrawn as required, that all hostilities had ceased, and that all troops had been warned that the resumption of firing would be severely punished. The governments of France, Great Britain, and Italy were requested to send officers within reach to report to the Council as soon as its request had been fulfilled.

Before reading out the resolution, Mr. Chamberlain drew attention to the seriousness of the case. This was a frontier incident, he said, of a type which had more than once had serious consequences

when no machinery existed for the peaceful settlement of disputes. It would be an affront to civilization if now, with the machinery of the League at their disposal, the two governments concerned allowed the incident to lead to warlike operations instead of submitting it to the Council, which would always have regard to their honor and safety.

The Greek and Bulgarian delegates were then asked if they had any objections to raise and if they accepted in the name of their governments the request made by the Council. M. Morfoff replied that he had instructions from his government to accept the ruling of the Council without condition. M. Karapanos said that he had no objections to raise to the request of the Council to his government, which he felt sure would agree to its terms.

End of the Conflict

On October 29 the Council received sufficient assurances that hostilities between the two contestants had been brought to an end. In the first place, it received a telegram from the French, British, and Italian military attachés, who had been sent from Belgrade to report on the situation at Demirkapu, saying that the Greek troops were withdrawing according to orders, and that the Greek command had undertaken to complete the evacuation by 8 o'clock that evening. To avoid any risks of further incidents, arrangements had been made that the Bulgarian troops should not begin to reoccupy the area evacuated until 1 p. m. the following day. This was followed by a telegram from the Greek Foreign Office, saying that, although the Greek retirement had been delayed by a Bulgarian attack the previous evening, the Greek government was most anxious to conform to the decision of the League, and would neglect no steps to assure that the Bulgarian territory was evacuated by the appointed time.

Thus Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in a report which was laid before the Council at its meeting on the afternoon of October 29, was able to record that the first object to which the Council had set itself had been achieved. The Council, he said, could now proceed to wind up the dispute. The Greek and Bulgarian governments

had both undertaken to release any prisoners taken, but Mr. Chamberlain requested that they would again give a formal assurance that this would be done, and that any property or cattle which had been seized by either side should be restored or, if this were impossible, paid for.

The Council finally decided to appoint a commission, consisting of five members, to inquire and report on all questions connected with the incident. The Commission was duly constituted and left for the disputed frontier on November 6.

THE SHELLING OF DAMASCUS

THE Syrian correspondent of the London *Times* gives the following brilliant description of the riots in the ancient city of Damascus which led to the shelling of the ancient city by the French and caused so great a stir on both sides of the Atlantic. The report is dated October 25.

Now that a calmer atmosphere reigns, it is possible to give some connected account of the recent trouble and its beginning. The events in the Jebel Druse undoubtedly played a contributory part in causing the Damascus trouble, just as they have been the root of outbreaks that occurred recently in other parts of the country. The reverses the French had suffered and the opposition they encountered in the Jebel combined to create a general atmosphere of excitement and restlessness throughout Syria. Incidentally, if at the time the French were compelled to denude Damascus of troops the Druses had taken the opportunity offered thereby, they could have occupied the city and the whole country would have risen. As it was, they missed their chance, but what has since happened in the Jebel has, on the one hand, swelled the national movement and, on the other hand, encouraged disrespect for authority and fomented a spirit of increasing lawlessness which has found expression in the incidents of brigandage reported lately, culminating in last week's trouble here.

Outside the city the brigands have been very active, and lately the French, having received reinforcements, have been occupied in dealing with the villages suspected of harboring bandits. Although they have done much in this connection, the route from Beirut is still by no means safe, and on my

journey here I had to obey official warnings that I would motor only as far as Rayak, whence I had to continue the journey by the Aleppo express. Even then, although the train was guarded, a brigand entered a compartment close to mine and robbed a woman.

Parade of Corpses

About a fortnight ago the French burned several villages southeast of the city and brought a couple of dozen corpses of brigands to Damascus, where, after parading them on camel-back through the main streets, they exposed them in the Marghi Square. The parade was a revolting spectacle, as the bodies rocked in rhythm with the camels' movements. It was intended as a warning to the turbulent element. It had, however, an entirely opposite effect, for it merely served to infuriate the populace and accentuated the feeling of irritation already abroad. What added to the indignation was that several of these corpses were those of Damascenes. Three days later, in the morning, the guard found outside the "Bab esh Sharqi" (Gate of the East) the corpses of 12 Circassians (the French are using them largely as irregulars). This was the reply, typical of the spirit of those whom it was intended to intimidate.

On the night of Saturday, October 17, French soldiers were attacked and mutilated in one of the low quarters. Later the same night several were fired on while on patrol. The next morning there appeared in the Shaghour quarter a band of some three-score brigands, led by one Hassan al Kharrat, a former chief *ghaffir* (night watchman) of the city, than whom, of course, no better cicerone for a looting expedition within its precincts could have been found. A little later another band coming from a Druse village to the south of the city, which, however, had nothing to do with the Jebel Druse, appeared in the Meidan quarter. Both bands made for the bazaars and the center of the city and started looting. Encouraged by this, bad characters from other quarters disarmed the police and took their rifles and also began to loot, shooting in the air all the time and creating a panic.

One of the quarters to which the Druse band paid attention was the Armenian, the members of which were alleged to have helped to loot the villages recently burned and to have sold their trophies in the public

market. In reality it was Circassian irregulars who had done the looting and openly sold what they obtained in the bazaars, ponies being offered for a couple of pounds. Two of them, while offering their hauls on the merj (park or meadow) that morning, had quarreled and accidentally shot two innocent countrymen who were looking on—an incident which did not improve the situation. However, the Druses, for some obscure reason, thought the looters and the sellers of loot were Armenians, and that hapless folk, so often in this part of the Mediterranean, the victim of faction fights or mob fury, had to suffer yet one more injustice.

By this time the city resounded from end to end with rifle shots. No one knew what really was happening, but all were, not unnaturally, somewhat excited, and the uncertainty added to the general nervousness. The French appeared to believe, from the development which the situation had undergone overnight, that some important movement on the part of the populace was imminent and that larger forces were at work than was really the case. (Competent observers estimate that the total number of marauders roaming the city never exceeded 500.) At midday on the 18th the French sent tanks through the city and these passed along the bazaars at a terrific speed, firing to the right and left without ceasing. The mob erected barricades in the rear of the tanks, and when they were returning they were shot at from above, many of their crews being wounded.

Guns and Airplanes

At 6 o'clock that evening the French started to bombard the old city. The shelling was intermittent, and as far as is known only blank shell were used at that juncture, but this did not diminish the consternation of the populace and a large number of Europeans whose quarters were in the native city, which was the object of the bombardment. The shelling continued during the night. The next morning, suddenly and without warning, all the troops were withdrawn from the old city, including the Christian quarters, and concentrated at Salihyeh at which were the French cantonments, whither all French families were removed. From 10 o'clock, for 24 hours, the bombardment—live shell now being used—was continued by artillery out

side the city, while airplanes flew overhead, dropping bombs and using machine-guns. Only at noon on the 20th did the firing cease, and a truce was called, the terms being those of the ultimatum of which the conditions have already been reported.

The 48 hours' shelling, combined with the activities of the marauders, as might be expected, left substantial traces. I made an extensive tour of the city and was shocked at the havoc wrought in every direction. The whole area lying between the Hamidieh Bazaar and the Street Called Straight had been laid in ruins. The Hamidieh is greatly damaged, but far worse is the Street Called Straight, the corrugated roof of which had been blown off in the center for quite a hundred yards, and a portion of it was hanging down into the street like a part of a collapsed balloon. In both bazaars shop after shop was destroyed, either by tank machine-guns, which riddled the iron shutters as they dashed through, or by shell, or by fire.

As one walks through these bazaars, which but a few days ago were prosperous and in full activity—it is impossible to drive—one is depressed by the spectacle of destruction and ruin, and this feeling is accentuated by glimpses of even greater damage done up the little side alleys leading off them. The Saghur quarters are also badly damaged, while the Suk el Kharratin (Turners' Market), which runs across the south end of the Street Called Straight, has also suffered severely, house upon house and shop after shop having the appearance of being in process of demolition. But the holes are unmistakably made by shell, and smoke curling between the rafters and firemen working on the roofs tell the true tale.

Happily the Great Mosque escaped, in spite of its being near to the bombarded areas, but not so the beautiful green and blue tiled Senaniyeh Mosque, which has an enormous hole in the dome made by a shell and some of its mosaic windows destroyed. The Imam and some worshippers invited us in to view what had happened. They scarcely spoke; their attitude eloquently expressed how deeply they felt. From the minaret a wonderful panorama is to be had of the whole city, and it was from there that I first realized the extent of the destruction which had been done.

Buildings Destroyed

An irreparable loss is the Palace of Azm, belonging to the family of that name, which has given many prominent men to Damascus. It is one of the most beautiful and picturesque buildings in the city. It housed the Institut d'Art et Archéologie Musulman. Its director is M. de Lorey, and it contained many rare objects, including all recent archaeological discoveries in Syria, and was renowned for its marble fittings and mosaic work. Practically none of these treasures remain. Brigands either looted or deliberately smashed them—pieces on the ground reveal what the Vandal hands did—while shell fire has barely left the walls standing of the handsome haramlik. The brigands also paid attention to the palace which General Sarraïl recently selected as a *pied-à-terre* during his periodical visits to Damascus. The General had left it only that morning for Deraa, and by evening his apartments had been reduced to ruins by shells which rained on the palace as soon as it was known that the brigands had seized it.

The sweetmeat bazaar, "El Bzourieh," nearby, is seriously damaged, and a shop, the famous "Dalale," is completely destroyed.

The houses of such well-known families as Ali Riza Pasha er Rikabi, the Emir Abdullah's Premier, and the Bakris, who joined Sultan Atrash, and the Kawatlu, all have been completely destroyed. The house of Kawatlu was one of the show places and was, like the Azm Palace, a gem of Arabesque art. These are but some of the buildings of the damaged areas. Words fail to describe fittingly the spectacle which the ancient and sacred city now presents. A good deal of damage was done by fire, either lit by marauders or caused by shells and bombs. In many places *débris* is still smouldering.

It is very difficult to estimate the financial loss represented by this destruction of property. Various authorities place it at between one and two million gold Turkish pounds.

Panic in the City

During the two days' bombardment, and, indeed, until yesterday morning, the city was panic-stricken. The European element particularly was alarmed, for the complete withdrawal of troops from the Christian quarter left them exposed to the fanatical fury of the marauders, which the slightest incident might

have aroused. The various consular officials had great difficulty in reaching their nationals, but by dint of much patience and at no little personal risk, they succeeded in rescuing all. In regard to the British, a serious case was the Presbyterian Mission school, where a shell entered a sitting room, completely gutting it. The inmates of the house, two ladies, were fortunately in another part of the building and were removed to safety. In another British institution, the Victoria Hospital, the matron and staff suddenly found themselves called on to cope with some 500 Armenian families, who, with their baggage, sought refuge from the marauders. The presence of such an element added to the dangers to which the hospital was exposed, but the staff pluckily stuck to their posts and admitted all who wanted to enter.

So far, it is reported that only two persons (Tripolitans) were killed and one British subject was wounded. That the European communities came off so lightly and escaped the attentions of the riff-raff was not due to the good management of the French authorities, but rather to the good offices of the Moslems. The latter behaved splendidly and personally organized public order in the Christian quarter after the withdrawal of the troops, and actually defended it against attempts by the unruly elements to enter for loot. In one instance some Moslem policemen conducted Europeans to a place of safety.

All the Europeans I met were warmly grateful for this Moslem assistance. None who lived through those three terrible days (October 18-20) will ever forget the experience, particularly the two nights of incessant shelling, which, with the added horrors of fires springing up on all sides, became veritable nights of terror.

But while the Europeans feel unable adequately to express their gratitude to the Moslems, there is at Beirut, as well as Damascus, considerable resentment that an open town like Damascus, including areas which are officially known as European, should have been bombarded and all the troops withdrawn from the Christian quarter without in either case the slightest warning. More especially is this resented, since throughout the French authorities reiterated the assurance that Europeans would be safeguarded, and at the critical moment they were left to the tender

mercies of the mob, while the French families were all withdrawn within the French lines. The bitter feeling which has been aroused will, I am afraid, take some time to die down.

The situation here appears to be in hand, but normal conditions are not yet in sight. Barbed-wire entanglements and stone barricades still adorn El Marghi Square, the municipality, and the French hospital and other military buildings, and armed guards are all over the city, which is deserted after 7 in the evening, none daring to venture out for fear of being shot.

Whole Druse Question Involved

By dint of force the French can maintain peace in Damascus, but the key to the whole situation in Syria today is the Jebel Druse, and as long as that question is unsettled sporadic troubles in various parts of the country will continue to increase. Those qualified to know believe that it will take a much larger force than that now available to pacify the Jebel and maintain peace in the rest of the country, which now abounds in brigands. Yet the Druse difficulty could even now be overcome without repressive measures. It has been entirely due to failure to appreciate its psychological aspect and the persistent endeavor to ride rough-shod over a race renowned for its pride and virility. Properly handled, the Druses could be converted, without any force, from a serious menace—the French have by no means established themselves in the Jebel—into allies, and automatically the problem of internal public security would be solved.

Economically, also, the settlement of the Druse question would be a relief. The cutting off of the Jebel from all intercourse with the outside world, as well as the failure of the Hauran crops, hit every one very badly, for on the one hand it means that advances against the crops cannot be recovered, and on the other hand no trade is being done with the interior. Beirut is suffering particularly. Merchants are unable to take up goods ordered, the customs are congested, and the banks are beginning to refuse to discount trade bills. A continuation of the present conditions will end, it is feared, in many failures.

TURKEY UNDER KEMAL

REPORTS from Turkey indicate that, under the rule of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the "Sick Man of Europe" is rapidly becoming inoculated with decidedly Western ways. For example, when, on November 1, Kemal Pasha came to the Grand National Assembly to deliver his presidential address, he wore evening dress and a top hat, while the deputies were similarly attired.

Kemal Urges New Methods

The presidential address covered all the principal activities of Turkish national life and repeatedly expressed the urgent need that Turkey should sweep away old shackles and introduce new methods of civilization and progress. The portion of the speech devoted to foreign affairs was relatively brief. The President referred with special friendliness to the Soviet Government, with which Turkish relations were based on "mutual confidence." He also mentioned Persia and Afghanistan, and declared that outstanding questions with the Western Powers were being settled according to treaty. In alluding to Mosul the Ghazi Pasha contented himself with expressing confidence that justice would be done to Turkish rights. He called attention to the recent efforts to conclude a security pact which was calculated to provide a sure basis for the happiness of nations, but he added that as long as it did not include all peoples it was far from assuring universal peace.

In surveying the internal situation, the Ghazi Pasha referred with pride to the suppression of the Kurdish revolt, which had been prepared long in advance and was the result of a current of reactionary opinion. The revolt had admittedly been provoked by certain evils existing in certain provinces, and the application of remedial measures must be followed attentively. The country was determined to stamp out such reactionary influences, and the secular national economic policy of the New Turkey was the touchstone of the government's future activity.

The President dwelt at considerable length on the freedom of the press, of which he approved in principle, but de-

clared that the country would not tolerate the existence of "brigands" of the press, and if intellectuals profited, by its liberty, to cause trouble and interfere with peaceful development, they would be punished severely. This passage is generally taken to mean that there is little chance of an immediate pardon for Hussein Jahid Bey, the late editor of the *Tanin*, who is now under sentence of perpetual exile at Chorum, in spite of the motion which is to be moved on his behalf by Yunus Nadi Bey, the editor of the *Jumhuriyet*. His Excellency then rapidly reviewed in turn the progress in the various departments, and noted with special satisfaction that made by the railways, which were being constructed without hitch, in spite of the drain on the resources of the country caused by the Kurdish revolt. He also referred to the need for reorganizing justice and abolishing the present imperfect code, and urged the rapid passage of bills for the remodeling of the penal, civil, and commercial codes.

Young People's Movement

The Constantinople correspondent of the London *Times* reports interesting developments in the movement of Young Turks, which is known as the Turk Ojaghi, the Turkish Home. He says that the local branches of this vast organization are to be found in every town in Turkey, from Adrianople to the Persian border, from the shores of the Black Sea to the confines of Syria. Every Turk above the age of 18 is eligible for membership, and hundreds of Turkish women share in the activities of an institution that numbers its members by thousands and supplies Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha and his colleagues with the most fruitful soil for the propagation of their social, economic, and cultural doctrines and aspirations.

It is difficult to define the Turk Ojaghi. Its activities today are not quite what they were originally. At the time of the foundation of the Turk Ojaghi, in 1912, by writers, speakers, and thinkers, such as Hamdullah Subhi Bey (the present Minister of Education), Aghaoglu Ahmed Bey, and the late Zia Geuk Alp, the Turk Ojaghi had an overwhelmingly national flavor. The first Young Turk policy of "Ottomanism," whereby all sub-

jects of the old Empire, whether Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, or Albanians, were to have sunk their religious hostility and racial antipathies in that one all-embracing and blessed word "Ottoman," had not proved a successful substitute for the Pan-Islamic policy of Abdul Hamid. Something more definitely Turkish was then sought, and the common bond of union was found in membership of the great Turanian family; in the racial affinity and religious identity of the Ottoman Turks with the Turcomans of Persia and Central Asia, with the inhabitants of the Azerbaijan, with the Tartars of the Crimea and southern Russia. This new conception received a fresh impulse after the territorial losses sustained by Turkey in the Balkan wars, and was still further developed during the lifetime of Enver Pasha by the consequences of the World War, the ruin of the old Ottoman Empire, the breaking away of the Arabian provinces, and the disappearance of Tsarist Russia.

Growth of Nationalism

This predominantly national flavor was manifested in various ways. The very expression Turk Ojaghi was borrowed from the ancient Turkish language, and indicated that one of its fundamental objects was the purification of the Turkish tongue from all the countless Persian and Arab words that had crept into it. Zealous supporters of the Turk Ojaghi adopted for themselves Turkish equivalents for their Arab names and were pledged to give only Turkish names to their children. Hitherto the religious idea had taken precedence over the idea of nationality. From now onward the sentiment of nationality began to take precedence over the religious idea. Those Turks who formerly had been Moslems before they were Turks now became Turks before they were Moslems. They went into battle less as the champions of the Prophet and of the Koran than in defense of the fatherland. And as with religion, so also with other aspects of life and civilization. The old traditions of the Turkish race, the old Turkish language, the old history, plastic arts, laws, music and poetry were all studied, and attempts were made to revive them

in forms owing as little as possible to extraneous influences.

The successful institution of the Turkish Republic and the general trend of foreign policy pursued by Angora have naturally had their influence upon the Turk Ojaghi. A republic which professedly desires to confine its activities as far as possible to its own territories and to their development, and which has ostentatiously jettisoned the old pretensions of the Sultan-Caliph to pose as the champion of Islam, has not the same inclination to foster the family bonds between itself and kindred peoples, especially when such a policy would bring it up against the Union of Soviet Republics. The national aspect of the Turk Ojaghi has therefore become more restricted and more purely Turkish. But while the principal objects of the Turk Ojaghi, as laid down in its program, are to preserve and protect the national conscience, to cultivate the Turkish genius, to spread Turkish culture, and, in a word, to develop the Turkish nation, the nationalism of the Turk Ojaghi, externally at least, is perhaps not quite so militant and insistent as it once was.

Lectures and Concerts

This is easy to understand. Nationalism is the mainspring of all the efforts which are being made to bring Turkey up to the level of the Great Powers, and, especially since the recent successful repression of the forces of reaction, there is not the same necessity for preaching it at all seasons and hours. Nationalism, in fact, has now come to be accepted as the presupposed foundation on which the modern Turkish superstructure is to be reared. In its present phase, therefore, the Turk Ojaghi has tended to become a sort of combination of the Y. M. C. A. or Y. W. C. A. and of the polytechnic. At its many centers are given many lectures by eminent men. There are concerts of Turkish and other music. There are courses in foreign languages, in shorthand, in typewriting, and so forth. Most practical of all, perhaps, there is an excellent system of traveling dispensaries, under which doctors visit remote villages in Anatolia, tending the sick and distributing quinine in the madaria-stricken areas.

It is not hard to imagine what an important part such an organization plays in the national life. Although by an article in its program the Turk Ojaghi forbids politics to its members, it is able, willy-nilly, to exert great influence by means of its lectures, its local libraries, its museums, its social gatherings. During the War of Independence it did much to rally the youth of the country round Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and nowadays when the President makes his journeys in the provinces he invariably pays a visit to the local branch of the Turk Ojaghi, and not infrequently it is in that building that he addresses the crowd.

PERSIA UNDER AN AMERICAN ADMINISTRATOR

FOR three years now Persia has had an American, Dr. Millspaugh, as the administrator general of her finances. His work during this period has been eminently successful, as is witnessed by the fact that the Persian Government has gradually conferred on him a larger amount of authority and responsibility. The recent bloodless revolution in Persia has really strengthened Dr. Millspaugh's position, since the new ruler of the country, Rizah Khan, has been very favorably inclined toward him.

Dr. Millspaugh has recently published a pamphlet which sets forth the results of the work performed by his mission since its arrival in Teheran, in the autumn of 1922.

Foreign Officials in Persia

Since 1900 Persia has had several European officials in her employ as financial advisers, but none of them accomplished much work of a permanent nature. There were two main reasons for this, which affected different individuals; some were unable, for one cause or another, to retain their appointments for a sufficient length of time to enable them to create permanent and effective reform;

yet others, who succeeded in remaining for a more lengthy period, failed to secure sufficient independence of action to permit of the enforcement of the schemes for reorganization which they had prepared.

Dr. Millspaugh states that it is proposed to utilize the proceeds of a foreign loan for one or more of the following purposes: first, for the funding of the floating debt; second, for the construction of highways; third, for the construction of a railway or railways; fourth, for the construction, where necessary, of customs buildings, quays, &c.; fifth, for the building of a few essential telegraph lines; and sixth, for the improvement of agriculture. It is not stated, however, when or by whom the foreign loan is to be provided. After some remarks on manufactures and industries, the writer proceeds to the subject of foreign trade, and it is interesting to note the extent to which, judging from such statistics as are available in the customs department, this trade has increased since the war. In the year 1918-1919 the value in krans [a kran is worth about 4d.] was only 853,500,000 (approximately £14,225,000), whereas in 1923-1924 it had risen to 1,462,500,000 (approximately £24,375,000). The value of the export trade has risen from less than 20 per cent of the whole in 1918-1919 to 36 per cent in 1923-1924.

Financial Reforms

After touching upon banks and currency, in which there has been no appreciable change during the past three years, Dr. Millspaugh discusses the finance administration. He details the organization and duties of the ministry and mentions the various officials who are responsible for the collection of revenue. He then deals with his own mission. First, we have in detail the powers granted to the administrator general himself, and the distribution of his assistance in the different

spheres of work assigned to them. This is followed by a brief summary of the reforms and improvements which have already been effected; these are said to include thorough reorganization of the administration; the restriction of expenditure to conform to the provisions of the national budget; increase of receipts and the elimination of much waste by improvements in the method of collection. It is mentioned that the Mejlis has recently passed a law authorizing the government to engage by contract for three to five years 12 additional Americans for the finance administration, and one as director of agriculture; also that projects have been submitted for the engagement of Americans as director of roads and expert on railway construction. This suggests the satisfaction of the Mejlis with what has been done and the confidence with which the mission is regarded.

The report gives the totals of "credits and expenditures" for the year 1923-24 under various headings; and the net result shows a credit balance of about 9,000,000 krans (approximately £150,000). The national budget for 1924-25, which is also given, amounts, approximately, to the total of expenditures during 1923-24; but the accounts for this year were not completed when this report was published. The Persian Government is still handicapped by external debts; and for the liquidation of these, which is said to be proceeding slowly but steadily, the revenues of the southern customs and the royalties received from the Anglo-Persian Oil Company are at present devoted. The pamphlet closes with a summary of what is described as "national assets"; and in the concluding paragraph the writer expresses the conviction that, in view of the encouraging economic situation, the order and security which exist throughout the country, and the absence of international

complications, the present condition of Persia is very satisfactory.

Threat of Famine in North Persia

Since the publication of this report information has been received of the possibility of a famine this year in northern Persia, and the fact of bread riots having already occurred in Teheran suggests that these apprehensions may be realized. Owing to lack of transport, a famine is specially difficult to deal with in Persia, and the problem of arranging relief work has hitherto been too much for the local administrations, who have relied upon the efforts of missionaries and other foreigners to relieve the distress of their people. Perhaps the institution of relief measures may be easier now that the government has the advantage of American advice in the ministries of finance and public works.

THE WORLD'S WHEAT POSITION

ACCORDING to an authoritative survey of the world wheat situation, published in the London *Economist*, the areas devoted to the growth of wheat may be put for the two hemispheres at 200 million acres, which, with reasonably good cultivation, should give us abundance, even in a poor year, and superabundance in an average season. Owing, moreover, to the vast extent of continents over which the crop is grown, the world culture of the cereal erects itself into a species of assurance, and the vast majority of years are in effect average years. In the present season the deficiency in the United States virtually balances the over-acreage yield in Canada, and reference to bygone years shows analogous offsets and compensations; 1919, which afflicted both Europe and Asia with a disastrous deficiency, presented fine surpluses to Argentina and to the United States; in this year France had her smallest pasture crop and the States their largest.

Large and Small Wheat Producers

The Great Powers, so far as wheat areas go, are those devoting over 10 million acres to wheat, and are France, Italy,

Canada, the United States, India, China, Australia, and Argentina; in millions of acres, 14, 11, 22, 54, 32, 20, 11, and 18. The Chinese estimate is, of course, empirical, but it cannot be safely omitted, because the tendency of China to devote wheat areas to other presumably more profitable crops is manifest, and Chinese imports are likely to become a trade incident materially affecting the Canadian and Australian export trade.

Lands which cultivate between 2 and 10 million acres of wheat are Spain, nearly 10 millions; Rumania, 8 millions; French North African Possessions and Protectorates, 7 millions; the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, 6 millions; Southeastern Europe, 5 millions; Germany, 4 millions, and Poland, 3 millions. The regions of Asia Minor, Iraq, and Persia constitute, naturally, a favorable wheat area, but it is doubtful if they at present devote more than 3 million acres to its culture. Countries which devote small areas to wheat, but raise a large yield to the acre, are Great Britain, $1\frac{1}{2}$ million acres; Belgium, 376,000; Holland, 130,000; Denmark, 150,000; Sweden, 363,000, and New Zealand, 167,000. The Japanese devote 1,155,000 acres; the Egyptians, 1,379,000, and the Chileans, 1,400,000 acres to wheat; all may be called low-medium producers.

The roughest of working equations of the world's wheat markets is that which assumes 200 million acres to be cultivated and 500 million quarters to be grown. This would be 1,200 pounds to the acre, against 1,960 pounds for Great Britain and a ton in Denmark. Moderate as such an estimate may appear, it is almost certainly an exaggeration, and complaints of poor years are unduly frequent because expectation is built too high. The United States are nothing if not progressive, and their farmers are always opening up virgin soil, yet it is doubtful if the mean production has risen beyond the 800 pounds per acre at which it stood 50 years ago. Canada shows a better agriculture, but cannot safely boast of more than 2 quarters, or 960 pounds, to the acre. A conservative estimate of world wheat production will not exceed 1,000 pounds to the acre, or 416,700,000 quarters (480 pounds). Adding in 20 million quarters

for Chinese production, the world estimates of the famous London "Grain Shipping List" for the years since the war have been: 1919, 363 million quarters; 1920, 380 millions; 1921, 406 millions; 1922, 410 millions; 1923, 456 millions; and 1924, 415 millions. If we add to these figures the International Institute of Agriculture's preliminary 1925 estimate, that this year's production exceeds that of 1924 by 20 million quarters, and reckon 1925 at 435 millions, we shall have a mean of not quite 410 millions for the seven post-war years.

Production Since the War

The eight great wheat producers may be credited in quarters of quarters with seven years' production as follows, unofficial estimates being marked with a star:

	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
France	22	29	40	30	35	32	42
Italy	21	18	24	20	28	22	29
Canada	24	33	38	50	59	37	49
The U. S. A. 121	104	100	107	98	105	86	86
India	35	47	31	46	47	46	40
China	20*	20*	20*	20*	20*	20*	20*
Australia ..	10	18	16	13	16	19	21*
Argentina ..	20	24	25	26	25	23	25*
Total...	273	293	294	309	328	304	312

The Australian and Argentine crops will not be reaped until Christmas, but their destinies are largely settled by Michaelmas, and the last fortnight's cables have been most encouraging. The Antipodean early summers are very settled weather periods in contrast with the Northern Hemisphere, wherein vicissitudes of early summer weather are frequent and important.

France is gradually winning her way back to her position in 1902 and 1903, in both of which years she produced 43 to 44 million quarters and was more than self-supporting. The Italian progress is more decisive; in 1902 and 1903 Italy produced of wheat almost 16 million quarters. The King of Italy, who founded the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome just 20 years ago, has led his people in a policy of agricultural reconstruction, and, seeing that the crop yields of 1901-5 were miserably below the potentialities of Italy's soil and climate, one may rejoice without surprise at the progress made. Canada has not fully sustained the standard of 1922-3, but the area of virgin soil

opened up every year materially tends to diminish, and Canadian farmers have not yet learned either to practice rotations or to use fertilizers.

The United States have the smallest crop for some years, but part of the decline is due to agricultural attention being called to crops deemed, at least for the time being, more profitable than wheat. American wheat areas fluctuate between 40 and 60 million acres in a manner which ministers greatly to speculation on the markets. For 1925 the area is 53,995,000 acres, a decline of two and a half millions from 1924.

China, as already remarked, is growing less wheat, though in the absence of returns we must keep to a nominal acreage. But in 1918 she was an exporter, and in 1924 imported over two million quarters—a movement clearly calling for observation. Australia gains ground as a wheat-producer, despite dear labor and a long voyage, which means a high freight. Argentina likewise is a really progressive cultivator, keeping up large exports despite increasing home population. India makes no material progress, but does not lose ground.

Second-class producers as regards quantity may be thus scheduled, space forbidding the citing of figures for other than the present year. Estimates are marked with a star; other returns are official. (1) Great Britain, 6,200,000 quarters; (2) Germany, 13,000,000 quarters; (3) Spain, 15,750,000 quarters; (4) Poland, 7,200,000 quarters; (5) Rumania, *9,000,000 quarters; (6) Japan, 3,450,000 quarters; and (7) Chile, 3,100,000 quarters.

The very good yields per acre in Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and Sweden do not make those lands self-supporting, neither do the farmers of these countries make any effort to feed the chief cities. Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Brussels, and Stockholm are all as dependent on grain ships as are London and Liverpool. The national economy of the four countries in reality expresses itself in the saving of transport in the rural parishes, where the countryside feeds itself and grows wheat more or less as a garden crop, and a ton per acre is readily realized.

In Great Britain, France, and Central Europe the raising of present comparative fertility into a still greater productiveness is a matter of fertilizers being cheap or dear. Today they are remarkably cheap. With cereals showing an index number of 140 on pre-war figures, and living generally one of 157, the seven leading fertilizers showed an index number of 125 only, and contracts at this level can be made for an entire season's supply.

World Trade in Wheat

The fall in freights makes transport easy this season and proves especially advantageous to the remoter consignors. Business in wheat before 1921 was so largely controlled for political purposes as to have little value as a trade record, but since then the returns have been as follows, the shipping years running from August 1:

(Million Hundredweights)

	Aug. 1- July 31, 1921-2	Aug. 1- July 31, 1922-3	Aug. 1- July 31, 1923-4	Aug. 1- July 31, 1924-5
Exports	343	345	383	370
Imports	298	303	307	318

These are for all countries subscribing to the International Institute of Agriculture. The growth in the total turnover appeared till this time last season to be steady, but since then less grain has been exchanged between importing and exporting countries. Imports, it will be seen, are uniformly smaller than exports, a "mystery" of which the very prosaic explanation seems to be that some leading importers do not supply returns. China certainly does not, while Brazil, Central America, the West Indies, the tropical regions of Africa, and all Melanesia are wheat and flour buyers very little interested in statistics of the trade. The exports of five leading wheat shippers have been as follows, figures representing breadstuffs (flour included), as hereafter mentioned:

(Million Hundredweights)

	1921-2	1922-3	1923-4	1924-5
Canada	90.56	138.00	176.00	88.17
The U. S. A.....	119.06	89.38	44.42	118.07
Argentina	68.22	81.24	98.38	69.29
India.....	Forbidden	15.80	10.41	20.41
Australia	58.46	18.74	36.76	61.18
Total	227.30	343.16	365.97	357.12

Freights were against Australian exports in 1922-23, an immense export trade

in wool partly accounting for this. India has recovered very slowly from the extended control.

The importing countries form three continental groups, with the British Isles as the standing "predominant partner" in the trade. The determined efforts of the Latin countries to become self-supporting are likely to increase the preponderance of Britain as a buyer. Returns of breadstuffs imported are:

(Million Hundredweights)

	1921-2	1922-3	1923-4	1924-5
British Isles	104.31	108.03	124.63	122.40
Belgium and Holland	38.11	37.28	38.33	35.97
France and Italy....	72.30	99.51	79.65	76.49
Central Europe	56.05	32.97	20.74	46.91
Total	270.77	277.79	263.35	281.77

The figures of the Institute in centals (100 pounds) are for wheat only. Assuming these as hundredweights (112 pounds), but reckoning the latter to include breadstuffs—that is to say, to take in flour—fairly trustworthy totals are arrived at. Flour imports and exports average about 10 per cent of the traffic in wheat.

The British crop, just reaped, being five million hundredweights smaller than that of 1924, while the stocks are reduced by three millions on the year, it is probable that the new season upon which we are now entered will require fully 130 million hundredweight imports of breadstuffs. But France and Italy will be much smaller buyers than in the season just concluded.

IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DATES

(October 15—November 1)

October 16—The treaty of mutual guarantee is initialed at Locarno by representatives of Germany and France, Germany any Poland, and Germany and Czechoslovakia.

A resolution, formulated by the League of Nations, for termination of its control in Austria, is adopted by the Austrian National Assembly.

18—The German Cabinet meets to consider the results of the Locarno Conference.

21—The Greek Government, as a result of a frontier quarrel, sends an ultimatum to Bulgaria, demanding an indemnity of 2,000,000 francs, an apology, and punishment of those concerned.

23—Greek troops invade Bulgaria; Bulgaria appeals to the League of Nations.

Fourteen Chinese provinces are declared to be in revolt against the central government at Peking, the object being a government at Nanking, claiming constitutional continuity, as opposed to the year-old government at Peking.

24—Three Nationalist members resign from the German Cabinet, following their party's declaration against the Locarno treaties.

Señor Figueroa, coalition candidate, is elected President of Chile, thus clearing the political situation in that country.

26—The Council of the League of Nations orders the Greeks and Bulgarians to cease hostilities within 60 hours.

The German Cabinet decides not to fill the posts of the resigning Nationalist ministers and to stand by the Locarno treaties.

The Chinese Tariff Commission, consisting of representatives of nine nations, meets in Peking.

The Permanent Court of International Justice meets in extraordinary session to examine the Mosul question.

27—The French Cabinet resigns.

29—Greek forces withdraw from Bulgaria; the League of Nations appoints a commission of investigation.

M. Painlevé forms a new cabinet in France, omitting M. Caillaux from the list.

31—France is requested by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations to explain the bombardment of Damascus.

PRESIENT COOLIDGE'S ADDRESS

At Dedication of the Monument to General José de San Martin, Washington, October 28, 1925

GREAT men belong to humanity. They are the incarnation of the truth. Although they are almost always developed by local circumstances, in the end their influence becomes world-wide. It is that which makes appropriate the rearing of monuments within our own land to those who have been instrumental in advancing human welfare in other countries. It is a recognition of a universal standard of action and a common brotherhood among all men. We are all servants of the truth.

As I listened to the eloquent and generous words of the distinguished ambassador from Argentina, speaking on be-

half of his government and people, in presenting this noble monument of civic virtue and patriotic achievement to the people of the United States, I was again reminded how closely parallel have run the lines of experience, how intimate have been the spiritual associations, among the members of the American family of republics. To the people of the United States it has been a matter of pride and gratification that their ancestors were providentially chosen to initiate the movement for independence in the New World. If that movement had not started where and when it did, we may be sure it would

have started at some other place and time, and that at last its results would have been substantially the same. It was not among the human possibilities that the communities of these new-found continents should permanently be maintained as dependencies of the mother States in Europe. We can see now that their destiny to establish themselves independently was just as certain as that a patriarchal system of government must ultimately be displaced by a more progressive form.

It was not possible that these sturdy communities should merely contribute to the world a distorted reflection from the light of older States and ancient institutions. The discovery of America to the world was providentially fixed in a time of spiritual and intellectual awakening. It was an epoch of new lights and new aspirations, of mighty clashes between the traditions of the old and the spirit of the new time. The New World proved a fruitful field for testing out new ideas of man's relations both to his Creator and to his fellow-men. In the warming sunshine of such an opportunity, in the fertility of such a virgin soil, these experiments found that full and fair scope which made possible their triumphant conclusion.

It may be well to consider for a moment the essential similarities which marked the experiences of all the new American communities during their struggles for independence and later during their trying era of institution-building. By doing this we can better realize that the American contribution could not have been made save from the soil of a new country. You cannot transplant an ancient and rigid social system to a new country without many and revolutionary modifications. You cannot expect that these new institutions will have adequate opportunity for development unless they grow in the light of human independence and spiritual liberty.

This realization came early to the great leaders of thought in all the American countries. So we find that as North American aspirations produced our Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Hamilton, and Franklin, so the countries to the south of us brought forth their Miranda, their

Bolívar, their Hidalgo, their Artigas, their O'Higgins, their Sucre, their Morazan, and finally their San Martín—patriot, statesman, immortal contributor to the founding of three republics. It is to honor the memory of San Martín and to acclaim his achievements that we are gathered today.

It was the fortune of our thirteen North American colonies to be first in attaining the fact and recognition of independence. Deeply appreciating their own high fortune, the people of the new United States were from the beginning profoundly sympathetic with every movement for liberty and independence throughout these continents. And in this connection, Mr. Ambassador, permit me to thank you for the generous reference you made a few moments ago to the services of Henry Clay in the cause of Pan-American freedom. You have reminded us of his persistent and eloquent pleadings in behalf of the struggling peoples in the other American countries. The high tribute of Mr. Clay to the state papers produced during that period by the Latin American leaders was only equalled by that accorded by the great liberal leaders in England to the state papers of our Revolutionary period. In expressing complete agreement with the estimate placed upon them by Mr. Clay, I wish to call attention to a happy coincidence of this occasion. In Mr. Clay's great speech in the House of Representatives on March 24, 1818, championing the cause of the South American Republics, he referred in especially glowing terms to the far-seeing statesmanship of the Argentine patriot who was then director of the United Provinces of La Plata. I am sure Your Excellency will pardon me an allusion to a relationship which your modesty has forbidden you to mention, for to me it is a happy and auspicious circumstance that you, Argentina's ambassador to our government, chance to be the grand-nephew of the wise and courageous statesman, Don Juan Martín Pueyrredón, whom Mr. Clay so appropriately eulogized.

On such an occasion as this it is utterly impossible to attempt a recounting of the services, in arms and in counsel, of such a man as José de San Martín. Just as so many of the military figures in the North

American struggle for independence had had European training during the Seven Years' War, so San Martin had had a varied and useful experience in the Napoleonic struggles. As George Washington learned military science on the frontiers of Pennsylvania while a youth, so San Martin received his education in the European and African wars of Spain a generation later. And these American soldiers of independence learned their lessons well. As some distinguished military critics have described Washington's campaign of Trenton and Princeton as a military exploit of unparalleled brilliancy, so in the annals of the southern wars of independence others describe San Martin's passage of the Andes with his little patriot army as a more notable achievement than the crossing of the Alps by either Hannibal or Napoleon. I do not pretend to pass on these questions of military organization and direction, but I cannot refrain from pointing out the basic similarity between the strategy of the North American and the South American revolutionary epochs. The North American revolutionists chose the great Washington, citizen of a southern colony, to lead a revolutionary movement that had been begun and in its early stages was chiefly sustained by the people of the north. Likewise, when San Martin was made the supreme military leader of Argentina, he saw that the success of Argentina depended upon strengthening and sustaining the revolution in Chile and Peru.

But it is not my purpose today to attempt to analyze the military genius of San Martin; for that I refer you to the writings of men truly capable of giving it an adequate estimate. He was, like our Washington, one of those seemingly inspired military chieftains who are capable of thinking at the same moment of terms of war and of politics, of the battle field and the great human forum. For me the great significance of San Martin and his deeds and times lies less in their brilliancy in the moment of accomplishment and more in the justifying verdict which a later time and a riper experience have pronounced upon them.

This is a subject which I believe worthy of greater development than my time will permit. We who today study the lessons

of modern history possess advantages unknown to our predecessors of even a few years ago. We see many things which we could not then have recognized. Thus we see your South America suddenly lifted to a place of impressive eminence among the grand divisions of the world; for it stands today as the only continent that has escaped from deep and critical involvement in the most widespread and terrific struggle that has ever been waged for the domination of the destiny of mankind. There is not one among us here today who, having passed the meridian of life, cannot recall the days when our American experiments were still looked upon throughout a large part of the world as of doubtful value and dubious success. We recall that the sophisticated statesmanship of an older world entertained profound misgivings as to the ultimate fate of these American republics. These critics wondered whether with their liberal and democratic organization these new countries would prove able to play their full part and emerge secure and sound from one of the vast periodical convulsions to which our race has seemed to be inevitably subjected. Now, I am glad to say, we hear less of such misgivings. The world has had its test. The institutions of men have been through their trial. That trial has quite definitely answered the questionings of pessimism. It has provided us with much specific information by which we may judge for ourselves whether the institutions of a republican New World or of a monarchical Old World were best adapted as conservators of human happiness and human progress. We are content to leave the final verdict to history. The republican peoples of the Americas are prepared to take their chance on that judgment.

It was no mere accident or coincidence that saved the countries of South America from a far more intimate and disastrous connection with the recent world convulsion. Whoever has given even casual consideration to the past century's evolution of international relationships in that continent must recognize that not only its aspirations but its practical, working processes for dealing with difficult issues between nations have steadily tended toward the insuring of peace. They have looked to the substitution of reason for force.

They have repeatedly recognized, in the most practical fashion and difficult circumstances, that even issues of vital interest to the national welfare may be determined to the advantage of all concerned without resort to hostilities. Such problems as international boundary disputes involving sovereignty over great areas and populations have been settled through arbitrations or adjudications time and again. And these settlements have been followed by demonstrations of good will and mutual confidence, where war, no matter what its verdict, would surely have added to the exasperations of both parties and left a heritage of that mutual distrust which so commonly is responsible for increased armaments and future wars. I do not pretend to controvert the facts of history by denying that South America has had its share of international wars. I am seeking merely to call attention to the fact that there would have been more wars, and more disastrous ones, but for the fact that South American statesmanship has on the whole been dominated by an earnest and increasingly successful purpose to devise and adopt a variety of methods for avoidance of armed conflict. The will to peace has been present, even though the way to it was not always open.

The present occasion naturally brings some reflections upon the workings of the republican system that, for a well-rounded century, has prevailed throughout the greater part of the Americas. If we will go back over a century of the New World's history, we will find many evidences that these American institutions have peculiarly lent themselves to the support of those fundamental international efforts which look to the maintenance of peace and the prevention of war. It is almost precisely a century since the first Pan-American conference was held at Panama City. Its accomplishments did not seem impressive, but even at that it was well remembered as a fine and hopeful gesture. It was seen as an invitation to understanding, to co-operation, and to sincere effort at maintaining peace on this side of the Atlantic.

From that day to this the history of relationships among the nations of the New World has been a continuing story of effort to substitute the rule of arbi-

tration, of mediation, of adjudication, and confidence for the rule of force and war. To the scholarly statesmanship of the Latin American nations the world owes a debt which it has been too tardy in acknowledging. The truth is that they have demonstrated a peculiar genius in the realm of international accommodation and accord. The high and humane doctrines of international relationship which were expounded by such men as Calvo, Drago, Alvarez, Bello, Ruy Barbosa, Rio Branco, and a long list of others are now recognized universally. The record of arbitrations, mediations, and adjudications among the Latin American countries constitutes one of the fairest pages in a century's story of mankind's effort to eliminate the causes of war. Among their international treaties we will find models of effective covenants for the limitation of armament and the prevention of strife in arms.

The present is a time when men and nations are all giving heed to the voice which pleads for peace. Everywhere they are yearning as never before for a leadership that will direct them into the inviting paths of progress, prosperity, and genuine fellowship. A clearer vision has shown them not alone the horrors but the terrible futility of war. In such a time as this they will do well to turn their thoughts in all sincerity to these lessons from the statesmanship, the experience, and the constant aspiration of the South American nations. The continent which of all the world has known less of war and more of peace than any other through this trying period is well entitled to pride in the service it has rendered to its own people and in the example which it has set before the rest of mankind.

So the present occasion has appealed to me not merely as appropriate for the exchange of the ordinary felicitations, but as one on which these contributions of Latin America in moral and intellectual leadership might be given something of the recognition they have deserved. It is not possible to do more than suggest the subject; but even so fragmentary an allusion to such an inviting field I hope may serve a useful purpose. It would be worth the effort of men and women who seek means of preventing wars and reducing

armaments to study the experiences of the American republics. I commend them to the close attention of all who would like to see peace as nearly as possible assured and war as far as possible outlawed from the earth.

Among the leaders whose courage and genius brought realization of the New World's dream of liberty with independence, none was moved by a deeper horror of war than San Martin. None among his colleagues would give more ardent approval than he to the work of later statesmen who had a vision of a continent dedicated to peace and the true welfare of its people. To his sagacity, more than that of any other man, is due the distribution of the South American Continent within its present national lines, because he possessed the foresight of the statesman along with the qualities of the brilliant soldier and the eager patriot.

As has happened too often to the foremost benefactors of their fellow-men, San

Martin was denied during his own life those testimonies of gratitude and reverence which other times and all peoples have been proud to shower upon his memory. I have been told that monuments to him have been dedicated in almost all the capitals of South America. Today the country which gave him to the cause of freedom is presenting to the government of my own nation this statue of him. It is a welcome duty which comes to me, in behalf of the Government and people of the United States, to express their pleasure in accepting it. May it stand through the centuries as an inspiration to all who love liberty. May it ever be an added reminder of the fellowship between the great nation which gives and that which is honored to receive it. May it serve to keep in the minds and hearts of all humankind the realization of the noble and honored place which is held by that republican system of the New World, of which he was one of the foremost creators.

PRESENTATION OF THE STATUE OF JOSE DE SAN MARTIN TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES*

By HON. HONORIO PUEYRRREDON

MR. PRESIDENT: The ceremony which brings us together today to unveil the statue of the hero whose achievements consummated the emancipation of half a continent is the outward manifestation of a general sentiment which makes vividly present the unity of purpose and ideals of the past.

The thought of erecting this monument was born of a desire to bear witness to the lofty spirit of the American residents of Buenos Aires who presented to that city a statue of the great George Washington. "We believe," say the initiators of this movement, "that the bronze statue of our liberator, who, like Washington, stands for the American ideal of justice and liberty, will find a fitting site near the Capitol and the Obelisk erected in his memory."

* Address of Ambassador Pueyrredon, of Argentina, delivered at the unveiling of the statue of General José de San Martín in Washington, D. C., October 28, 1925.

Veneration for the great men of the past constitutes a salutary lesson for the new generation, when the attributes of the hero are not limited to the intrinsic merit of his genius or to unrestrained admiration for his successful exploits. It is necessary, as well, that his ideals shall be born of a cause beneficial to all; that his unselfishness rise superior to his ambition, and that his work become essentially constructive.

The deeds and the character of General José de San Martín place him among the greatest of the moral personalities of modern times.

His military genius, his democratic aspirations, his republican principles, and his achievements in the cause of liberty were not bounded by the frontiers of his own country. His retirement from active participation, renouncing all power and honors to enclose himself in dignified isolation, is proof irrefutable that his aspirations to personal glory were far below

his ambition for the liberty and sovereignty of the nations which he had contributed to create and establish.

In order fully to appreciate the magnitude of the enterprise in which San Martin was the leader, it is necessary to outline briefly the background against which his achievements are unfolded.

The colonies of Spanish America were sorely oppressed by the forces of despotic authority. That reaction of the collective soul, to which humanity owes many of its greatest transformations, was not long in making itself felt. Nevertheless, the emancipation is, above all, a conflict of new ideas against archaic social and political conceptions; so that it cannot rightly be called a war against Spain, just as the French Revolution was not a war against France.

So, from the first moment, while the armies were being precariously organized, in the midst of battles, in defeat and in victory, a constituent assembly in Buenos Aires was sanctioning these great principles even before proclaiming their independence.

At this time an unexpected event occurred which was a determining factor in the Argentine revolution. Two English squadrons with hostile landing forces attacked the city of Buenos Aires in the years 1806 and 1807. The citizens took up the defense of the city because of abandonment by the royal authority. Men, women, and children risked their lives, and the invading forces were conquered. The Spanish Government, nevertheless, far from recognizing that heroism, to which was due the salvation of, perhaps, a whole viceroyalty, drew the reins of oppression even tighter. From that day emancipation was decreed in the public conscience. Governments cannot wound with impunity the sensibilities of a people!

The purposes which these new ideas generated developed rapidly, bursting forth in 1810 with the force of a great convulsion. The Spanish authority was deposed, hostilities were commenced throughout the length of the territory, and a cruel struggle was begun, as the enemy resisted with the full strength of his military organization and the indomitable courage which has been his legendary

characteristic. But the efforts were necessarily unequal; the Spaniards fought in defense of their colonial empire, whereas the Argentines were struggling for their liberty. Under such conditions we come to the year 1816, when events take a very different turn. The Argentine revolution from this point becomes continental, carrying its action far beyond its own territory in order to win the independence of Chile and Peru, whose valorous sons were fighting with stubborn courage in the cause of their emancipation.

One of the highest mountain ranges in the world divides us. It was necessary to organize a new army and train and equip it. San Martin was the genius of the moment. His capacity had already been demonstrated, but this new enterprise places him on a level with the greatest military figures in history.

The traveler who today crosses the immense range feels a thrill at the thought that over a century ago an army in full battle array, complete in its three arms, passed along the edges of those precipices, scaled the heights one after another, penetrating through separate passes, in order to fall, the same day and at the same hour, on the enemy forces which were waiting on the other side of the mountains.

Napoleon has stated in his memoirs that the most difficult frontiers to cross are the seas, mountains, and deserts. The passing of the Andes combines two of these greatest difficulties.

An historian has said, "The Argentines knew that in that enterprise by victory alone could they escape death." And the results have been best synthesized by General San Martin himself in the brief official report of the battle: "In twenty-four days," he says, "we have finished the campaign, crossed the highest ranges on the globe, put an end to tyrants, and given liberty to Chile."

The idea was audacious, but not one of those acts of foolhardiness which at times the happy accident of circumstances saves from disaster. This was the result of a well-meditated plan, patient preparation, and strategy ably evolved to deceive the enemy about the real plans. It was, furthermore, the result of co-ordinated thought and action of the men who at that time were directing the course of events.

The scene of war was thus extended to the west, to pass later up the Pacific to the very heart of the ancient empire of the Incas. Chacabuco and Maipú, which you see inscribed on the pedestal of this monument, are the immortal names of the two battles to which three nations owe the consummation of their sovereignty.

The independence of Chile and Peru and the security of Argentina are the direct result of this campaign, which, with the glorious work of Bolívar in the north, assured republican stability to almost an entire continent.

While these and other martial events were happening, and while the Portuguese armies on the Atlantic coast were threatening invasion on the other side, the Government of Buenos Aires, in that year of 1817, brought before President Monroe a diplomatic negotiation which had great political significance.

The message which the Supreme Director, General Juan Martín de Pueyrredón, sent at that time to the President of the United States expressed a conception whose intrinsic truth has not changed: "When the interests of a sound policy," he says, "are in accord with the principles of justice, nothing is more easy than the maintenance of harmony and good understanding between powers which are connected by close relations. This seems to be exactly the case in which the United States and our country stand with respect to each other, a flattering situation, which gives the signal of our success and forms our best apology."

Equally significant is the closing paragraph written by General San Martín to President Monroe. He says: "Your Excellency, who enjoys the honor of presiding over a free people, who contended and shed their blood for a cause similar to that in which the inhabitants of South America are now engaged, will, I hope, deign to extend to the Argentine representative such protection as is compatible with the actual relations of your government."

The international situation between the United States and Spain at that moment was very delicate, and recognition of the independence of those nations might have seriously aggravated the conflict. Nevertheless, two courageous voices, inspired by democratic principles, were raised in the

House of Representatives of this country, demanding that the moral support of this great nation be given to the new-born nationalities. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to render homage to the memory of Henry Clay, who was the leader in that campaign, and to repeat some of his words, so that they may live in the memories of the Argentines. After eulogizing the effort at emancipation, the merits of the principles and institutions maintained by the new nationalities, and the excellence of their statesmen, he exclaimed: "Let us not hesitate; let us act worthy of ourselves and evince to the world that we are not only free, but worthy of that freedom!"

Thomas Robertson, Representative in Congress from Louisiana, following in the steps of Henry Clay, said: "The provinces of the Río de la Plata have declared themselves independent, solemnly proclaiming the fact to the world, and have maintained their independence in a manner which must claim the respect and admiration of nations."

After four years of such insistence, President Monroe sent to Congress the message recognizing the independence.

Democratic harmony between the two nations at the opposite extremes of the continent was firmly established from that day.

When prosperity glances backward, it will declare that the emancipation of the two Americas is the greatest political and social achievement of the nineteenth century.

To the United States belongs the glory of having first raised the cry of liberty, whose echo reverberated throughout Europe and America, and at the same time offered one of the best written models of republican institutions.

The social structure, like the material edifice, requires for its stability a solid basis of democratic principles. These principles save the nations in their great crises. They contribute to the formation of a collective morality which gives real strength and character to nations, and its organic struggles are a permanent source of culture and betterment.

If George Washington were permitted to view today the result of his work, it may be affirmed that he would feel pro-

foundly gratified. After a century and a half of independent life, this nation offers to the world an example of great moral, material, and political force. I am also convinced that General San Martin would look with equal approbation upon the fulfillment, by his country, within the measure of their possibilities, of his great patriotic aspirations.

To his countrymen of the present and of future generations it will be a reason for unending satisfaction that this statue has been placed in the Capital of this great

country, in close proximity to the monument of the immortal statesman for whom San Martin always felt the most profound admiration.

Mr. President, it is with patriotic pride that I present this statue, on behalf of the Argentine people, to the people of the United States, and it is a cause for further gratification that the acceptance has been graciously undertaken by the able statesman who today directs the destinies of this nation with such high purpose and lofty ideals.

THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

By SENATOR CLAUDE A. SWANSON, of the United States

At the Third Session of the Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, Pan-American Union Building

MR. CHAIRMAN and members of the Interparliamentary Union:

I am persuaded that to such an organization as this, representing the legislative assemblies of the world, every movement which has for its purpose closer international co-operation and better understanding between nations, and which seeks to promote peace by enlarging the pursuits that pertain to peace, must be a matter of profound interest, since its work is in full accord with the purpose which occasioned the establishment of this great international body.

For a period of more than three decades an international organization, whose central office is situated in Washington, has been in operation, whose work possesses a deep significance for all of us and to whose activities I desire to call your attention. This pleasant duty has fallen to my lot mainly because of the fact that, the central office of the organization being located in Washington, it has probably been possible for me to follow its activities somewhat more closely than my Latin American colleagues. I have thus been placed in a peculiarly favorable position to estimate the larger significance of the work undertaken by the Pan-American Union, and it is to certain general aspects of this work that I desire to call your special attention.

As early as 1826, plenipotentiaries of Peru, Mexico, Central America, Colombia and the United States met in conference to consider important matters of

special interest to the nations of the Western Hemisphere, to strengthen their friendship, to encourage between them larger commerce and intercourse. It is conceded that the idea of this conference originated with Simon Bolivar, the eminent soldier-statesman, one of the world's great outstanding figures, a rare combination of courage, capacity, and character. His efforts were warmly supported by Henry Clay, then Secretary of State for the United States and one of her most distinguished and influential public men. This conference perfected no permanent organization. The principle of Inter-American co-operation was kept alive by international conferences between groups of American States held in 1847, 1850, 1864, and 1877.

It was not, however, until 1881 that the plans of another Pan-American conference took definite form. The then eminent Secretary of State for the United States, the Hon. James G. Blaine, realized the importance of bringing the republics of the American continent in closer touch with one another, and of developing between them a spirit of international co-operation which would contribute toward the solution of their common problems. As he visualized the situation, the first step was the establishment of closer commercial ties, and with this end in view he arranged for the assembling of the First Pan-American Conference, officially known as the First International Conference of the American States. Although

he had originally planned to hold this conference in 1882, circumstances made it necessary to postpone the holding of the conference until 1889. The invitations were extended in pursuance of an act of Congress, which also appropriated funds for defraying the expenses of the conference. Whereas the conference which it was proposed to hold in 1882 was to be confined solely to a consideration and discussion of the methods of preventing war between the nations of America, the program of the conference when it eventually assembled, on October 2, 1889, had been considerably broadened. Not only was the preservation of peace and the promotion of the prosperity of the American States included in the subjects to be considered, but also the establishment of regular and frequent communication between the American States; the adoption of laws to protect patents, copyrights, and trade-marks; definite plan of international arbitration, and the consideration of other matters relating to the welfare of the several countries. All the governments of the American continent were represented at the conference with the exception of the Dominican Republic.

Without burdening you with further details of this first conference, there were two significant results to which I desire to call special attention: First, the determination to hold Pan-American conferences at stated intervals, and, secondly, to establish a permanent central office or bureau, which should function as the permanent organ of this conference. The recommendation for the organization of a central bureau was approved on March 29, 1890. Under the terms of this recommendation an organization was established, under the title of "International Union of American Republics," for the prompt collection and distribution of commercial data and information. The Union was to act through a bureau called "The Commercial Bureau of the American Republics," the purpose of which was to serve as "a medium of communication and correspondence for persons applying for information with regard to matters pertaining to the commerce of the American republics." The report of the committee adopted by the First Conference is the original charter of the bureau, and

under the terms of this document the bureau was under the direct control of the Secretary of State of the United States. In practice it was found that this provision of the charter to a large extent nullified the international character of the bureau, as intended by the First Conference.

Accordingly, at the instigation of the Secretary of State of the United States, the Hon. Richard B. Olney, a special committee of the diplomatic representatives of Latin America was appointed on April 1, 1896, which recommended the creation of an executive committee of five members, the chairman of which was to be the Secretary of State of the United States, and the other four members to be taken in rotation from the Latin American countries. This committee was to act as a board of supervision of the administration of the bureau.

On March 18, 1899, this executive committee of five members, in addition to having advisory powers, was given the power to appoint the director, secretary, and permanent translators of the bureau; to fix their salaries; and to dismiss them whenever it was deemed advisable to do so. This was the second change in the original charter and the one that made the bureau international in character, as was intended by the First Conference.

At the Second International Conference of American States the name of the bureau was changed from "The Commercial Bureau of the American Republics" to "The International Bureau of the American Republics." The resolution adopted at this conference provided that the bureau should be under the management of a governing board composed of the Secretary of State of the United States, as chairman, and the diplomatic representatives of all the governments represented in the bureau and accredited to the Government of the United States of America.

At the Third International Conference no fundamental change was made in the organization of the bureau; but at the Fourth Conference, held at Buenos Aires in 1910, the scope of the organization was further enlarged and the name changed to that of "Pan-American Union." At the same time the name of the organization of

American countries which support the Pan-American Union was changed to "Union of American Republics" instead of "International Union of American Republics."

The bureau was first established as the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, but with each successive conference its functions have been constantly enlarged, its organization more carefully integrated, and, what is more important, its influence in the international life of the American republics constantly strengthened. From its early beginning as a commercial bureau it has developed into a full-fledged "Pan-American Union," whose activities extend far beyond the commercial field, affecting the cultural and moral relations between the republics of the American continent as well as their commercial ties.

At the present time the Pan-American Union embraces the twenty-one republics of the American continent, and is under the direction of a governing board composed of the Secretary of State of the United States and the Ambassadors and Ministers of the republics of Latin America. The chairman of the board, under the terms of a resolution adopted at the Fifth International Conference of American States, is elected each year. The board meets on the first Wednesday of each month to consider matters of common interest to the republics of the American continent.

Although no attempt is ever made to use compulsion, it is inevitable that, by reason of the fact that on the first Wednesday of each month the Ambassadors and Ministers of the Latin American republics assemble with the Secretary of State of the United States to consider matters of common interest, there should develop a spirit of continental solidarity, an atmosphere of international good feeling, which has meant so much to the preservation of cordial relations between the republics of the American continent and to the amicable settlement of such disputes as have arisen.

In addition to the splendid work performed by the Pan-American Union, the five conferences held have been productive of most beneficial results. These conferences have resulted in conventions for

the exchange of official, scientific, literary, and industrial publications; for establishing the status of naturalized citizens who again take up their residence in the country of origin; for the settlement of pecuniary claims; for the patent of inventions, designs, and industrial models; for protecting trade-marks; for publicity of certain documents; for uniformity of nomenclature, for classification of merchandise, and treaties to avoid or prevent conflict between the American States.

The sphere of activity of the Pan-American Union may, for purposes of convenience, be classified as follows:

I. ACTIVITIES AFFECTING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

The Pan-American Union, as the permanent organ of the Pan-American conferences, is entrusted with the duty of securing the ratification of and giving effect to the treaties, conventions, and resolutions adopted by the Pan-American conferences. From an international standpoint, this is a most important function, inasmuch as one of the great dangers confronting all international conferences is the absence of a permanent organization to give effect to the conclusions reached by such assemblies. In this respect the Pan-American Union has performed a most important service. It would carry us too far afield to enumerate the many agreements reached at the Pan-American conferences, further than those previously mentioned, and it is sufficient for our present purposes to emphasize the fact that the Pan-American Union has spared no effort to give effect to the many conclusions reached by the Pan-American conferences. The record of achievement in this respect is most encouraging.

II. ACTIVITIES INTENDED TO SECURE CLOSER COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLICS OF AMERICA

Since the date of its establishment, the Pan-American Union has served as a great center of information, not only for the governments of the republics of America, but also for individual citizens who desire data relative to commercial and financial opportunities. Equipped

with a well-organized Commercial Section, Financial Section, and Statistical Bureau, the Union is ever ready to furnish complete and accurate information. In furtherance of this purpose the Union also publishes each month a special "Commerce, Industry, and Finance" series.

III. ACTIVITIES DESIGNED TO PROMOTE CLOSER CULTURAL TIES BETWEEN THE REPUBLICS OF AMERICA

The Pan-American Union is equipped with a well-organized Educational Section, which is kept in close touch with educational developments in every section of the American continent. The best experience of Europe and America is thereby placed at the disposal of governments and educational institutions. In addition thereto, the Educational Division aims to encourage the interchange of professors and students between the republics of the American continent, and furnishes to students accurate data relative to conditions of admission, courses of study, and cost of living in the countries in which such students may wish to pursue advanced work. In furtherance of this purpose, the Union also publishes a monthly special "Educational" series, intended to place at the disposal of the governments and peoples of the American continent the most recent advances in educational organization and method. Constant effort is also made to encourage the inclusion of the history and progress of the American republics in the schools of the American continent.

IV. ACTIVITIES INTENDED TO PROMOTE THE PROGRESS OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND HYGIENE

There is established at the Pan-American Union a Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, whose services are placed at the disposal of public health officers throughout the American continent, and which serves as a clearing house of information relative to all matters affecting public health and hygiene. The Sanitary Bureau publishes a monthly bulletin intended specially for public health officers. In addition, the Union publishes monthly a popular series dealing with "Public Hygiene and Child Welfare," intended to educate public opinion to the requirements and necessities of public sanitation.

V. ACTIVITIES INTENDED TO BE OF SPECIAL SERVICE TO THE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE REPUBLICS OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

Inasmuch as agriculture is the basic industry of all the republics of America, and especially of the Latin American republics, the Union publishes monthly a special "Agricultural" series, in which the most recent information relative to agricultural advance is set forth and placed at the disposal of agriculturists throughout the American continent.

VI. GENERAL ACTIVITIES

In addition to the more specialized activities, the Pan-American Union publishes at stated intervals monographs and pamphlets intended to make the republics of the American continent better known to one another. A monthly bulletin is published in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, which contains detailed information relative to the agricultural, industrial, and financial development of the republics of America. In addition, pamphlets are published descriptive of each of the countries and of their capital cities. A general guide for Latin American tourists in the United States and for visitors from the United States to Latin America has recently been published. Each year a series of pamphlets reviewing the commerce of each of the countries is also issued.

Through these publications closer acquaintance, closer cultural ties, and closer commercial relations are fostered.

It will be seen from this recital that the Pan-American Union devotes itself primarily to the development of the spirit of co-operation between the American republics, and that its most effective activities are designed to place the best experience of each of the republics at the disposal of all. Not only is the spirit of mutual helpfulness thus fostered, but the essential community of interests and problems is strongly emphasized. In no case is any attempt made either to bring pressure to bear or to use compulsion in securing action. Through constant united action, however, a continental "esprit de corps" is gradually developed which is of incalculable value, even in the settlement of

purely political questions pending between the republics. The established habit of united action has gradually developed a viewpoint under which any question pending between two or more republics assumes a continental character and importance.

An outstanding illustration of this spirit of continental solidarity and the beneficial relations flowing from this policy of united action in the solution of purely political problems confronting the American governments is the settlement in 1914 of the controversy between the United States and Mexico, through the mediation of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. Initiated by these governments, as expressly stated, "for the purpose of serving the interests of peace and civilization on our (the American) continent, and with the earnest desire to prevent any further bloodshed, to the prejudice of the cordiality and union which have always surrounded the relations of the governments and the peoples of America," the discussions at Niagara Falls resulting from this offer of mediation averted what threatened at one time to become a serious clash between Mexico and the United States.

Furthermore, the offer and acceptance of the mediation of the three sister republics served to emphasize the principle of American policy, that disputes between any two republics of the American continent are a matter of real interest to all, and that political questions shall be settled by peaceful means rather than by a recourse to force. This principle, at the Fifth International Conference of American States, was embodied in a treaty for the prevention of conflicts between the American States, providing for the arbitration of any disputes that may arise between the nations of the American continent.

There is gradually developing a distinctly American system, not in any sense antagonistic to any other part of the world, but designed to emphasize the unity of interest and the unity of problems of the American republics. Such a spirit cannot help but contribute toward the development of good feeling on the American continent toward the maintenance of a "Pax Americana" and may

well serve as an example to the world at large.

I desire to emphasize that there does not exist the slightest antagonism between the work of the Pan-American Union and that of the League of Nations. In the first place, the League of Nations has carefully refrained, out of deference to the traditional policy of the American republics, from addressing itself to distinctly inter-American problems.

Furthermore, the activities of the League are largely political in character, in the sense that the Covenant of the League sets up a definite machinery for the prevention of aggressive warfare. The Pan-American Union, on the other hand, is not intended to deal with distinctly political questions. Its purpose is to develop the spirit of service between the American republics in the hope and with the thought that the development of such a spirit of co-operation will make it relatively easy amicably to settle any differences that may arise. The fact that seventeen of the Latin American republics are members of the League of Nations does not affect the functions or the scope of activities of the Pan-American Union.

The governments and peoples of the Latin American republics look to the Pan-American Union for a type of concrete service which they do not and cannot obtain from any other source. Even if the United States were to enter the League, the usefulness of the Pan-American Union would remain unchanged. The spirit of continental solidarity which the Pan-American Union has constantly fostered does not involve the slightest antagonism to Europe or to any other section of the world. It simply means that the American republics, by reason of their conditions, their geographical situation, and the community of ideals which have dominated their political development, are in a position to give to the world an example of international helpfulness and international solidarity which means a real service to humanity. The Pan-American Union is a potential organization promotive of the peace, progress, and good-will of mankind.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEACE SENTIMENT IN JAPAN*

By SETSUZO SAWADA
Councilor of the Japanese Embassy

THE history of the world is, in a sense, a record of strife among individuals and among nations. At least it abounds in instances of feuds and wars, and suggests it to be an eternal truth that life is strife. I wonder, however, if our life is meant to be a chain of conflicts from beginning to end. It is true, indeed, that in the ordering of the present world we are made to continue struggling in one way or another in order to insure our existence, but it seems to me that struggle is not an end in itself. It is rather a means to an end. We struggle in order to secure what is beyond. What is the end? Surely it is peace; and peace must be the final goal of human aspirations. We toil and struggle in order to enjoy the rest and happiness which comes therefrom, and this is as true among nations as among individuals.

In order to achieve this end in the field of international affairs, there must be developed an enlightened public opinion for international peace. We live in an age of public opinion. Without its support, no project, however well designed, can be expected to materialize. The progress of the world for peace comes through the enlightenment of opinion, the development of popular will, and the establishment of better standards of conduct.

Let us take, for example, the conference held three years ago in the National Capital of this country. It marked a great step forward toward the establishment of international peace, and it is safe to say that it will rank high above most of the congresses and conferences which have hitherto met for the advancement of human welfare. In many ways it achieved an unparalleled success. Such a success was, no doubt, due in a large measure to the painstaking efforts of the leaders of this country, prompted to the high ideals it holds for the good of humanity; but I must ascribe its success primarily to the fact that what may be called international

public opinion in favor of peace and justice was so well organized at that time that all the parties concerned were able to act throughout the conference in a spirit of conciliation and accommodation for the common weal of all mankind. But for the well-organized and enlightened public opinion wishing to make the conference a success, we might not have been able to see the happy results of its labor.

Peace among nations is an international affair. In order to secure it, there must be international opinion. The growth of such opinion presupposes the development of public opinion in favor of peace in each individual country composing the family of nations. Each country, therefore, must cultivate the popular will for peace within its borders, in order to insure the establishment of a lasting peace throughout the world.

In so far as Japan is concerned, I am most happy to be able to say that the popular will for international peace is continuing to develop in the right direction. Indeed, there is a growing body of opinion in Japan, particularly among the rising generation, to denounce narrow and exclusive selfishness, to oppose wanton resort to arms, to condemn aggression, and to seek the right adjustment of international questions through good understanding and harmonious co-operation. Japan is ready to join hands with other nations in the prosecution of any further projects looking to the establishment of a lasting peace for the world. This is certainly a very promising tendency. In the interest of international peace, I am truly glad that my country is now on the right track.

Let me explain how such a peace sentiment has developed in our midst.

In the first place, Japan has long ago become self-contained in her spirit, first through Confucianism (an epitome of the agricultural civilization of China, which is essentially self-contained and non-aggressive) and later through Buddhism (which came in to reinforce the root-idea of contentment and self-restraint). It is true that we have had three wars with

* An address delivered privately and not hitherto published.

other nations since the Meiji restoration, but recourse to these wars was forced upon us by the necessity of safeguarding our national existence. Previous to that restoration, Japan enjoyed unbroken peace for over a period of 300 years—a fact which is unprecedented in the annals of the nations. Since the introduction of Christianity, the religion of peace, and particularly with the rapid development of liberalism in recent years, the peace sentiment innate in our people is being expressed with greater definiteness every year.

In the second place, Japan, like other nations, has learned a lesson from the World War. The war has bequeathed to the world a state of unrest and confusion. Literature, music, art, religion, politics, trade and commerce—all are seething with a new and mysterious life. As an eminent American says, we have free verse in poetry, we have jazz in music, we have cubism in art, and we have “do as you please” in morals. In this state of great change and confusion, however, we notice one bright spot on the horizon of international politics marked by the increased tendency toward international co-operation. Indeed, never before in the annals of the human race have we had the promise of international co-operation covering so wide a field. Perhaps it is because the World War has left so many of the nations of the world, both conquerors and conquered, in a state of common misery; that international sympathy has been engendered among them and they are now confronted with issues too far-reaching in their effects to be adequately handled by any one or two countries. The new era of international co-operation has thus been ushered in. Such a trend of thought in the world has affected Japan a great deal. She is now convinced that the best way to secure her true and lasting interests is to pursue a constructive policy of peace in harmonious co-operation with other nations, having always due regard for the rightful position of others as well as of herself.

In the third place, the growth of peace sentiment in our country has been brought about by the constant and ceaseless efforts of those far-sighted people who saw in the establishment of international peace the

salvation not only of their fellow-countrymen, but also of humanity at large.

If my memory serves me right, the first peace movement in Japan worthy of being mentioned was started soon after the Russo-Japanese War, some twenty years ago, when the war sentiment was still running high. It was then but a cry in the wilderness. Naturally the group of men working for peace met difficulties and opposition. Yet they went forward in their advocacy of international peace. Really pacific in the depths of their hearts and having been through a hard school of complicated international problems, Japanese people of affairs gradually came to appreciate the real intentions of these peace workers. By and by they rallied round the banners of international peace, and there are now nearly a dozen organizations in Japan, all working for international peace, such as the Japan Peace Society, the Women's International League for Peace, the National Disarmament Association, the World Alliance for Promotion of Peace through the Christian Churches, the Association for the Promotion of International Education, the League of Nations Association of Japan, etc. Affiliated with these organizations, there are various others, such as the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Women's Temperance Union, World Sunday School Association, Pan Pacific Union, all working for international understanding.

These institutions, while carrying on an educational campaign in favor of peace in their respective fields of activities, are associated in the National Council for the Promotion of International Peace. On the occasion of the anniversary of the Armistice, on November 11, each year, they unite in celebrating the day and in letting the people in general know the real significance of the occasion; and whenever anything of real importance takes place affecting the cause of international peace, they take steps, sometimes with the government, or conjointly make appeal to the nation, with a view to having their opinions taken into consideration.

As far as I know, the Japan Peace Society is the oldest institution of this kind in Japan. It was founded not long after the Russo-Japanese War. It was first started on a small scale by some Christian

workers in Tokyo and soon became a large institution, with membership of a few hundred people. The late Marquis Okuma, who twice became Prime Minister of our country, and who was called the Sage of Waseda, took a deep interest in the movement and finally became its president. Under his guidance the society carried on a substantial peace campaign in Tokyo and its neighborhood and prepared the ground for the further development of peace work, which is now being carried on by similar institutions of later growth. With the death of the Marquis the society dwindled in its influence, yet its flag is still kept flying, and now, under the chairmanship of Baron Sakatani (a prominent member of the House of Peers), it is engaged in the education of the people in matters of international peace. According to the latest information coming from Japan, this society is about to be merged in the League of Nations Association.

This association was formed soon after the World War. Young as it is in existence, it is the largest and most influential of all the international movements in Japan. Under the leadership of Prince Tokugawa (President of the House of Peers and one of our delegates to the Washington Conference), this association includes prominent members of both houses of the Imperial Parliament, government officials, leading business men and bankers, university professors, journalists, and other well-known persons in their respective walks of life. It has its headquarters in Tokyo, with about a dozen secretaries. Its activities are broad and comprehensive. While attempting to enlighten the whole nation in matters of the League, its efforts are also directed toward supplying the country with up-to-date news about the general tendency of international politics and the chief happenings throughout the world. It publishes books and pamphlets on various subjects relative to international peace, as well as a monthly magazine called *International Understanding*. There are several magazines published in Japan dedicated to the study of international politics, but, in my opinion, *International Understanding* is the best of all, both in regard to the quality of its material and the volume of information it contains. While holding big

public meetings now and then throughout the country, this association is conducting what is called investigation circles, for the benefit of those members who are desirous of making a serious study of peace problems from various angles. The foreign section of the association comprises prominent members of the foreign community in Tokyo and its neighborhood. The Japanese members meet with members of the foreign section now and then to discuss the problems of their mutual interest, and co-operation is being developed between them. At present this association has its branch associations in twelve local centers of the country, such as Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, Nagoya, Tottori, etc., as well as in almost all of our colleges and universities.

At the beginning of last year a students' branch was formed for the first time in the Waseda University, one of the largest educational institutions in Japan. Three of our large universities and some colleges in Tokyo followed suit. The establishment of so many student branches in our capital city proved to be an incentive to the formation of similar branches in Osaka and Kyoto, including various educational institutions for women. Each of these student branches has from one to three hundred members. On November 11th of last year, the seventh anniversary of Armistice, these student branches effected their union, and the National Federation of the Student Branches of the League of Nations Association of Japan was formed, pledging themselves to put forth redoubled efforts for the promotion of peace among nations.

Only a few days ago I received a letter from a friend in Japan, stating that on May 18th, universal Peace Day, some of these students gave a garden party at the Botanical Garden in Tokyo for over 300 foreign students now studying in various educational institutions in that city. Supported by the city of Tokyo and the League of Nations Association, it proved to be the most successful function ever given by students of Tokyo and went a long way toward cultivating the spirit of fraternity among young people of various nationalities. This shows how eager some of our students are to promote the cause of international friendship.

While carrying on an active work at home for international peace, this association takes pride in being one of the leading members of the Union of League Societies throughout the world, having its headquarters at Brussels and meeting once a year in general assembly in Europe. Delegates from Japan are sent year after year to this assembly and share responsibility for the peace of the world and the happiness of mankind.

According to information supplied to me by a member of the Imperial Diet, Mr. Y. Ozaki, a veteran member of our House of Representatives and a champion of liberalism, went on a tour throughout the country, previous to the opening of the Washington Conference, lecturing on the question of disarmament. He was warmly received everywhere and thousands of persons came to hear him. He is a past master in the art of speaking in public and occupies a prominent place in the field of home politics. It is no wonder, therefore, that crowds of people gathered to greet him wherever he went, but they were anxious at the same time to hear what such a leader of thought would say on such a great problem of the day. At any rate, his lecture gained such popularity that the proceeds from the sale of admission tickets not only covered all the expenses required for this tour, which extended over nearly two months, but enabled him to bring back to Tokyo a couple of thousand yen, which, I am told, he gave to the funds of the National Disarmament Association. There is no lecturer within my knowledge who has ever made such a profitable journey in Japan. Twenty years ago it was considered out of place to speak about peace in public, but today it has become a profitable business to do so. These instances will show at least which way the wind is blowing.

Mention must be made in this connection of the fact that the popular will thus roused in favor of international peace and co-operation is being expressed in the policy of the country. It was in response to the demand of the times for international peace and co-operation that Japan joined the League of Nations and the other international institutions which were brought into existence in its train. I need mention only the Permanent Court of In-

ternational Justice and the International Labor Congress.

Again, it was entirely in pursuance of the policy of international peace and co-operation that Japan participated in that memorable Conference on the Limitation of Armaments held three years ago in the capital of this country.

It is only fair to add that she has carried out all the obligations which she undertook in the treaties then made.

As regards China, Japan is now pursuing a policy which is in full accord with the spirit of the Washington Pact. In spite of criticisms of our attitude toward that country, Japan is following consistently the policy of non-interference in the domestic affairs of China. This statement was well substantiated on the occasion of the unfortunate warfare which broke out last year between the factions led by Mukden and Chihli and also in the present disturbance in that country.

Toward the United States, Japan is pursuing no different policy. She is determined to be fair and conciliatory in all her dealings and to live in peace with this country for all time.

These are some instances in which the growth of peace sentiment in our country is reflected in the policy of the government. With the coming into force of the new election act (which is supposed to enfranchise 8,000,000 men and increase the number of voters from 4,000,000 to 12,000,000), I feel sure that the popular will in favor of international peace will come to see its further growth and our country will be able to pursue its policy of constructive peace with even greater facility.

Japan, like other nations, has made mistakes in the past and she is not without blemishes, yet she is not slow to correct her errors and is keen to make the most of opportunities presenting themselves to her. As far as she can see, she is convinced that the present opportunity is worthy of the best that is in her and is prepared to shape her conduct in a manner in keeping with the mighty progress of the world and the demand of the times for peaceful co-operation among nations. Thus a very promising tendency is being developed in our country and Japan is on the right track.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

THE LOCARNO TREATIES

(The documents agreed to at Locarno may be divided into three categories: (1) the final protocol; (2) the six annexes, namely, the security pact between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy; the arbitration convention between Germany and Belgium, between Germany and France, between Germany and Poland, between Germany and Czechoslovakia, and the Allied note to Germany in regard to Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations; (3) the two French treaties, one with Poland and the other with Czechoslovakia. The text of the final protocol of the Locarno Conference, which was signed by the delegates on October 16, follows. The text of the treaty of mutual guarantee (now familiarly known as the Security Pact), together with the note addressed to Germany in regard to Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, appeared in the last number of this magazine. Following the protocol, we publish here the arbitration treaty between Germany and Belgium, the treaty between Germany and Czechoslovakia, and the treaty between France and Poland. Thus all of the essential facts of the Locarno treaties are available to the readers of this magazine.)

The Final Protocol

The following is the text of the Final Protocol:

The representatives of the German, Belgian, British, French, Italian, Polish, and Czechoslovak governments, who have met at Locarno from October 5 to 16, 1925, in order to seek by common agreement means for preserving their respective nations from the scourge of war and for providing for the peaceful settlement of disputes of every nature which might eventually arise between them, have given their approval to the draft treaties and conventions which respectively affect them and which, framed in the course of the present conference, are mutually interdependent:

Treaty between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy (Annex A).

Arbitration convention between Germany and Belgium (Annex B).

Arbitration convention between Germany and France (Annex C).

Arbitration treaty between Germany and Poland (Annex D).

Arbitration treaty between Germany and Czechoslovakia (Annex E).

These instruments, hereby initialled "ne varietur," will bear today's date, the representatives of the interested parties agreeing to meet in London on December 1 next, to proceed during the course of a single meeting to the formality of the signature of the instruments which affect them.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of France states that as a result of the draft arbitration treaties mentioned above, France, Poland, and Czechoslovakia have also concluded at Locarno draft agreements in order reciprocally to assure to themselves the benefit of the said treaties. These agreements will be duly deposited at the League of Nations, but M. Briand holds copies forthwith at the disposal of the powers represented here.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain proposes that, in reply to certain requests for explanations concerning Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations presented by the Chancellor and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Germany, a letter, of which the draft is similarly attached (Annex F), should be addressed to them at the same time as the formality of signature of the above-mentioned instruments takes place. This proposal is agreed to.

The representatives of the governments represented, here declare their firm conviction that the entry into force of these treaties and conventions will contribute greatly to bring about a moral relaxation of the tension between nations, that it will help powerfully towards the solution of many political or economic problems in accordance with the interests and sentiments of peoples, and that in strengthening peace and security in Europe it will hasten on effectively the disarmament provided for in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

They undertake to give their sincere co-operation to the work relating to disarmament already undertaken by the League of

Nations and to seek the realization thereof in a general agreement.

Done at Locarno, October 16, 1925.

(Signed) LUTHER.

STRESEMANN.

EMILE VANDERVELDE.

ARISTIE BRIAND.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

BENITO MUSSOLINI.

AL. SKRZYNSKI.

EDUARD BENES.

German-Belgian Treaty

(The following is the text of the Arbitration Convention between Germany and Belgium:)

The undersigned, duly authorized, charged by their respective governments to determine the methods by which, as provided in Article 3 of the treaty concluded this day between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy, a peaceful solution shall be attained of all questions which cannot be settled amicably between Germany and France, have agreed as follows:

PART I

Article 1. All disputes of every kind between Germany and Belgium with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights, and which it may not be possible to settle amicably by the normal methods of diplomacy, shall be submitted for decision either to an arbitral tribunal or to the Permanent Court of International Justice, as laid down hereafter. It is agreed that the disputes referred to above include in particular those mentioned in Article 13 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

This provision does not apply to disputes arising out of events prior to the present convention and belonging to the past.

Disputes for the settlement of which a special procedure is laid down in other conventions in force between Germany and Belgium shall be settled in conformity with the provisions of those conventions.

Article 2. Before any resort is made to arbitral procedure or to procedure before the Permanent Court of International Justice, the dispute may, by agreement between the parties, be submitted with a view to amicable settlement to a permanent international commission styled the Permanent Conciliation Commission, constituted in accordance with the present convention.

Article 3. In the case of a dispute the occasion of which, according to the municipal law of one of the parties, falls within the competence of the national courts of such party, the matter in dispute shall not be submitted to the procedure laid down in the present convention until a judgment with final effect has been pronounced, within a reasonable time, by the competent national judicial authority.

Article 4. The Permanent Conciliation Commission mentioned in Article 2 shall be composed of five members, who shall be appointed as follows, that is to say: the German Government and the Belgian Government shall each nominate a commissioner chosen from among their respective nationals and shall appoint, by common agreement, the three other commissioners from among the nationals of their powers: these three commissioners must be of different nationalities and the German and Belgian governments shall appoint the president of the commission from among them.

The commissioners are appointed for three years, and their mandate is renewable. Their appointment shall continue until their replacement, and in any case until the termination of the work in hand at the moment of the expiry of their mandate. Vacancies which may occur as a result of death, resignation, or any other cause shall be filled within the shortest possible time in the manner fixed for the nominations.

Article 5. The Permanent Conciliation Commission shall be constituted within three months from the entry into force of the present convention. If the nomination of the commissioners to be appointed by common agreement should not have taken place within the said period, or, in the case of the filling of a vacancy, within three months from the time when the seat falls vacant, the President of the Swiss Confederation shall, in the absence of other agreement, be requested to make the necessary appointments.

Article 6. The Permanent Conciliation Commission shall be informed by means of a request addressed to the President by the two parties acting in agreement or, in the absence of such agreement, by one or other of the parties. The request, after having given a summary account of the subject of the dispute, shall contain the invitation to the Commission to take all necessary measures with a view to arrive at an amicable

settlement. If the request emanates from only one of the parties, notification thereof shall be made without delay to the other party.

Article 7. Within 15 days from the date when the German Government or the Belgian Government shall have brought a dispute before the Permanent Conciliation Commission, either party may, for the examination of the particular dispute, replace its commissioner by a person possessing special competence in the matter.

The party making use of this right shall immediately inform the other party; the latter shall in that case be entitled to take similar action within 15 days from the date when the notification reaches it.

Article 8. The task of the Permanent Conciliation Commission shall be to elucidate questions in dispute, to collect with that object all necessary information by means of inquiry or otherwise, and to endeavor to bring the parties to an agreement. It may, after the case has been examined, inform the parties of the terms of settlement which seem suitable to it and lay down a period within which they are to make their decision.

At the close of its labors the Commission shall draw up a report stating, as the case may be, either that the parties have come to an agreement and, if need arises, terms of the agreement, or that it has been impossible to effect a settlement.

The labors of the Commission must, unless the parties otherwise agree, be terminated within six months from the day on which the committee shall have been notified of the dispute.

Article 9. Failing any special provision to the contrary, the Permanent Conciliation Commission shall lay down its own procedure, which in any case must provide for both parties being heard. In regard to inquiries the Commission, unless it decides unanimously to the contrary, shall act in accordance with the provisions of chapter 3 (International Commissions of Inquiry) of the Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

Article 10. The Permanent Conciliation Commission shall meet, in the absence of agreement by the parties to the contrary, at a place selected by its president.

Article 11. The labors of the Permanent Conciliation Commission are not public ex-

cept when a decision to that effect has been taken by the Commission with the consent of the parties.

Article 12. The parties shall be represented before the Permanent Conciliation Commission by agents, whose duty it shall be to act as intermediary between them and the Commission; they may, moreover, be assisted by counsel and experts appointed by them for that purpose, and request that all persons whose evidence appears to them useful should be heard. The Commission on its side shall be entitled to request oral explanations from the agents, counsel, and experts of the two parties, as well as from all persons it may think useful to summon with the consent of their government.

Article 13. Unless otherwise provided in the present convention, the decisions of the Permanent Conciliation Commission shall be taken by a majority.

Article 14. The German and Belgian governments undertake to facilitate the labors of the Permanent Conciliation Commission, and particularly to supply it to the greatest possible extent with all relevant documents and information, as well as to use the means at their disposal to allow it to proceed in their territory and in accordance with their law to the summoning and hearing of witnesses or experts and to visit the localities in question.

Article 15. During the labors of the Permanent Conciliation Commission each commissioner shall receive salary, the amount of which shall be fixed by agreement between the German and Belgian governments, each of which shall contribute an equal share.

Article 16. In the event of no amicable agreement being reached before the Permanent Conciliation Commission, the dispute shall be submitted by means of a special agreement either to the Permanent Court of International Justice under the conditions and according to the procedure laid down by its statute or to an arbitral tribunal under the conditions and according to the procedure laid down by The Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

If the parties cannot agree on the terms of the special agreement after a month's notice, one or other of them may bring the dispute before the Permanent Court of International Justice by means of an application.

PART II

Article 17. All questions on which the German and Belgian governments shall differ without being able to reach an amicable solution by means of the normal methods of diplomacy the settlement of which cannot be attained by means of a judicial decision, as provided in Article 1 of the present convention, and for the settlement of which no procedure has been laid down by other conventions in force between the parties, shall be submitted to the Permanent Conciliation Commission, whose duty it shall be to propose to the parties an acceptable solution and in any case to present a report.

The procedure laid down in Articles 6-15 of the present convention shall be applicable.

Article 18. If the two parties have not reached an agreement within a month from the termination of the labors of the Permanent Conciliation Commission the question shall, at the request of either party, be brought before the Council of the League of Nations, which shall deal with it in accordance with Article 15 of the Covenant of the League.

General Provisions

Article 19. In any case, and particularly if the question on which the parties differ arises out of acts already committed or on the point of commission, the Conciliation Commission, or, if the latter has not been notified thereof, the arbitral tribunal or the Permanent Court of International Justice, acting in accordance with Article 41 of its statute, shall lay down within the shortest possible time the provisional measures to be adopted. It shall similarly be the duty of the Council of the League of Nations, if the question is brought before it, to insure that suitable provisional measures are taken. The German and Belgian governments undertake respectively to accept such measures, to abstain from all measures likely to have a repercussion prejudicial to the execution of the decision or to the arrangements proposed by the Conciliation Commission or by the Council of the League of Nations, and in general to abstain from any sort of action whatsoever which may aggravate or extend the dispute.

Article 20. The present convention continues applicable as between Germany and

Belgium, even when other powers are also interested in the dispute.

Article 21. The present convention shall be ratified. Ratifications shall be deposited at Geneva with the League of Nations at the same time as the ratifications of the treaty concluded this day between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy. It shall enter into and remain in force under the same conditions as the said treaty.

The present convention, done in a single copy, shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, the Secretary General of which shall be requested to transmit certified copies to each of the two contracting Governments.

Locarno, October 16, 1925.

Germany and France

The Arbitration Convention between Germany and France (Annex C of the Final Protocol) is identical, *mutatis mutandis*, with the arbitration between Germany and Belgium.

German-Czech Treaty

(Following is the text of the treaty between Germany and Czechoslovakia:)

The President of the German Empire and the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, equally resolved to maintain peace between Germany and Czechoslovakia by assuring the peaceful settlement of differences which might arise between the two countries, declaring that respect for the rights established by treaty or resulting from the law of nations is obligatory for international tribunals, agreeing to recognize that the rights of a State cannot be modified save with its consent, and considering that sincere observance of the methods of peaceful settlement of international disputes permits of resolving without recourse to force questions which may become the cause of division between States, have decided to embody in a treaty their common intentions in this respect and have named as their plenipotentiaries the following [the plenipotentiaries are named here], who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, are agreed upon the following articles:

PART I

ARTICLE I. All disputes of every kind between Germany and Czechoslovakia with regard to which the parties are in conflict as

to their respective rights, and which it may not be possible to settle amicably by the normal methods of diplomacy, shall be submitted for decision either to an arbitral tribunal or to the Permanent Court of International Justice, as laid down hereafter. It is agreed that the disputes referred to above include in particular those mentioned in Article XIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This provision does not apply to disputes arising out of events prior to the present treaty and belonging to the past. Disputes for the settlement of which a special procedure is laid down in other conventions in force between the high contracting parties shall be settled in conformity with the provisions of those conventions.

ARTICLE II. Before any resort is made to arbitral procedure or to procedure before the Permanent Court of International Justice, the dispute may, by agreement between the parties, be submitted, with a view to amicable settlement, to a permanent international commission, styled the Permanent Conciliation Commission, constituted in accordance with the present treaty.

ARTICLE III. In the case of a dispute the occasion of which, according to the municipal law of one of the parties, falls within the competence of the national courts of such party, the matter in dispute shall not be submitted to the procedure laid down in the present treaty until a judgment with final effect has been pronounced, within a reasonable time, by the competent national judicial authority.

ARTICLE IV. The Permanent Conciliation Commission mentioned in Article II shall be composed of five members, who shall be appointed as follows, that is to say: The high contracting parties shall each nominate a commissioner chosen from among their respective nationals and shall appoint, by common agreement, the three other commissioners from among the nationals of third powers; those three commissioners must be of different nationalities, and the high contracting parties shall appoint the president of the commission from among them. The commissioners are appointed for three years and their mandate is renewable. Their appointment shall continue until their replacement, and in any case until the termination

of the work in hand at the moment of the expiry of their mandate. Vacancies which may occur as a result of death, resignation, or any other cause shall be filled within the shortest possible time in the manner fixed for the nominations.

ARTICLE V. The Permanent Conciliation Commission shall be constituted within three months from the entry into force of the present conventions. If the nomination of the Commissioners to be appointed by common agreement should not have taken place within the said period, or, in the case of the filling of a vacancy, within three months from the time when the seat falls vacant, the President of the Swiss Confederation shall, in the absence of other agreement, be requested to make the necessary appointments.

ARTICLE VI. The Permanent Conciliation Commission shall be informed by means of a request addressed to the president by the two parties acting in agreement or, in the absence of such agreement, by one or other of the parties. The request, after having given a summary account of the subject of the dispute, shall contain the invitation to the commission to take all necessary measures with a view to arrive at an amicable settlement. If the request emanates from only one of the parties, notification thereof shall be made without delay to the other party.

ARTICLE VII. Within fifteen days from the date when one of the high contracting parties shall have brought a dispute before the Permanent Conciliation Commission either party may, for the examination of the particular dispute, replace its commissioner by a person possessing special competence in the matter. The party making use of this right shall immediately inform the other party; the latter shall in that case be entitled to take similar action within fifteen days from the date when the notification reaches it.

ARTICLE VIII. The task of the Permanent Conciliation Commission shall be to elucidate questions in dispute, to collect with that object all necessary information by means of inquiry or otherwise, and to endeavor to bring the parties to an agreement. It may, after the case has been examined, inform the

parties of the terms of settlement which seem suitable to it and lay down a period within which they are to make their decision. At the close of its labors the commission shall draw up a report stating, as the case may be, either that the parties have come to an agreement, and, if need arises, terms of the agreement, or that it has been impossible to effect a settlement. The labors of the commission must, unless the parties otherwise agree, be terminated within six months from the day on which the committee shall have been notified of the dispute.

ARTICLE IX. Failing any special provision to the contrary, the Permanent Conciliation Commission shall lay down its own procedure, which in any case must provide for both parties being heard. In regard to inquiries, the commission, unless it decides unanimously to the contrary, shall act in accordance with the provisions of chapter 3 (International Commissions of Inquiry) of The Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

ARTICLE X. The Permanent Conciliation Commission shall meet, in the absence of agreement, by the parties to the contrary, at a place selected by its President.

ARTICLE XI. The labors of the Permanent Conciliation Commission are not public except when a decision to that effect has been taken by the commission with the consent of the parties.

ARTICLE XII. The parties shall be represented before the Permanent Conciliation Commission by agents, whose duty it shall be to act as intermediary between them and the commission. They may, moreover, be assisted by counsel and experts appointed by them for that purpose, and request that all persons whose evidence appears to them useful should be heard. The commission on its side shall be entitled to request oral explanations from their agents, counsel and experts of the two parties, as well as from all persons it may think useful to summon with the consent of their government.

ARTICLE XIII. Unless otherwise provided in the present treaty, the decisions of the Permanent Conciliation Commission shall be taken by a majority.

ARTICLE XIV. The high contracting parties undertake to facilitate the labors of the Permanent Conciliation Commission, and particularly to supply it to the greatest possible

extent with all relevant documents and information, as well as to use the means at their disposal to allow it to proceed in their territory and in accordance with their law, to the summoning and hearing of witnesses or experts, and to visit the localities in question.

ARTICLE XV. During the labors of the Permanent Conciliation Commission each commissioner shall receive salary, the amount of which shall be fixed by agreement between the high contracting parties, each of which shall contribute an equal share.

ARTICLE XVI. In the event of no amicable agreement being reached before the Permanent Conciliation Commission, the dispute shall be submitted, by means of a special agreement, either to the Permanent Court of International Justice, under the conditions and according to the procedure laid down by its statute, or to an arbitral tribunal under the conditions and according to the procedure laid down by The Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes. If the parties cannot agree on the terms of the special agreement after a month's notice, one or other of them may bring the dispute before the Permanent Court of International Justice by means of an application.

PART II

ARTICLE XVII. All questions on which the German and Czechoslovak governments shall differ without being able to reach an amicable solution by means of the normal methods of diplomacy, the settlement of which cannot be attained by means of a judicial decision as provided in Article I of the present treaty, and for the settlement of which no procedure has been laid down by other conventions in force between the parties, shall be submitted to the Permanent Conciliation Commission, whose duty it shall be to propose to the parties an acceptable solution, and in any case to present a report. The procedure laid down in Articles VI-XV of the present treaty shall be applicable.

ARTICLE XVIII. If the two parties have not reached an agreement within a month from the termination of the labors of the Permanent Conciliation Commission the question shall, at the request of either party, be brought before the Council of the League

of Nations, which shall deal with it in accordance with Article XV of the covenant of the League.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

ARTICLE XIX. In any case, and particularly if the question on which the parties differ arises out of acts already committed, or on the point of commission, the Conciliation Commission, or, if the latter has not been notified thereof, the arbitral tribunal or the Permanent Court of International Justice, acting in accordance with Article XLI of its statute, shall lay down within the shortest possible time the provisional measures to be adopted. It shall similarly be the duty of the Council of the League of Nations, if the question is brought before it, to ensure that suitable provisional measures are taken. The high contracting parties undertake respectively to accept such measures, to abstain from all measures likely to have a repercussion prejudicial to the execution of the decision or to the arrangements proposed by the Conciliation Commission or by the Council of the League of Nations, and in general to abstain from any sort of action whatsoever which may aggravate or extend the dispute.

ARTICLE XX. The present treaty continues applicable as between the high contracting parties even when other powers are also interested in the dispute.

ARTICLE XXI. The present treaty, which is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall not in any way affect the rights and obligations of the high contracting parties as members of the League of Nations, and shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

ARTICLE XXII. The present treaty shall be ratified. Ratifications shall be deposited at Geneva with the League of Nations at the same time as the ratifications of the treaty concluded this day between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy. It shall enter into and remain in force under the same conditions as the said treaty. The present treaty, done in a single copy, shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, the Secretary General of which

shall be requested to transmit certified copies to each of the high contracting parties.

LOCARNO, October 16, 1925.

(The text of the arbitration convention between Germany and Poland is identical with the above. The conventions between Germany and France and between Germany and Belgium omit Article XXI.)

French Treaties with Poland and Czechoslovakia

The text of the treaty between France and Poland follows:

The President of the French Republic and the President of the Republic of Poland, equally desirous to see Europe spared from war by a sincere observance of the undertakings arrived at this day with a view to the maintenance of general peace, have resolved to guarantee their benefits to each other reciprocally by a treaty concluded within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the treaties existing between them, and have to this effect nominated for their plenipotentiaries . . . who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

Article I. In the event of Poland or France suffering from a failure to observe the undertakings arrived at this day between them and Germany with a view to the maintenance of general peace, France, and reciprocally Poland, acting in application of Article XVI of the Covenant of the League of Nations, undertake to lend each other immediately aid and assistance, if such a failure is accompanied by an unprovoked recourse to arms.

In the event of the Council of the League of Nations, when dealing with a question brought before it in accordance with the said undertakings, being unable to succeed in making its report accepted by all its members other than the representatives of the parties to the dispute, and in the event of Poland or France being attacked without provocation, France, or reciprocally Poland, acting in application of Article XV, paragraph 7, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, will immediately lend aid and assistance.

Article II. Nothing in the present treaty shall affect the rights and obligations of the

high contracting parties as members of the League of Nations, or shall be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

Article III. The present treaty shall be registered with the League of Nations, in accordance with the Covenant.

Article IV. The present treaty shall be ratified. The ratifications will be deposited at Geneva with the League of Nations at the same time as the ratification of the treaty concluded this day between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy, and the ratification of the treaty concluded at the same time between Germany and Poland.

It will enter into force and remain in force under the same conditions as the said treaties.

The present treaty, done in a single copy, will be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, and the Secretary General of the League will be requested to transmit certified copies to each of the high contracting parties.

Done at Locarno the 16th October, 1925.

(The treaty between France and Czechoslovakia is identical, *mutatis mutandis*, with the treaty between France and Poland.)

News in Brief

EX-PRESIDENT ALESSANDRI OF CHILE, in a speech in Arica on November 15, exhorted his hearers to remember that the ends sought by him in accepting the method of the plebiscite were not alone the winning of the plebiscite, but also the renewing of her friendship with Peru, a drawing closer to the United States, and the promotion of general peace and fraternal feeling in America. To this end he begged the Chilean residents to conduct their part in the plebiscite, which is to determine the future status of Tacna and Arica, in a spirit of nobility and fairness. The speech was delivered at a meeting of the Chilean patriotic societies at which Augustin Edwards, the Chilean member of the plebiscite commission, also spoke.

A MONUMENT TO THE ARGENTINE HERO and liberator of southern South America, General José de San Martin, was unveiled in Washington on October 28. The monument, which is a replica of one in Buenos Aires, is the gift of the people of Argentina to the people of the United States. Its pedestal is composed of sand, brick, and granite brought from spots in South America connected with the career of San Martin.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ECUADOR has broken diplomatic relations with Colombia in protest against the terms of a boundary treaty recently signed by Colombia and Peru. The boundary is part of the disputed territorial line in the Amazon region, and Ecuador has always maintained that no settlement of lines in that district could be made without considering her claims. The territory ceded by Colombia to Peru in this new treaty forms part of a previous grant from Ecuador to Colombia by a treaty which bound Colombia not to part with any of the territory so ceded. The press in both Ecuador and Colombia are protesting against the passing of the new treaty in secret.

THE FINANCIAL COMMISSION OF EXPERTS invited by the Chilean Government from the United States to revise the financial institutions of Chile have completed their work. Prof. E. W. Kemmerer, president of the commission, states that sixteen laws were proposed by the commission, and of these three were at once adopted by decree and the others accepted for later action. The laws adopted were the Monetary Act, the Act Establishing a Central Bank, and the General Banking Act. The first provides for placing the currency of Chile on a gold basis and for a new coinage; the second establishes a central bank with a capital of \$100,000,000; the third provides for banking facilities all over the Republic.

THE PAN-AMERICAN HIGHWAY CONFERENCE, held at Buenos Aires in October, made its organization a permanent one, with biennial conferences and a board of instructors for road work in South America. The Southern delegates were especially interested in the theory, new to them, that highways aid in the development of railways, instead of competing with them. "The Highway Conference," said one of the delegates from the

United States, "has no problem which could bring the slightest international discord, and the co-operation of nations in the construction of their highways will be at least one point which may be counted upon to contribute to friendly relations, among all the disputed matters that crop up."

THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT took formal possession, on October 29, of the Island of San Juan Nepumaceno and the Bay of Pichilingue, off the coast of Lower California. This island and bay had been for years occupied by the United States as a coaling station. Diplomatic negotiations on the matter of its possession ended five months ago in the acknowledgment of Mexican sovereignty by the United States, thus amicably closing still another matter of difference with our neighbor to the south.

DISTINGUISHED CONTRIBUTIONS to geographic knowledge by two citizens of Colombia have been acknowledged by the National Geographic Society of the United States by the presentation of official membership diplomas to General Gabriel Valencia, Consul General of Colombia in New York, and to Mr. Carlos Puyo Delgado, New York representative of an important daily paper of Bogotá.

DR. GUSTAYO MANRIQUE PACANINS, a writer and authority on civil law in Venezuela, hopes to arrange an exchange of professors and students of law between the universities of Caracas and Merida, in Venezuela, and similar institutions in this country. He patterns his scheme upon the Rhodes scholarship idea.

THE BUST OF JUAN PABLO DUARTE, national hero of the Dominican Republic, was presented on November 18 to the Pan-American Union. In presenting the bust the Minister of the Dominican Republic called attention to the fact that among the great deeds which merited for Duarte the title of Founder of the Republic, there figured not a single exploit in arms. This was due to a peculiar combination of circumstances, but serves to emphasize the virtues of the citizen and patriot "who laid everything on the altar of national interest."

BOOK REVIEWS

LENIN. By *Leon Trotsky*. Pp. 216. Minton, Balch & Co., New York, 1925. Price, \$2.50.

SINCE LENIN DIED. By *Max Eastman*. Pp. 158. Boni & Liveright, New York, 1925. Price, \$1.50.

Trotsky's book is not a biography, nor, indeed, even a character study of Lenin. It contains some excellent characterizations, but it is principally a series of recollections of those periods during which Trotsky was associated with the older Communist leader. The book is, of course, originally written for Russians and presupposes a clear recollection of those events which preceded the World War and the Russian revolutions. Its appeal to the western world is largely historical. It deals entirely with political and philosophical stresses and strains, very little with the outer world of material events. Horrors and personal injustices are as little recognized as if they had had no part in the Bolshevik upheaval.

This book, unimpassioned as it is, gains considerably when followed by the study of Trotsky himself by Mr. Eastman. This author, who is a Marxian Communist, makes a detailed and sweeping defense of Trotsky in the dissensions which have arisen in Russia since Lenin's death.

The growing transformation of Leninism from a policy to a religion is very definitely suggested. The conflict of personal ambitions in the political leadership of Russia betrays what may prove a fatal weakness in the Bolshevik régime. These things are naturally of interest to the rest of the world, as well as to Russia, perhaps especially so to the non-Communists.

As a matter of history, therefore, this book, with the documents in the appendix, some of them hitherto suppressed, will have a place in the history of the twentieth-century Russia.

THE INTERNATIONAL YEAR-BOOK OF CHILD CULTURE AND CARE. Compiled by *Edward Fuller*. Pp. 565. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1925. Price, \$2.50.

Here is a reference book of world scope. It gives information on the various laws affecting the welfare of the child and the institutions and societies dealing with child care. It is alphabetically arranged by names of the major States, with subordinate divisions as subheads. Supra-national laws and organizations are given. Comparative tables of statistics, a bibliography by countries, and an index complete the value of this desirable reference work.

THE ETHICAL BASIS OF THE STATE. By *Norman Wilde*. Princeton University Press, 1924. Pp. 227. Price, \$2.50.

This review of the principles of political obligation by Professor Wilde, of the University of Minnesota, has the virtue of clearing the subject for untechnical folk. Political theory is, nowadays, of interest to almost everybody who reads at all or who watches the developments of the times.

The book is divided into two parts, of which one is historical; the other a discussion of the problems of the state. The seven chapters in the latter division are all vital, but those dealing with Liberty, and the Final Loyalty are especially so.

One sentence in Professor's Wilde's concluding paragraph should be circulated widely among reformers: "If our ultimate loyalty, then," he says, "is to the ideal community, we must remember that our only point of contact with that ideal is in the present, and the only means of realizing it is through loyal co-operation with the forces already instinct with it."

International Reading for Children

At the approach of the Christmas season publishers are putting out a bewildering array of stories for children. The books are of many sorts and in beautiful dress. The best artists and designers are contributing to their attractiveness. But which, among them all, will develop the boy or girl along lines of sane thinking and kindly feeling? Children's books must entertain. They must be real. But surely there is a choice, even among good or harmless books, for the parent who wishes to contribute toward a just and broad-minded next generation.

Children who enjoy the same stories in youth are likely to find points in common later in life; therefore we recommend some

of the good translations from stories of other lands.

Two of the most charming of these this year are from the French.

THE POPE'S MULE. *Translated from Alphonse Daudet*. Pp. 78. Macmillan Co., New York, 1925. Price, \$1.00.

This gives us Daudet in a delightful mood of light nonsense. In the "Grashopper's Library," where, flat on his back, he read a "sky-blue manuscript which smelt of lavender and had threads of gossamer for book-marks," he professes to have found the story to explain the old saying, "The Pope's mule kept her kick for seven years." Those who know Avignon will recognize the grashopper as the symbol of the town. They will find other local allusions. The old French round and children's game, "On the bridge at Avignon, They are dancing, they are dancing," is recalled by the dancing on the bridge at the beginning and end of the story.

THE ADVENTURES OF REMI. By *Hector Malot*, Translated by *Philip S. Allen*. Pp. 492. Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago, 1925.

This is the English name given to the translation of Malot's *Sans Famille*. It is a large, beautiful book, illustrated in color. It tells, in the first person, a dramatic story of a foundling child in France. The plot, as well as the time of the tale, has a certain flavor of Dickens. The simple, direct manner of the original is well preserved in the translation.

HINDU STORIES. Retold by *Teresa Pierce Williston*. Pp. 111. Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago, 1925.

The author of Japanese Fairy Tales, published last year, has here gathered together some of the old folk-tales of India. She tells them in language suitable for little children. The book is daintily illustrated with many pictures, whose color and drawing are peculiarly Indian in feeling.

LITTLE PICTURES OF JAPAN. Edited by *Olive Beaupré Miller*. Pp. 191. Book House for Children, Chicago, 1925.

"Oh winds of Heaven, pray,
A moment calm your tumult,
For the poppies bloom today."

Love of flowers, love of poetry, simplicity, serenity, and tenderness—all breathe in these tiny gems of Japanese verse. They mirror much of Japanese life and are pleasant to the ear of a child. Many of them are hokku poems, those miniature verses consisting of but three lines and not more than seventeen syllables. A Japanese author protests that to translate them is like taking down a cobweb and trying to hang it in another place. Nevertheless, judging by results, possibly aided by the beautiful Japanese pictures, something of the beauty of rhythm and thought is preserved, even in the translations.

In order to round out the impression of the book on children, Mrs. Miller, always a delightful raconteuse, has added little stories of Japan—cherry-blossoms, poetry picnics, dragon-flies, and tales from history and legend. All of these have a distinct effect in emphasizing the love of beauty, the reticence and joy in simple things, which are characteristic of this people.

THE POLISH FAIRY BOOK. Translated and adapted by *Elsie Byrde*. Pp. 231. Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York, 1925.

The compiler of this book has, fortunately, been able to go back to sources—the same sources, in some cases, which were tapped by the brothers Grimm. But much of this collection from the folklore of Poland could have been garnered only from old books and records in the University Library of Warsaw. Many of these tales will be new to the West. Miss Byrde's English is delightful. The illustrations by Livia Kádár are highly decorative. They have a delicacy and flatness of color which reminds one of Puvis de Chavannes.

The child who reads this book shares the literary heritage of his Polish cousin.

THE RABBIT LANTERN. By *Dorothy Rowe*. Pp. 98. Macmillan Co., New York, 1925. Price, \$1.75.

These are not translations. The American author of this book, however, was born in China and grew up there. She has written here stories about Chinese children as she knew them. The tales will make daily life in China familiar to English-speaking chil-

dren; they will be delightedly read, also, by adults who love children.

The illustrations are really Chinese. They were made by Miss Ling, a Chinese student who studied drawing under the teacher of the Empress Dowager.

For tales of adventure, with the thrills thereof, we have—

THE VOYAGERS. By *Padraic Colum*. Pp. 188. Macmillan Co., New York, 1925. Price, \$2.25.

Once upon a time the western limit of the habitable earth was supposed to be a promontory standing out from the coast of Portugal. Here, in the tower of Prince Henry, Padraic Colum has staged the narratives of old voyages of discovery. The pulpit of the story-tellers was in the likeness of a ship's prow. Here, wise men who knew, told the story of Atlantis and legends of voyages down to Lief the Lucky and other sons of Eric the Red.

Then we leave Prince Henry's tower and read letters and first-person narratives from men with Columbus, De Soto, and the Virginia explorers. Then, back again after fifty years, we go to the tower, where many men still come to study the maps and charts left there. Here the author imagines for us the manner in which America got its name.

The book is appealing to boys and girls, both because of its adventures and for its beauty of diction. In the back are notes, simply phrased, giving brief outlines of the facts upon which the stories are based. The book is brimming with adventure and courage, with a minimum of combat.

INTERNATIONAL PLAYS. By *Virginia Olcott*. Pp. 245. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1925.

Eight very short one-act plays are here. They will be easily understood by children, especially with the story of the play, which precedes each one and is intended to be read to the cast. Costumes are designed and described and a short list of good reading on each subject is given.

The plays are intended for children of the New World, to give them appreciation of the racial and historic contributions of the Old World. They deal with old Greece, old London, and several other countries, down to the immigrant to America of the present day.

All stilted dogmatism is avoided, the teachings are wholesome, and we see no reason why the playlets should not stage well.

WHEN I WAS A BOY IN TURKEY. By *Ahmed Sabri Bey*. Pp. 165. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston, 1925. Price, \$1.25.

This is number 18 in the long list of books on "Children of Other Lands." It is not written in story form, perhaps because so much explanation is necessary to make a child of the West understand the ways of the East. Nevertheless, the reminiscences are simply written and interesting to a child. Having later become a Christian, Ahmed Sabri Bey understands the standpoint of the West, and knows what should be explained to the child who is reading about Moslem life.

WHEN I WAS A GIRL IN FRANCE. By *Georgette Beuret*. Pp. 208. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston, 1925. Price, \$1.25.

The latest "Children of Other Lands" book reads like a story. It is written by a French musician who has lived also in England and America. She consistently concentrates attention upon France itself, its daily life, its holidays, and especially its earnest, serious work. The girl, who was herself, is merely the instrument through whom the story of French daily life is shown. It will be gratifying, however, to any normal girl reader to know that Mme. Beuret became in time a successful singer and violinist.

THE BOY WITH THE AMERICAN RED CROSS. By *Francis Rolt-Wheeler*. Pp. 297. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1925. Price, \$1.75.

Here is an exciting story, which moves rapidly, though frankly informational. Where it treats of war, it shows its horrors—that side viewed by the hospital and ambulance service. In tornado, earthquake, fire, and famine the Red Cross boy takes his place and serves. The book glorifies not only rescue work, but labor which aims to prevent disaster. There are now 17 of this series of United States Service Series, all inspiring, but this is, perhaps, the most gripping, because of the opportunities for rescue and for dangers successfully braved.

THE OREGON TRAIL. By *Francis Parkman*. Pp. 364. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1925. Price, \$2.00.

For many years this book has been on the recommended list for boys and girls, by the American Library Association. This new edition is well printed and adequately illustrated.

Francis Parkman, one of our most famous historians, felt the need, in his study of the rise and fall of French power here in America, to see something of the then entirely primitive Indians of the West. In 1846, accordingly, he traveled westward with a companion, and spent some months in the Black Hills, the Platte River country, and the slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Much of the time he was living with the Dakota Indians. He saw and described the emigrant trains, the trappers, hunters, guides, the aborigines, wild animals, and the unbroken wilderness itself.

While reading the stories and history of other lands, it may not be amiss for our young folk to appreciate some of the natural difficulties surmounted by the stout hearts and grim perseverance of our own frontiersmen.

NEVER AGAIN: EVERYLAND STORIES, VOL. I. Pp. 200. Everyland Publishing Co., Boston, 1925. Price, \$1.50.

These are stories collected from past issues of *Everyland*, "a magazine of world friendship for girls and boys."

The first story, "Never Again," has its scenes laid in war-time France. It is written with rare discrimination. Heroism and endurance are not minimized, but the whole tendency of the tale is to show war for the ugly thing it is, and to foster kindness for individuals of the contending and allied nations.

Other titles, taken at random, fairly indicate the scope of subjects upon which children are invited to think; some of them are "Lay Down Your Arms," "Peace Through Justice," "Koto's Revenge," and the "Christmas Brothers."

There are many other good books this year for the children of peace-loving parents. The foregoing list aims merely to be suggestive along the lines indicated, as a help in the culture of international understanding and a social conscience.

The Will to End War

By Arthur Deerin Call

This pamphlet of 39 pages tells of the cost of war—reasons for the will to end war—beginnings of the modern peace movement—the organizations of peace societies, periodicals, congresses—international plans and organizations—the two Hague conferences—the League of Nations and World Court.

The original statute of the International Court and the statute as finally adopted are both included.

PRICE, FIFTEEN CENTS

Order from

The American Peace Society

Colorado Building

Washington, D. C.

The Federal Convention of 1787

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ADEQUATE TO ITS PURPOSE

This is the title of our little book setting forth the history, significance, documents relating to one international conference which has stood the test of time.

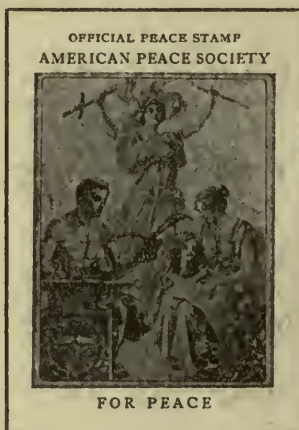
This eighty-page work—25c. each, 22½c. each for twelve or more, 20c. each for twenty-five or more—should be ordered from

The American Peace Society

Colorado Building

Washington, D. C.

Make Every Letter You Mail a Plea
for
PEACE AMONG NATIONS



This beautiful peace stamp, in six colors and handsomely engraved, is obtainable from the Home Office of the American Peace Society in sheets of twelve stamps. The cut shows actual size of stamp.

PRICES:

PER SHEET OF 12 STAMPS.....\$0.10
12 SHEETS....\$1.00 144 SHEETS....\$10.00

*This is the official stamp of the American Peace Society,
accepted by vote of the Executive Committee*

The American Peace Society

Colorado Building
WASHINGTON, D. C.

